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How Children Make Sense of Historic Streets: Walking Through Downtown Guimarães

Isabel Barca and Helena Pinto, Instituto de Educação e Psicologi Universidade do Minho, Braga, Portugal

Abstract *This study presents Heritage Education in the context of an Historic Centre activity. It was carried out with twenty (from 8 to 14 years old) participants living in a World Heritage site, Guimarães. The study adopts a descriptive, mainly qualitative approach. A walk through downtown historic streets occurred with the youngsters split in two groups (one aged 8 to 11, another aged 12 to 14). Student discussion was observed and recorded by the researcher guiding each group. Data analysis was inspired by the work of Aguilera & Villalba (1998), Lee & Ashby (2000) and Shemilt (1987) and generated three conceptual patterns:*

a) *understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience;*

b) *understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience and a restricted historical knowledge;*

c) *creative and personal reflection, in a synthesis exercise to add to the previous elements.*

The study highlighted the need to design and evaluate heritage activities that foster the participation of different groups of young pupils.

Keywords: Community, Heritage education, Historic centre activities, Historic streets experience, Identity.

Introduction

A growing significance and globalisation of the "Heritage" issue is linked with the phenomenon of mass ways of life and thinking and also with the recognition of historical and cultural heritage as an essential tool to understand, preserve and share multiple identities. It became an object of commercial demand, inclusively touristic, because it encapsulates the values of power and beauty (Chitty & Baker, 1999). However, heritage presentation has varied according to the ideas, values and cultural signs or signifiers of each period.

Urban rehabilitation of historic centres aims to revitalise those places as a focal point of community life and reintegrate them into economic development strategies, without transforming them into museums, mere objects of cult or economic speculation (Choay, 2000). In Portugal, the support of public consciousness about the need of heritage protection and valorisation is stated in the Cultural Heritage Act, article 7: "the fruition of cultural goods must meet criteria of functionality, security, preservation and conservation demands"

Nonetheless, many attitudes towards Heritage are still far away from the principles of national and international laws. Heritage is often perceived as a set of decorative objects or a sign of status, where an approach based in a sustained perspective is required. In this process, the heritage appropriation by the community is essential.

To consistently fulfil such a purpose it is necessary to provide a heritage education at a grounded and elaborated level. Education becomes the "keystone in the conduct of the whole museum" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992a, p. 674).

Museums and historic centres are leisure places, a communication system with their public, an educational environment where one can acquire different kinds of knowledge, an object of scientific research and an inspiration for cultural creation.

However, when we question a museum's legitimacy, its role in the community and its potentialities, the answer usually points to the fact that museums are educational institutions (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992b). There is a contemporary consensus that values museums and heritage as educational places and resources (Faublée, 1992; Stone & Molyneaux, 1994; Mitchel, 1996; Filipe, 2000). Therefore, challenging heritage approaches must be considered among educators.

In Portugal the History Curriculum recognises "direct contact/inquiry on local and national cultural heritage" as an essential part of citizenship and history education (DEB, 2001, p. 19). Schools have experienced in the recent past many practical changes linked to teacher education and curriculum development grounded in educational research. In a situated cognition perspective, history learning is viewed as a progressive interpretation of the past through inquiry (Shemilt, 1987; Lee & Ashby, 2001), an approach which can also be recognized in studies with Portuguese students (Barca, 2005; Gago, 2005). Under this framework history education might assume a crucial role in heritage education since artefacts and sites can provide fascinating, provoking evidence to make sense of the past (Cooper, 1995; Nakou, 2001; Levstick, Henderson & Schlarb, 2005).

Against this background findings of a 'Youth and History Project' suggested that young Europeans value history as a live source of learning, historic museums and sites being perceived as the most credible evidence (Angvik & Borries, 1997). Portuguese students are amongst those who derive satisfaction from «museums and historic places» (Pais, 1999, p. 34). Ancient streets and their buildings can stimulate historical learning: they can give the flavour of different times, thus providing evidence for change. However, to attract the young to see local places as historical/cultural evidence will involve a multiplicity of possible approaches. If heritage requires our attention and adequate response from the agencies responsible for its preservation, it also demands an educational perspective to provide young generations with appropriate tools for its 'reading'. However, regarding the relationship between heritage-childhood and its intersection with leisure, a reduced concern about systematic approaches which "allow children to speak for themselves" still remains (Pain *et al*, 2001, p. 150).

The Study

Research questions

This study intends to find out some answers to the following research questions:

What ideas do children and teenagers verbalise and share about historic streets:
a) What concept levels do they reveal in a context of heritage direct observation?
b) What sources of knowledge do they use?

Methodology

A walk through four historic street areas was carried out with twenty (aged 8 to 14) participants living in Guimarães, a world heritage centre. The youngsters were contacted through the Alberto Sampaio Museum on a volunteer basis. The sample was divided into two groups, one with 8 to 11 year-old children, another with 12 to 14 year-old teenagers, both accompanied and supervised by the researcher. A previously designed activity resource, the "Discovering Guimarães" Guide, was given to each group to be progressively explored along the walk. Participants were invited to share aloud their thoughts about the sites they were watching with the other group elements. A naturalistic observation of the oral comments was carried out and supported by audio recording.

At the end of the activity, the children were requested to answer a brief questionnaire on the significance of the experience.

Main Results

After transcribing the participants' oral interventions, data were interpreted taking into account the observations accomplished along the walk. From the analysis inspired in the work of Shemilt (1987), Aguilera & Villalba (1998) and Lee & Ashby (2001), three patterns of shared verbalisation emerged, conveying an:

a) understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience;

b) understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience and a restricted historical knowledge;

c) creative and personal reflection, in a synthesis exercise to add to the previous elements.

We give here some examples of the youngsters' comments according to the conceptual patterns proposed. It must be noticed that these conceptual sets are not mutually exclusive as far as individual thinking is concerned especially because they were observed in an interactive situation.

a. Understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience

8 to11 year-old group:

Children focused their reasoning on available evidence and/or remembered learning. Their's is a version of the past that it is transmitted by books, teachers, or by older people.

In *Oliveira* Square, a passage of the "Guide" was read (Figure 1).

This church is no longer the one which belonged to the primitive monastery. King John I ordered its rebuilding at the end of 14th century, in gratitude to Sra. da Oliveira, because of her help in *Aljubarrota* battle. Architect João Garcia from Toledo (Spain) took charge of the work, but over time this building changed several times.

Figure 1. Sra. da Oliveira Church

After this reading, Paulo (10 years old) stated:

"Guimarães heraldic sign holds the image of *Sra. da Oliveira*... My father works at the city hall, so I already knew that."

Still in *Oliveira* Square, when walking to *Santa Maria* Street, Clarisse (10 years old), pointed to a piece of iron in *Sra. da Oliveira* Church and noted with excitment:

"I know what it was for... Its function was to alert people when there was a fire."

<u>12 to 14 year-old group:</u>

Some teenagers connected knowledge they had about the past with the present reality. The interfering of some contemporary images and values seems to remain in their thoughts.

When the researcher noticed that houses in *Oliveira* Square had sheds to protect merchants mainly on wet days, Flávio (13 years old) remembered the well known beer TV advertisement which exhibits that square as scenery:

"This square appears on television... on that commercial about Super Bock." (the advertisement shows the square on a rainy day).

When observing, in the "Guide", a 1908 picture of *Toural* garden (reserved for the bourgeoisie, according to strict norms of social behaviour), Pilar (12 years old) observed:

"Look, Toural was closed!... I read in a book about Guimarães – which belonged to my great-grandfather – that one only could enter the *Toural* garden if he wore a suit, a tie, a hat and shoes... I have a photo of it at home."

b. Understanding of observed features in the light of personal experience and a restricted historical knowledge

<u>8 to 11 year-old group:</u>

Some children applied ideas about the historical past and/or a sense of change probably based on information conveyed by school and community, other than their personal experience.

Near *S. Miguel* church, António (9 years old) employing his previous knowledge pointed out:

"King Afonso [the first Portuguese king] was baptized in this church."

In the beginning of *Martins Sarmento* Square, the researcher showed the place where (the already disappeared) *Sabugal* Street would have been located (it was demolished in the 1950s so that the Duke's Palace area would become more attractive). Paulo (10 years old), pointing to the park behind the Duke's Palace, observed:

"I lived here till I was five, and my mother said that some time ago there were houses in this place."

<u>12 to 14 year-old group:</u>

Some children evinced ideas about historical events or situations centred on simple knowledge of the past conveyed by the school and community. Some of them even showed ideas belonging to their live experiences or cultural beliefs concerning less known aspects about heritage:

In *Oliveira* Square, during the reading of the "Guide" about the origin of the place name, Pilar (12 years old), expressed her (conventional) knowledge about one of the markers of Portuguese identity:

"In the *Aljubarrota* battle, the Castilian army was much larger than the Portuguese's... and we won."

And Manuel (13 years old), relating the event referred to local history, added: "Because of that, King John I offered a golden string to Our Lady and brought it to Guimarães."

When observing the sculpture of the first Portuguese king created by the contemporary artist João Cutileiro (figure 2), Pilar (12 years old) and Flávio (13 years

old) tried to understand its meaning, while Lurdes (12 years old) advanced a second order interpretation:

Pilar: "It represents a more modern art."

Flávio: "It exemplifies the city."

Lurdes: "The sword means power."

Figure 2 – King Afonso statue in *Rainha* Street

c. Creative and personal reflection

<u>8 to 11 year-old group:</u>

A few children questioned conventional facts related to the observed sites.

When António (9 years old) said that King Afonso was baptized in *S. Miguel* church, Joaquim (9 years old) questioned him:

"Nobody knows if it's true!?"

<u>12 to 14 year-old group:</u>

A few teenagers discussed different points of view regarding the valuing and preservation cultural goods. Flávio (13 years old) argued for conserving existing places and buildings . Some others like Bernardo (13 years old) and Teófilo (14 years old) accepted the suppression of some elements in order to give more visibility to monuments but they could no longer agree when judging the monuments reconstruction process. Bernardo noticed the importance of doing an reconstruction with integrity, even if it was an imitation; Teófilo claimed that reconstruction should illustrate changes along time, considering that it would not weaken the monument's value. Both employed concepts of change related to heritage, agreeing that people should be enlightened about such changes.

Bernardo stated that the Duke's Palace reconstruction should use stones exactly like the ancient ones (figure 3):

- "Because they were trying to imitate... They tried to stay close to the truth."

Teófilo refuted: "How do you know that it was the truth? ... Probably it was rebuilt in the headquarter's epoch, too."

Bernardo: "But... looking at all this, someone who doesn't know, could think that it was built at the same time."

At this moment, the researcher asked Bernardo if he thought it important to make people aware of these changes.

Bernardo: "Yes, I think so. Information [about that] should be provided inside the building."

Fig. 3 – Duke's Palace in 1890 and in current times

When the walk was finished, participants were invited to comment on the experience, through a brief structured questionnaire.

The majority considered the experience as amusing (80%) and interesting (90%), indicating that they would recommend it to their friends (90%). They also considered that the activity allowed them to "learn by playing" (60%) and to "discover heritage features that they ignored" (80%). One child (8 years old) remarked that he "would prefer to amuse himself in another way".

Conclusions

Heritage experiences can be improved for groups of different ages. However, it demands its exploration as a resource to understanding historical and social concepts as similarity, differentiation, continuity, change, cause and effect. Designing innovative and multiple methodologies might help to pursue goals beyond a mere leisure activity. Results of this study specifically allow us to suggest the following:

- Youngsters can elicit more or less elaborate ideas related to heritage: about historical events and characters, change and continuity, reconstruction and preservation. Some children in the 8 to 11 year-old group produced comments similar to the older (12 to 14 year-old) groups. But, it must be said, a creative and personal reflection appeared mainly amongst the adolescents.

- A connection between self experience and the historical/cultural significance of the elements observed seems obvious. Heritage evidence was mainly interpreted in relation to previous ideas based on information conveyed by cultural setting, media and school.

- The expression of an historical thought through "discovering" heritage evidence can also be related with the employed methodology. Direct contact with heritage evidence made possible the expression of an historical thought beyond the limits of their formal and informal education. Some participants often revealed in a surprising mode that they had never "observed" the Historic Centre in so much detail.

- Children and teenagers can reflect and express critical thoughts about heritage changes, if the activities and related materials are appropriate, intelligible and interesting to them.

From the reflection on the process and results of this study a set of conclusions stands out:

- Heritage education systematically explored can promote development of social and historical thinking, connecting theory and practice, without forgetting the leisure component. This idea is consistent with the results of the European study mentioned by Pais (1999).

- Holding interests in the heritage education area implies a concern for live and participated learning experiences. Progression in historical thought involves meaningful experiences, namely at places where youngsters can explore ideas in a casual atmosphere and express their own points of view.

- To explore heritage education through an impressionistic approach is not enough. This study highlights the need for designing and evaluating heritage activities oriented towards the participation of different groups of youngsters. Through direct involvement with local heritage, one can get youngsters taking part in their own learning and developing more elaborate thoughts regarding heritage.

Correspondence

Isabel Barca
isabar@iep.uminho.pt

Helena Pinto
mhp@aeiou.pt

Instituto de Educação e Psicologia
Universidade do Minho
4710 Braga Portugal
Tel. +351253604278, Fax +351253678958

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Training Teachers for the Effective Use of Museums

Min Fui Chee, National Institute of Education, Singapore

Abstract *This paper explores what can be done to train teachers to use museums more effectively. It describes how pre-service teachers who are undergoing training in teaching primary Social Studies have used museums as sites for fieldwork. It argues that learning in the museum cannot be left entirely to museum education officers. Teachers play an important role as intermediaries between children and what museums have to offer as learning experiences. However, they need guidance, support and training in possible ways of maximising the learning opportunities that museums offer. The paper describes an approach based upon demonstration and modelling that could be used as a model for the training of teachers in Museum Education.*

Introduction

Education is widely recognized as one of the key roles of museums today. It is now the norm for museums to have education officers or education units to develop public education and to reach out and work with schools. At the same time, schools see museums as a valuable resource for teaching and learning and museum visits are very much a staple of the school curriculum. As such, students of all ages form a large part of the museum audience. However, this audience is often an involuntary one. While students would admit to the importance of museums, they do not usually choose to go to museums and there would be many teachers who use the museums as a teaching resource but who are not regular museum visitors. It is highly likely then that for many students, their only experience of museums would be that of school visits. In these visits it is teachers, more often than museum staff, who will play a key role in deciding what the museum experience can offer.

Aims of paper

This paper argues that it is important for teachers to be trained in the effective use of museums, if students are to maximize their learning and have positive experiences of museums which will carry over into adulthood. The paper offers examples of how pre-service teachers have used museums as sites for proposed fieldwork with primary schoolchildren. It also suggests the skills and knowledge teachers need to equip themselves with in order to be effective in facilitating museum learning.

Museums in Singapore

In Singapore, the main body responsible for the development and management of heritage is the National Heritage Board. Formed in 1993, it has, under its care, eight heritage institutions which include five museums – the Asian Civilisations Museum, the Singapore Art Museum, the Singapore History Museum, the Singapore Philatelic Museum and an interpretative centre, Reflections at Bukit Chandu. (www.nhb.org.sg)

The Board also chairs an organization called the Museum Roundtable which was formed in 1996. The aim of this 25-member organization is "to bring museums and heritage galleries closer to the public". In addition to the museums mentioned above, the member museums include a street museum, the Science Centre, a museum of biodiversity research and a memorial hall (http://rmbr.nus.edu.sg/roundtable/). Besides these, schools and public institutions have in recent years actively set up their own museums or heritage areas.

Schools and Museums

In Singapore, schools are able to sign up for museum memberships. Exhibitions mounted in the various history museums are usually useful for schools as they are well integrated with the school History or Social Studies syllabus. Hence museum visits play an important role in the school curriculum.

Museum visits are oftentimes undertaken as part of post-exam activities.[1] This means that large numbers of students are bussed to the museum where they are allowed to wander through and examine the displays on their own. It is not surprising, therefore, to have students simply walking through the museums without learning much. In this case, the museum could be described as a "nanny," functioning as a much needed diversion or an alternative from the usual school routine.

Teachers' roles in museums

It is the role that teachers decide to assume in a museum visit that determines the museum experience for students. In the case described above, the teacher's role is a passive one. Teachers make the necessary arrangements for the visit and once there, restrict themselves to managing behaviour. Students are allowed to roam freely through various exhibitions in an unstructured and unfocussed manner. While it is not undesirable to give students time and freedom to decide what to do, it usually happens that little learning takes place as students do not have a purpose or do not know the instructional goal behind the visit and thus consider the visit as an excursion not to be taken seriously.

The other situation where teachers play a passive role is when they hand students over to museum education officers who take care of the learning by facilitating activities or providing a guided tour. This visit is structured but not by teachers and the teachers may later do follow up activities. This kind of visit usually takes place when teachers are hard pressed for time, when there is a suitable existing programme designed by museum staff or when teachers lack the confidence or knowledge to facilitate and guide students through the visit on their own.

A less passive role is assumed when teachers bring students to the museum and carry out museum designed activities themselves. They may use or adapt museum designed worksheets. The most active role is when teachers design their own activities for students and actively manage these activities in the museum.

This active approach is encouraged in two pre-service teacher training modules in the National Institute of Education - *Investigating Social Studies through Fieldwork* (a module for year three undergraduates) and *Teaching Social Studies through Fieldwork* (a module for postgraduate trainees). In these modules, pre-service teachers are guided on the essential principles of planning and executing fieldwork for primary schoolchildren. Tutors stress the importance of studying and analysing the sites, conducting preliminary visits and designing follow-up activities to consolidate learning. A demonstration fieldwork incorporating varied strategies is then carried out for the pre-service teachers. They then work in groups of four to five to choose a site and plan a series of activities for primary schoolchildren. Museums and other indoor locations are acceptable as fieldwork sites. Passive transmission of information is not encouraged as the overall mode in which the fieldwork is to be designed. The fieldwork is expected to be enquiry based, student-centred and hands-on. The drawback here is that in the implementation stage, pre-service teachers

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In Singapore schools, there is usually a period of about a week after the two major examinations in schools where a whole range of out-of-class activities are arranged for students. Most schools conduct examinations in May and October.

conduct the activities for their peers rather than children. The planned activities and their implementation are then critiqued by peers and tutors.

How pre-service teachers have used museums

Designing learning activities in museums has consistently been a fairly popular choice for these modules. Pre-service teachers interviewed saw the museums' role as mainly an educational one. While they recognise that museums have other roles like caring for collections and preserving the country's heritage, the main aim of these is for public information and education. The museum's importance is acknowledged by many of the pre-service teachers but most are not regular visitors.

The following section in the paper reviews work done by pre-service teachers in two museums.

1. The Asian Civilisations Museum (Armenian Street)

This museum is devoted mainly to the display of the material culture of the Straits Chinese. [2]

2. Reflections at *Bukit Chandu* (Opium Hill)

This is an interpretative centre set up to commemorate the heroism of the Malay Regiment against the Japanese during the Second World War.

The review provides some insight into the kinds of skills and knowledge needed for teachers to use museums effectively as resources for teaching and learning.

A group of pre-service teachers had chosen the Asian Civilisations Museum, (ACM) as they felt that it was important for children to have some knowledge of the rich culture of the minority Straits Chinese as there is usually extensive coverage of the cultures of the Chinese, Indians and Malays in the school syllabus. For knowledge of the artefacts displayed, the pre-service teachers depended mainly on the information provided by the museum. To set the stage for the learning activities, they created a scenario where students were told that they were going to the School of the Straits Chinese to complete five lessons on the culture of the Straits Chinese. This was probably aided or inspired by the fact that the building which now houses the museum used to be a school started by a Chinese clan association in the early twentieth century. The various galleries in the museum were treated as "learning stations". There were learning stations on Straits Chinese jewellery, embroidery, weddings, *Tok Panjang*[3] and the ancestral altar. A pattern of teacher explanation, student observation of artefacts and hands-on activity emerged. The museum exhibits were used to fairly good effect.

In Reflections at Bukit Chandu[4], two groups of pre-service teachers worked on the themes of war, heroism and defence. The learning activities centred mostly around worksheet exercises. While there were questions about the values displayed by the soldiers, most were knowledge and comprehension questions covering almost all the information provided in the different galleries. The overall emphasis was on transmission and comprehension of factual information. Anticipating that the overall

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[2] The Straits Chinese are descendents from the intermarriage of early Chinese migrants with local Malay women. For an introductory description of the various galleries in the ACM (Armenian Street), see Lenzi, I. (2004) *Museums of Southeast Asia*, Singapore:
Archipelago Press, pp. 116-117.

[3] *Tok Panjang* means the Long Table. This is an exhibit of "a typical Peranakan feasting table set for all the close and extended family who would have participated in traditional festive day meals." (Lenzi, 2004, p.117)

[4] For a description of the center, go to
http://www.s1942.org.sg/bukit_chandu/homepage.htm

experience in the centre could create negative feelings about the Japanese, one group of pre-service teachers provided poems on the horrors of war written by two Japanese. Another group made provisions for reflection and some role-play. The pre-service teachers recognized the centre's potential to engage students' emotions and to teach values. However, more could have been done to exploit the unique offerings of the centre. The centre is housed in a bungalow that was used to store military and food supplies during the war. Hence a useful study of the site could have been incorporated. There was little emphasis on observation of the artefacts on display. The audio-visual offerings and multimedia presentations had great potential to evoke feelings and provoke discussion or debate. A greater emphasis on these in the activities designed could have resulted in a better use of the centre.

Training teachers for museums

Museums can offer students a vastly different experience from the classroom. They provide great potential for multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary learning and with their material resources and use of new technology, offer opportunities for teachers to cater to multiple intelligences. Teachers need to see museums not just as alternative sources of information but as places for students to encounter alternative learning experiences that engage more of their senses.

Training teachers to use museums competently and confidently is important and useful for both schools and museums. Teachers are the main people who decide and structure what may be the only museum experience for some students who, other than school visits, may not visit museums on their own. The key lies in the ability of the teacher to be an effective intermediary. Exhibitions are usually not designed or scripted with the child in mind. Text boards are usually too high for children and there are space constraints. This means that sometimes students are really experiencing the museum "second hand" through teacher explanation and interpretation. Even when these constraints are not present, younger students, especially, depend a great deal on teacher or adult guidance.

What kinds of knowledge and skills do teachers need to be effective in museums?

Analysing and working with objects

The review of museum work above shows that teachers can benefit from training in teaching with objects/artefacts as well as some training in the various methods of analysing objects and the study of material culture. Teachers are generally comfortable with using text, pictures or audio-visual material but less skilful when it comes to using objects/artefacts in teaching History or Social Studies. When used, the objects or artefacts are usually employed to illustrate an idea or a concept or as a prop. Their use is peripheral, not central. Because of a lack of skill, oftentimes, objects/artefacts are also pushed to the periphery in museum visits. Teachers, when using museums need to be comfortable with objects in centre stage – to be analysed to yield insights into their production, their function, the values ascribed to them, and to learn about how people lived as well as the impact of technology.

Ability to explore values and emotions

In the museum, teachers need to be able to deal with emotional responses. The affective domain is usually the least engaged in classrooms and during regular lessons. The museum environment offers adequate stimulus for emotional responses and opportunities to teach the values of different cultures. Teachers need to know how to acknowledge the emotional responses and be sensitive to them.

Critical reading of museum text

Teachers need to be trained to be skilled readers of museum text. Coxall (1999, pp. 215-221), states that, "Linguistic variables can create meanings that are at first glance not apparent" and "those involved in writing museum texts are often unaware of the implications of the language they use. Indeed, some would be very surprised to discover prejudices that they were unaware of appearing in the words they have written." Teachers need to be aware of these. Most teachers see the museum as an authority and many would take exhibition text at face value, lacking the skill or sometimes the time to read critically.

Management of space

In museums, teachers need to be skilful at space management. Unless prior arrangement is made for the space to be made available only to a school group, the museum is a shared space. Learning activities will have to take place in an environment where other school groups are present and are pursuing a different set of activities or members of the public are present.

Knowledge of the subject matter of museum exhibitions

This is the most obvious type of knowledge needed and perhaps the easiest for teachers to attain. However there are times when the subject matter is a highly specialised one and has not been published in more accessible sources. In this case then teachers need the cooperation of the museum to attain knowledge in the area.

Understanding the nature of museums and how museums work

There are many who would argue that this is the domain of the museum professional and it is demanding too much of teachers to expect them to understand curatorial concerns and how museums work generally. However, this paper argues that it is precisely an understanding of how museums work that will allow teachers to be independent and skilful learners in the museum, for themselves and their pupils.

How are exhibitions designed and planned? What information and interpretations are put across? What is missing and why? Teachers see museums as a resource for teaching and learning. The answers to these questions help teachers to understand the nature of the resource that they are using.

Just as teachers need to be confident and comfortable in the classroom, they need to be confident and comfortable in the museum environment. Understanding the nature of museums helps to build confidence. Charles Gunther (1999, p.127) recommends that adults need to be helped to "decode the museum environment." He suggests that this could be "a course on language symbols and objects."

Ability to reflect

It is necessary for teachers to learn how to reflect on their own museum experiences and to "step out of themselves" to analyse how they learn and construct meaning in a museum environment. Usually, the focus of preliminary visits is on planning and the first response with teachers is to think of what children can do. This paper would like to suggest that preliminary visits also focus on teacher learning. This does not mean that teachers have not been learning when they conduct planning visits but they usually do not treat themselves as visitor and learner first. While they would not be able to experience the museum as a child or adolescent, going through it as a visitor and learner first throws up valuable insights to learning points and alternative ways to structure the learning experience for students.

Facilitating free-choice learning – the place of less structured visits

According to Falk and Dierking (1999, p. 84)

> Museums are learning settings in which visitors have the opportunity to exercise considerable choice over what they will learn, or, framed in another way, visitors have the opportunity to control their own learning. Both of these ideas are at the heart of what we call free-choice learning.

How should free-choice learning be balanced with more structured school visits? Falk and Dierking have given examples of research which show that allowing children choice and control in a museum facilitates learning. These studies also demonstrate that students enjoy visits where they can set their own pace and determine their own learning agendas rather than follow through with teacher-designed worksheets.[5] (Falk and Dierking, 1999, pp. 85-86).

This paper would like to put forward that there are varying degrees of choice and control. Choice and control are possible if the particular museum or museum exhibition is very easily accessible to children/students. As mentioned earlier, often museum exhibitions are not pitched at their level. Teachers need facilitation skills to try to find a balance between a mix of guided structured activities and free-choice learning. How will they attend to student queries in a situation where choice and control are given to students? How will they assess learning for a large group? Pre-service teachers in fieldwork sessions have raised the issue of structure versus freedom and agreed that teachers themselves would have to decide the right balance. This would surely depend on learner characteristics, practicalities like space constraints and number of students and the nature of the museum/museum exhibition.

Conclusion

Training teachers to use museums effectively for teaching and learning benefits both schools and museums. Teachers see museums as a valuable resource and they are the best partners for museums who wish to inculcate a museum culture in the young. Training would need to be the collaboration of both teacher educators and museum educators. While some may argue that some of the skills suggested above are generic skills that teachers can develop over the course of regular teacher-training, this paper argues that these need to be made explicit with reference to the specific characteristics of museums.

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Correspondence

Min Fui Chee, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

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The Effects of Family/Community and School Discourses on Children's and Adolescents' Interpretations of United States History

Terrie Epstein, Hunter College, New York, USA

Abstract *In the post 9/11 era the Al Queda factor is a major influence in shaping the Historical, Humanities, Social Sciences and Citizenship curriculum. Central is the issue of racial identity and the ability of school teachers to engage pupils in discourses that recognise both diversity and the need to understand the beliefs, values and mores of different ethnic groups. A central concern are the master narratives of such ethnicities, modified and individualized through the filters of family, culture and community. The paper indicates that unless teachers take into account the dominant role which family and community play in shaping the historically defined identities of students then stereotypes will neither be challenged nor changed. Through a detailed longitudinal study of students in six classes the research identified the problem that a transmission, didactic pattern of pedagogy is unable to modify student values, beliefs and attitudes. It recommends a model of teaching that is interactive, discursive and empowers students to discuss, debate and analyse identity from the perspective of ethnicities different from their own. A shift to a constructivist pedagogy will empower students to create their own historicised identities that understand and allow for the perspectives of other ethnicities.*

Keywords

Introduction

Schools in democratic multicultural societies teach national history to enable the young to understand the contributions and experiences of the nation's diverse population ("diversity"), as well as the uneven course of democratic principles and policies ("democracy") in extending equal rights to all in contemporary society. In the United States, there has been much attention to the which or whose perspectives on national history teachers and texts should present (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997, Symcox, 2002), but there has been less attention to the interpretations of national history that young people actually have carried into and out of history classrooms. Even less is known about how young people's racial, ethnic, and other social identities shape and differentiate their interpretations of the past. The effects of young people's identities on their interpretations of national history are significant, for they affect the extent to which they accept the interpretations of national history transmitted by schools and the larger society, affiliate positively with a national identity, and see themselves as agents who can act with others to make a positive difference in contemporary society (Barton, 2001, Epstein, 1998, 2000; Wertsch, 2000).

In the following pages, I present findings, based on 6 years of data collection, on the effects of racial identities and school based discourses on European American ("White") and African American ("Black") children's and adolescents' interpretations of diversity and democracy in U. S. history.[1] The study shows that even though children and adolescents sat side by side over the course of a year in the same teachers' classrooms, race-related family and community discourses had a greater influence on White and Black children's and adolescents' historical interpretations than did those of their teachers.   The teachers' inability to engage the differences in students' interpretations or sustain consistent lessons about racial diversity and

democracy left little change in students' interpretations. From the findings, I suggest ways that teachers, policy makers and researchers might engage in practices, policies, and/or research studies that reflect and respect the historical interpretations of students from marginalized groups and broaden all students' interpretations of diversity and democracy in national history.

The Study: background and methodology

The study took place in an urban working class community in Michigan between 1995 and 2000. The population of 18,000 people was 65% White and 34% Black. Several graduate students and I collected beginning- and end-of-the-year data in two fifth, two eighth and two eleventh grade classrooms of six White teachers who volunteered to participate. In each classroom, we interviewed 10 students (5 Black and 5 White), for a total of 20 students (10 White and 10 Black) per grade level, 60 students overall. We matched students by academic achievement and gender between racial groups; within racial groups, we interviewed high, middle and low achieving students. We also observed several classroom lessons in each classroom and paid particular attention to teacher discourses and texts on Native Americans, the African slave trade, the American Revolution, Constitution /Bill of Rights, enslavement, and the Civil Rights Movement, [topics for which I found race-related differences in an earlier study (Epstein, 1998, 2000)].

In addition, we interviewed 6 White and 6 Black parents of fifth graders and 6 White and 6 Black parents of eighth graders. At the high school level, we collected data on eighth and eleventh graders' extra curricular activities related to Black History Month and Kwanzaa celebrations, as well as copies of an underground Black student newspaper. I also attended mixed raced (White and Black) community based activities in which young people gave civic related speeches and events for young people in all Black settings, like NAACP local competitions in which adolescents gave speeches related to Black history and contemporary life.

Research task and data collection and analysis

To elicit the fifth graders' and their parents' explanations of historical actors and events, the graduate students and I asked them to explain 17 historical actors and events depicted on captioned picture cards. Eighth graders selected and explained 20 of the most important actors and events from a set of 38 picture cards; eleventh graders selected and explained 20 of 52 picture cards. The picture cards represented traditional nation building actors and events like George Washington, the American Revolution, and World War II, as well as actors and events related to Black history, such as the Atlantic slave trade, slave rebellions, and Black participation in the Civil War and World War II. The students completed the task at the beginning and end of the year and the teachers at each grade level discussed the historical actors and events represented by the cards.

To analyze students' explanations, I coded discourses related to "race" and "nation" (Epstein, 2000). Codes for discourses related to race referred to students' presentations of historical actors as subjects or victims; which racial groups historical events affected and how (positively, negatively); whether race relations were cooperative, conflicted, or non-existent; and if students identified individually or collectively with a racial group. Codes related to nation referred to whether students discussed actors/events related to national development positively or negatively; whether they associated national actors/events with freedom or rights for all or some; whether they saw national events as helping or hurting Americans or foreigners; and if they identified with the nation through use of the term "we" (*i.e.,* "we" got our independence during American Revolution; "we" didn't let Whites walk all over us during the Civil Rights Movement").

To assess similarities and differences between racial groups and over time, I created beginning- and end-of the year tables which cross referenced and tallied students' explanations by race and selection of historical actor/event (Epstein, 2000). From the coding, I searched for patterns of similarity and difference within and between racial groups of students' explanations of individual actors/events and broader interpretive themes related to race or diversity and nation or democracy. I called the complexity of themes related to diversity and democracy which emerged from the analysis "historical interpretations or perspectives" or "interpretations or perspectives on national history."

Race related differences in interpretations of national history

White and Black children, adolescents and parents constructed different interpretations of diversity and democracy in U. S. history and these differences remained even after fifth, eighth, and eleventh graders completed a year of history instruction in schools. White participants portrayed Whites (Europeans and European Americans) positively as discoverers, nation builders, innovators and immigrants and negatively only intermittently in their treatment towards Native Americans and as Southerners who enslaved and segregated Blacks. They portrayed Native Americans as historical subjects who assisted Whites and contributed to national culture; Blacks were historical subjects only when they escaped enslavement or stood up against Southerners during segregation.

White children, adolescents, and adults believed that the nation was founded on principles of individual rights, originated in the Bill of Rights, and the nation gradually extended freedom, rights, and equality to Blacks and other racial groups at home and to people throughout the world in the twentieth century. Overall, they interpreted national history as a progressive tale of inclusion: as more people struggled for and achieved rights, the nation slowly dismantled rather than perpetuated racial inequality and spread democracy at home and abroad until the Vietnam War. Today, people of all races and ethnicities have equal rights or inequality exists at the level of individual prejudice.

Black participants saw Whites as nation builders, as well agents or beneficiaries of racial oppression towards Blacks and Native Americans. They saw Native Americans as the first inhabitants of North America, victims of White aggression and worse off than Blacks for having lost most of their population and culture. Blacks were nation builders, inventors, and in other ways contributed to national development but rarely received credit. They also resisted and were victims of White oppression and to be admired by people today for the sacrifices they made and obstacles they overcame and are responsible for the racial uplift that Blacks in contemporary society enjoy.

Black participants constructed national policies and practices as based on rights for Whites only and even as people of colour and others struggled for and attained rights, the national government still privileged Whites. National policies most often maintained although occasionally dismantled racist policies and practices at home and abroad, and generally assisted people in power. Blacks interpreted national history as a tale of perennial exclusion: even as Blacks and other people of colour struggled to and gained more rights, racism and White privilege still marked national policies and practices and continues to characterise national life today.

Teachers' interpretations and classroom interactions

The six teachers in the study discussed the contributions that Native Americans and Blacks made to national history and culture and racial conflict between Whites and Native Americans and Blacks. They did so, however, only sporadically and during

the typical periods. They never discussed Native Americans beyond the periods of early colonization and settlement of North America and the late nineteenth century westward movement and rarely discussed Black contributions or experiences beyond the periods of enslavement and the Civil Rights Movement. Although all of the teachers explicitly taught that the Bill of Rights originally only applied to wealthy White men and excluded people of colour and women, they also credited the document and other symbols of early national history with having laid the foundation for democracy, or universal freedom and equal rights. Overall, they presented national policies and practices more often as having dismantled rather than perpetuated racist or exclusionary policies and practices, even as they taught that people of colour and women had to struggle against national norms to gain freedom or rights. In this way, the teachers presented a rather traditional twenty-first century view of U. S. history: diverse peoples contributed to national development and eventually gained freedom and equality and the nation gradually changed its exclusionary policies and embraced democratic ideals in expanding freedom and rights to all (Brophy, 1999; Wills, Mehan, & Lintz, 2004; Levstik, 2000).

In class, Black adolescents questioned the absence or perspectives on Black history only during lessons related to enslavement and the Civil Rights Movement and White students generally withdrew from discussions during these lessons and only asked fact related questions. The teachers either ignored the Black students' questions or diverted criticisms with promises of future lessons about Black history. Future lessons almost never addressed Black students' questions which were often about racial conflict or White people's intentions towards Blacks. In interviews, both White and Black adolescents identified events like the American Revolution, Constitution, or Bill of Rights as having been associated with White people's history, and those such as the Slave Trade, enslavement, segregation, and the Civil Rights Movement as having belonged to Black people's history.

Effects of instruction on students' interpretations

Overall, the teachers had little effect on students' interpretations of diversity and democracy in U. S. history, although they had some effect on students' explanations or interpretations of individual historical actors and events. Fifth grade teachers had greater effects on children's end-of-the-year explanations than did the eighth and eleventh grade teachers (Banks, 1991) and teachers who exhibited more "open classroom climates" (Avery, 2001) or engaged students in more challenging intellectual tasks (Newmann, 1990) also had greater effects on students' explanations than did those who lectured or engaged in recitation. Greater instructional time on historical actors or events influenced students' explanations, usually by students having included additional information about the historical actor or event than as a change in the overall interpretation in which students situated the actor or event.

In most cases, changes in students' interpretations did not extend beyond the bounds of individual actors or events (Brophy, 1999, Wills, Mehan, & Lintz, 2004). Important exceptions included additions to some White students' end-of-the-year interpretations about White violence towards Native Americans and towards Blacks during enslavement (but not during the Civil Rights Movement); Black students' views of Whites as positive figures in Black struggles across time periods; and White and Black student interpretations of White beliefs in their own racial superiority during enslavement and the Civil Rights Movement. Overall, however, the themes that structured students' interpretations of diversity and democracy in national history at the end of the year continued to be divided along racialized lines.

Perspectives on national history and school history in homes and communities

In White working class homes, family stories and media (television and movies), like those at school, attributed change over time to economic and social improvement or liberalization, Black political progress with the end of slavery and the Civil Rights Movement, and the decline of national values represented by differences in beliefs in and attachment to World War II and the Kennedy administration on the one hand, and the Vietnam War and Nixon's administration on the other. Black family members also told stories of progress, war and generational shifts, but the stories were set against the backdrop of racism. They attributed progress in the economic and social opportunities that their children faced to the struggles of Blacks collectively, as well as to people like King, Parks, and Malcom X who served as moral and political exemplars and discussed World War II, the Vietnam War and the first Iraq War in ways which showed the continuity of racism over time.

White adolescents and adults accepted the interpretations of national history taught in Oakdale schools, most believed that the teachers taught national history by including the experiences of all racial groups, and believed that school teachers and textbooks were credible sources of historical information. They saw the teaching of history in schools as a way for young people to learn about the contributions of people of all races, the nation's immoral policies towards Native Americans and Blacks, immigrants' struggles and successes, and Black people's struggle and success for equal rights during the Civil Rights Movement. They also thought it was important that young people today learn about how local and national government operates so that they know how to influence government or limit its powers.

Black adolescents and adults thought that Oakdale teachers and textbooks omitted, distorted, and/or "sanitised" the teaching of race relations in national history and saw family members, Black teachers or videos or documentaries by or about Black people as more credible sources of historical information than school based sources. They saw teaching history as a way for young people to learn about the sacrifices that Blacks had made which contributed to the better conditions that Black youth faced today, but did not believe public schools taught these lessons. Instead, some parents taught about family experiences or Black history at home, while other parents and several adolescents said that they needed to learn about Black history on their own. Learning about national history and government enabled young people to understand the contemporary roots of racial violence and inequality, as well their rights as individuals to protect themselves from contemporary violence and abuse.

In mixed race community settings in which adolescents presented speeches on civic related topics, both White and Black adolescents discussed the importance of education and personal responsibility. White adolescents also mentioned obeying the law, participating in civic life, or supporting environmental issues as part of their roles as citizens. Black adolescents included ending police profiling and intra- and inter-racial violence in society as necessary aspects of citizenship, and learning and teaching others about Black history not taught in schools. In Kwanzaa and Black History Month school-wide assemblies attended by White and Black youth, Black youth presented Black historical and cultural figures like Martin Luther King, Jr. or Maya Angelou in terms of their relationship to personal or collective empowerment, as well as to the reduction of White-on-Black and Black-on-Black violence and self-destructive behaviour.

In essays, speeches and underground newspapers prepared for Black audiences, Black youth presented a greater range of Black figures and themes than they did in mixed race settings. They included the works by King, Maya Angelou and others whom they presented in mixed race settings (Dimitriadis, 2000), but also included more assertive or aggressive speakers and strategies, including those related to

Black separatism and self-determination. In each setting, youth pointed to the marginalisation or misrepresentation of Black history taught in the schools and the absence of discussions of White racism. Several saw it as an integral part of their responsibility as educated people to teach themselves and other Black youth about Black history.

Implications for teaching

Readers may or may not be surprised by findings of important differences in White and Black children's, adolescents' and adults' perspectives on diversity and democracy in U. S. history, for they are congruent with studies of race-related differences in adults' interpretations of national history and contemporary society (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Nevertheless, this is the first study to document and detail the particularities of a racial divide in children's and adolescents' historical perspectives and of the relative roles of school instruction and mainstream interpretations on the one hand, and family stories and perspectives on national history on the other. Although the teachers in the study included examples of Blacks' and Native Americans' historical experiences, they did so only intermittently and minimized the role of interracial violence. Teacher and text discourses in these areas contributed to the historical information that children and adolescents had acquired by the end of the year, but the teachers had little effect on the students' overall interpretations of diversity and democracy in national history. Family discourses and experiences with racial privilege and marginalization, as well as those that adolescents themselves had encountered, had a greater effect on students' historical interpretations than did those of teachers.

How may teachers become aware of the effects of young people's racial, ethnic, etc. identities on their interpretations of national history? Researchers have begun to analyse how nationality, race-ethnicity and religious affiliation shape and differentiate young people's historical interpretations. In the U. S. researchers have examined Cuban American (Yeager & Terzin, in press) and Mexican American (Almarza, 2001) adolescents' interpretations of national history and/or school history. Like this study, they have found that young people's perspectives are more heavily influenced by family or community views than by those of school teachers or textbooks. With an informed view of how students construct national history—and especially those aspects which are controversial or conflict with mainstream views-- teachers may be able to construct culturally responsive lessons that not only include information about the contributions of different groups to national development, but include marginalised groups' perspectives on their historical experiences in national contexts.

Teachers who are knowledgeable about community perspectives may be more trusted by young people from marginalized racial or ethnic groups and expand the perspectives of students from privileged groups or those who have appropriated privileged groups' perspectives on the past. Reading historical or community based materials written from the perspectives of communities of which students are a part inform teachers of the histories and experiences of community members. And teachers may ask parents, adults from the community, or students directly about their pre-instructional views of historical figures and events like enslavement or Martin Luther King, Jr. to gage the historical explanations and interpretations which students have constructed as family or community members.

Although teaching an honest view of the role of race related conflict, agency on the part of people of colour, White abuse and privilege, and the exclusive nature of rights as means to teach about diversity and democracy in national history may be going against contemporary conservative political standards and assessments, there still are resources for teachers to promote anti-racist approaches to history. Professional development offered by historical organisations may provide more independent views

of history than do state and federal frameworks or organisations. Historical sites, organisations, and websites related to community based organisations and progressive educational organisations like *Rethinking Schools* include lessons which place at the centre of teaching and learning the difficult yet pivotal history of race relations, as well as people's struggles to end violence and achieve greater equality.

Studies also indicate that teachers who adopt instructional approaches that include discussing controversial issues, guidelines for respecting classmates' comments and views, and teacher maintenance of a neutral (although questioning) vs. partisan role, have had some success at creating more tolerant attitudes among adolescents (Avery, 2001). Another study (Fine, 1996) demonstrated that a teacher who encouraged students to engage in further discussion with a classmate who held unpopular political views learned to differentiate between honest and sustained disagreement with the student vis-à-vis his political views and shunning the student socially in and beyond the classroom because of his political views.

There also are projects in which students can engage which enable them to investigate the role of family, community, and national history which reflects, respects and broadens their historical perspectives. Family or community history projects do not just educate children and adolescents about significant actors, events and themes; teachers learn from students about the successes, themes, and ongoing struggles of communities of people with whom their students identify. Visits to historical or community museums, exhibits, or sites and from speakers from the community reflect a teacher who is culturally responsive (Ladson-Billings, 1995) to students' and family members' interests and perspectives. Historical and/or contemporary walking tours of the neighborhoods in which students live also can educate teachers and students about the community's strengths, resources, and needs.

Teaching and learning national history in multicultural democratic societies in an ongoing lifelong task, one that teachers can take on as learners as well as teachers and with openness and courage, rather than with closed and fearful minds and hearts. As a White teacher educator, I have found that most of my efforts to reach across racial or ethnic divides and learn about the perspectives and experiences of international students, students of color, and Muslim students to be greeted with appreciation and treated with respect. Many teachers, like those in this study, avoid teaching about race or other controversial issues for fear of offending students or parents whose identities differ from their own (Levstik, 2000) or because they do not know how to teach about conflict. These fears are real and need to be recognised and addressed. But they also can be overcome, at least in part, by teachers and teacher educators who talk honestly and listen non- judgmentally about racial privilege and subordination in national history and contemporary society and who are willing to learn from the students and adults of the communities they serve.

Endnotes

The findings are based on my manuscript in review at Teachers College Press, entitled *Narrating national history in homes, schools, and communities: The racial divide.*

Correspondence

Terrie Epstein
Associate Professor
Hunter College, Department of Curriculum and Teaching
695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021
tepstein@hunter.cuny.edu

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Object Lessons: Teachers, Historians, Narratives and Inquiry

David Gerwin, Queens College/City University of New York, Flushing, NY, USA

Abstract *This paper focuses on the museum education aspects of a programme designed to improve the teaching of American history in some New York City public schools. The U.S. Department of Education's Teaching American History Grant programme awarded nearly $1 million to a 3-year collaboration between the New-York Historical Society, the Alternative Schools, and Queens College. During three Summers Institutes held each year, historians, history educators, and teachers worked with materials in the New-York Historical Society. One historian interrogated Washington's field cot to get at issues of managing a democratic army and the nature of liberty through the questions and imaginings of teachers. A second historian conducted a walking tour of the collection focusing on three objects, used more as illustrations of his stories rather than inquiry lessons. A university history educator had teachers look at what they learned was a cockroach trap to investigate objects, and also to think about what gets collected in museums, and what anyone knows about 19th century domestic life. A classroom teacher developed a process for having students investigate objects, without the presence of an overall narrative. The continuum along which the historians, history educators, and the lead teachers worked with museum objects could be variously described as one between content and pedagogy, narrative and singular item, object and context, or perhaps novice and expert, but all attempt to find ways to make museum collections accessible to students.*

Enlivening American History through Primary Sources

This paper focuses on the museum education aspects of a program designed to improve the teaching of American history in some New York City public schools. The program, entitled "Enlivening American History through Primary Sources," (hereafter "Enlivening") operated solely through $1 million provided over 3 years by the Teaching American History Grant Program of the United States Department of Education. "Enlivening" out of an existing collaboration between the Department of Secondary Education at Queens College, City University of New York, and the Office of the Superintendent of Alternative Schools of the New York City Board of Education. These partners solicited the involvement of the New-York Historical Society (N-YHS), and their staff played an integral role in developing the grant. The core working group in developing summer institutes or other parts of the programme were academic historians hired from institutions, university history educators from Queens College, museum-based history educators at the N-YHS, and lead teachers (at least 7 years of experience) from the alternative schools.

Our original programme design, proposed to the Department of Education in June 2001, envisioned holding 3 summer institutes per year for teachers, one on each century of U.S. history. The teachers would then bring their students to the New-York Historical Society during the school year. We never realised this vision. After the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center the NYC Board of Education cancelled all field trips, and even in 2002 and later field trips required significant planning and approval. The New-York Historical Society, while taking up half a block, has relatively small exhibit space, and limited educational staff. It can manage one class visit, perhaps two visiting classes at a time, and some school policies prohibited a teacher from leaving without taking at least 3 classes of students, or roughly 90

students. Over the course of the grants perhaps 10 teachers brought at least one class to the historical society.

This paper focuses on how historians, history educators, and teachers worked with museum objects during the Summer Institutes. The continuum along which the historians, history educators, and the lead teachers worked with museum objects could be variously described as one between content and pedagogy, narrative and singular item, object and context, or perhaps novice and expert.

A preliminary vision for using the N-YHS collections

Before discussing what actually happened during the grant period, it is worth re-visiting our rather grandiose vision of what a class might accomplish during a hypothetical visit. Our application proposed to the U.S. Department of Education a sample museum trip tightly connected to a deep analysis of an event in the American Revolution. We wrote,

> By visiting the Historical Society, students and teachers can study the document alongside maps of the period to locate where the Declaration was first read aloud in New York City; accounts in letters and newspapers about the events in New York on this day; fragments of a statue of King George III destroyed by a New York mob after the Declaration was read, along with paintings and prints of this event. This becomes a case study for how people received the news, how this information was received by New Yorkers in contrast to people of other regions, and how Tories fled or Patriots assembled and prepared for war. Students' understanding as citizens of the meaning of the Declaration of Independence deepens, and their appreciation increases for the origins of our nation, who was involved and what the stakes were.
>
> ("Enlivening" proposal, p. 10)

In June 2001 this seemed a reasonable suggestion. In hindsight, the proposal stretches credulity for both school and museum reasons. Few classes spend enough time to carefully read the entire Declaration of Independence. No ordinary class conducts a case study on how citizens in different parts of America heard the news that it had been adopted. Even if such schools existed, are the actual collection items that we mention, maps of the Revolutionary period, accounts in letters and newspapers in New York, fragments of a statue of King George III and paintings and print, worth a museum trip? The maps and accounts are quite easily reproduced, and used in the classroom. Statue fragments, while unique to the Historical Society, don't make the most exciting viewing, and are not necessarily large enough to be compelling to a group of 30, or two groups of 15. The paintings are the only items large enough and potentially startling enough to be a compelling reason to bring a class to the museum, though of course one could show slides to great effect in the classroom. The prints might be interesting, and it would depend on where they were located and how they were displayed to see how well students could work with them. Unless they were mounted, students might either see them on a table in the research library, where any discussion would require incredible self-discipline and low-voices from the students. Or, the prints might be displayed in a back room, along with a painting that is not currently exhibited, and this might provide an inviting space for students to spend time viewing and discussing the prints and paintings. Only in the last scenario does our proposal justify a field trip.

Museum educators might raise additional objections. Assembling the wide variety of materials from different collections described in our proposal requires time from curators and research librarians that simply is not always available. What we intended as an example that might be repeated each week in endless variations

drawing upon the rich holdings of the N-YHS, appears in retrospect as the description of an ambitious, culminating event that teachers, educators and curators might plan together over a summer, and then make available to as many classes as possible during a brief window of a few weeks in the fall or spring. Even that never happened. In the actual grant-funded programme, we usually worked with objects as they were exhibited.

Teaching with objects at N-YHS

How the objects are displayed

The New-York Historical Society holds nearly 40,000 museum objects. The Henry Luce III Center for the Study of American Culture, where they are displayed, takes up much of the museum's 4th floor. Some of the sculptures in the Luce center are in pedestals with room to walk around them, but most of the objects are behind glass in display cases that seem jammed with many items vying for the eye of a visitor. When the N-YHS opened the Center in 2000 they decided not to re-organize the items around historical periods or ideas. Instead, the designers retained the 19th century order by keeping like items in the same display. This means that all of the furniture is together, all of the silver commemorative plates or sculptures are placed together, and memorabilia from Ground Zero at the World Trade Center is displayed next to firefighter and police relics from the past century. This arrangement presents a challenge to anyone using the collection. There is nothing inherent in the display that would assist a teacher planning a class trip in deciding what to view, or, with up to 35 students in a class, how to view it.

Historian Narratives: Inquiry and Illustration

The two institute historians who used the Luce Collection most extensively both honed in on a story as the frame for encountering the object. Richard Bushman, professor of history emeritus at Columbia University, is both a master teacher and a historian for whom work with objects is central to his own practice. *The Refinement of America* (1992) studies the spread of gentility and a notion of democratic self-respect through the appearance of items such as a single silver spoon in probate listings. Professor Bushman worked his magic during Summer Institutes with a unique object at the NY Historical Society said to have been George Washington's camp bed, used at Valley Forge (Luce Collection, **#871.8**). Typically he would ask the group to describe the cot. People observed that it came in 3 parts, it didn't look too stable, it seemed pretty short for someone as tall as George Washington, and that overall it wasn't too impressive. Bushman stayed with those points, helping people elaborate them, look more closely at the stability, try to estimate the length in feet, and to imagine what it would be like to get into the bed and try to sleep. Then he would ask, why do you think that the head of a democratic army would have such a bed? What would it mean? What were the other options? Could he have slept on the ground? What about a more elegant or comfortable bed? What kind of dignity might Washington have conveyed by sleeping in the portable bed? What kind of balance might he have been striking between sleeping on the ground and sleeping in some sort of fancy bed?

Bushman also helped teachers think about unseen beds. What did the army sleep on when it set out? Most people guessed the ground and he told us that we were right. What did we suppose the British officers slept on, or the generals? Would the army have known how the British general slept? Who carried that camp bed for Washington? Who would have made his bed at home in Mt. Vernon? Did Washington have a slave in camp? Could it have been possible in the democratic army?

Starting from that one object Bushman managed to open up a world of questions and contradictions about a democratic army fighting for liberty while holding slaves, and draw some contrasts with the British army, full of conscripts and mercenaries, but also offering freedom to slaves who fought on their side. Bushman drew upon decades of knowledge of the revolution in constructing this inquiry around the cot. There is no guide to the piece that provides the sort of background necessary for that close engagement with a single object as a pathway to such broad questions about the revolutionary war and its narrative. Bushman also developed his pedagogy. Many historians who possess detailed knowledge of the American Revolution could not have sustained that discussion around a single cot or used it to develop major themes of the war.

Ed O'Donnell, our 19th century historian and a gifted storyteller with popular (2004, 2006), as well as scholarly books to his credit approached the Luce Collection as he might have approached a section of city blocks to plan a walking tour. This is not so surprising, since in the course of working his way through graduate school he founded one of the most successful walking tour companies in New York City, Big Onion (2002).

Key stops on the 19th century journey included a draft wheel (**1865.6)**, a New York City ballot box **(1919.10ab)**, and a jug and stopper representing the Tweed Ring (**1906.6ab)**. The draft wheel, made for the first mandatory call up in U.S. history, was used on July 13, 1863 in New York City. The wealthy were not affected by the draft, since they could pay $300 and be exempt. Anyone who could not afford the extension would have to take their chances with the draft. If their names were drawn, they had to serve. The draft was not popular in working class New York City, and opposition to the draft lead to the worst riots in the city's history. Ed could tell spellbinding stories about the draft riots, but they did not depend on the wheel. He could use the wheel to invoke the draft, and to ask students to imagine the crowd outside the draft office, or the names being called and listed. But he did not have any questions about the construction of the wheel, why it was wood, what other ways it might have been made, or comparisons to other drafts wheels, or ways of choosing people. The draft wheel was an illustration, a talisman, an aid to the imagination, an incarnation of the past, but not a pathway into the past through inquiry.

The ballot box provided more scope for guessing, but not for inquiry. Professor O'Donnell liked standing by the display case and smiling as teachers stared at the object on the shelf and tried to guess what it was. A smaller draft bowl, for hand drawings? A fortune teller's wheel? A goldfish bowl? No one ever guessed that the transparent glass sphere with the hole in the top was a ballot box. The teachers were used to voting privately in booths, turning knobs and pulling a lever, walking out with a recorded vote but complete privacy. O'Donnell spoke about the symbolism of transparency and seeing democracy at work as the ballots piled up in the bowl. Yet he also explained how easily it was corrupted, holding up pictures of the distinctively shaped and differently coloured official ballots printed up by the political parties themselves. He graphically demonstrated how an enforcer for the Tammany Hall political party could stand by the doorway and see exactly what ballot a voter dropped into the sphere. He also had an illustration from Harper's Weekly showing Victoria Woodhull fighting for the right to vote for women, with a spherical ballot box in the background. By letting teachers guess the purpose of the object Ed O'Donnell sparked their interest, and focused their attention on that glass bowl, a transparent object that effectively symbolizes differences in our thinking about a fair vote. The story came from Ed O'Donnell, rather than from questions about who voted, how people voted, or other current voting booth designs. Once the ballot box helped O'Donnell describe the power of the Tweed Ring, a political party that both stole vast sums of money from the public (Riordan, 1995) and represented the working class, it

was natural to see the marvelous stopper and jug presented to Thomas Nast, a cartoonist whose anti-Tammany cartoons helped turn public opinion against Boss Tweed. The stopper depicted Tweed and some of his chief aides as heads atop the bodies of snakes. The jug is an interesting piece, no one has seen anything like it, and Ed provides many of Nast's cartoons for the teachers to pass around as he talks. The technique of standing in front of a statute or building or object, having some discussion about it, followed by the story of the historical event further illustrated by cartoons or articles from Harpers Weekly, is one that Ed O'Donnell perfected in his walking tours and it transferred well to museum education.

Both historians used objects to "tell stories," but in two different senses of the phrase. O'Donnell's stories fit comfortably within the tradition that Barton and Levstik (2004, p. 130) identify as narrative, a chain of events linked by cause and effect revolving around an actor, action, a scene, and an intent. Through three objects O'Donnell moves from telling a political and social history story of immigration and politics in New York City that begins with the draft riots and ends with the collapse of the Tweed Ring. The story of the cot that Bushman crafts with the group is not, in Barton and Levstik's terms, a narrative as such, but rather an attempt to analyze what life was like at a particular point in the American Revolution (139). Whatever mini-narratives about Washington's life or Valley Forge arise during the conversation are subordinated to analysis of liberty and democracy in the army and in the broader society at a specific point in time.

History Educator and Lead Teacher: Process and Inquiry

Jack Zevin, a social studies education professor at Queens College, emphasised inquiry, without a focused historical narrative. He has accumulated a life-time of experience with inquiry education, publishing transcripts and analysis of student investigations, such as two days spent examining a Sumerian statute (Massialas and Zevin, 1983). His favorite object (**1937.1729**) looks a bit like a bee-hive. The colour of a light, unglazed brown clay on the outside, with circular ridges from top to bottom, and a small hole at the bottom, it proved pretty resistant to teacher guesses. Jack had them pay attention to the materials, and they concluded that it looked like cheaper clay, not like the expensive pieces visible nearby. It seemed fairly mass produced. After getting a good description of the piece and many guesses on its use, he started to ask where it might be used and why, again helping the teachers think through possibilities. They suggested that it looked like a functional object rather than a decorative one, something for daily use rather than a special occasion. Again, Zevin used the object itself to send teachers looking to other cases in order to check what more identifiable objects looked like, what a 19th century decorative object looked like compared to a daily use one, or a cheap piece of ceramic compared to an expensive one. When Zevin revealed that the object was a cockroach trap, where the inside would have molasses to attract roaches who could climb the ribbed, unglazed outside but got stuck on the inside, smooth and glazed surface, they were shocked and delighted. What was a roach trap doing in a fancy museum alongside silver service and Tiffany lamps? With this opening Jack Zevin indulged his other favorite hobby, inciting arguments. Within a few minutes teachers were talking about what gets collected and why, scratching their heads to think about what they knew of the day-to-day aspects of 19th century life beyond listing things that people did not have (refrigerators, cars), trying to articulate the difference between social history as a field focusing on working conditions and battles over the 8 hour day and a social history that would include knowledge of rats and roaches in the home. Through questions about the object he opened a window onto domestic life and social history, and prompted reflection on the nature of what gets collected and whose stories are told in museums and in history classes.

Chris Lagares, a lead teacher, moved away from stories completely, and developed a process allowing a class to visit without the teachers or students knowing anything in advance about a single object. Each person got a worksheet, and split up into groups of four, each assigned to a separate region of the Luce Center. The instructors told each person to pick an object, and try to guess its function. There was space on the worksheet to describe the object, including color materials, type (plate, sculpture, painting, lamp), and who might have used it. After observing as much as possible and trying to name the object, describe its owners, function and significance, the sheet directed the participant to look up the object in the Luce catalogue and find out if the guesses were correct. After knowing the owners and function the worksheet directed the group to return to the objects and look again for any clues to the function that they might have overlooked, and then to present the objects to each other, having them guess about the objects and helping them look at it closely. Afterwards, each group chooses one person to present his or her object to the entire class.

Zevin's presentation lacked facts and dates, beyond general information about the 19th century, so he had no historical narrative. As an inquiry, it involved as close a look at the roach trap as anyone took at Washington's camp bed, and repeatedly sent the teachers out to re-examine other objects in the collection. The kinds of questions that Zevin posed about the types of 19th century narratives that the teachers knew, and his ability to nurture an argument about them, draw upon a research literature as extensive in education and history education as the literature of the American Revolution that Bushman synthesized (Linenthal & Englehardt, 1996; Lowenthal, 1998; Sterns, Sexias & Wineburg, 2000). In engaging these questions Zevin used the object to invoke a variety of 19th century narratives, and an analysis of historical society collection practices. The generic worksheet Lagares devised did not lead specifically to a clash of any particular historical narratives, 19th century or otherwise, nor did it question how objects arrived in the collection. Rather, it managed a class of 30 or 35 students, without any expectation that anyone would have prior experience working with objects. A masterful teacher, he constructed a pedagogic approach around the event of being in a museum and encountering original objects.

Reflections on four approaches

The worksheet Lagares constructed might be criticised as a content free "pedagogic" item, although no object is ever free of content that has implications for what it will teach or students might learn (Segall, 2004). Instead, I'd praise his approach, for like those of the historians and the history educator, it embodied a concern for teaching a disciplinary approach to the items, guiding students through the kinds of questions curators ask about objects, connecting them with the museum catalogue, and engaging them in a process leading up to a question about the item's significance (Bain & Ellenbogen, 2002, 161-163). One could fairly describe all four approaches as inviting learners, whether students or fellow teachers, into a community of inquiry (Sexias, 1993) working with the language and particular disciplinary encounter with historical knowledge and history teaching favoured by each expert. Bushman's sustained inquiry led to an analytic history of a particular moment in time, O'Donnell's 3 objects illustrated, authenticated, embodied his social and political narrative of 19th century New York City life, while Zevin's focus on a single object led to a meta-narrative about the historical narratives taught in school or type of objects (and therefore lives and narratives) collected in museums. Lagares introduced the tools for working with objects in a disciplinary way that might lead to any of these narratives. In the experience of our programme, while Bushman worked with the cot from the first summer, Zevin and O'Donnell developed their polished inquiries in the third summer, after first encountering their objects by using Lagares' worksheet alongside the teachers in the second summer institutes.

Other Approaches to the N-YHS Collections

During the 3 years of the project, three exhibits attracted particular teacher attention, enough to spark a class visit or two. First, a display of stereotyped "black Mamie" commercial objects, such as "Aunt Jemima" syrup or "Uncle Ben" rice. Second, a room of 19th century children's board games, some openly racist, others including death or suicide in a version of the "Game of Life." Last, a collection of photographs by Milton Rogovin of steel workers at home and on the job in Buffalo, NY from the 1950s through to the 1980s attracted several classes. All of these exhibitions contained objects with immediate pull, and in the case of the photographs and stereotyped objects, immediate visual appeal and a clear narrative, rather than the massive presence of objects in Luce. In these exhibits curators had already completed the work we described in our vision for a museum visit, and the objects were all extraordinary enough and displayed in a manner that teachers felt would hold student attention. They were also all associated with aspects of social history that were underrepresented in textbooks.

Teachers and staff found solutions to bring the museum to students. The response to the games exhibit was strong enough that Mikal Muharrar of the N-YHS arranged for a special set of reproductions of three games, allowing teachers from the institutes to use the games in their classrooms long after the exhibit was dismantled. Teachers inspired by a series of broadsides, paintings, and miniatures related to the Golden Hill Riots, a New York City version of the "Boston Massacre" that preceded it by six weeks, found that a walking tour of lower Manhattan provided a better setting for their class. Lead teachers Avram Barlowe worked with Muharrar on reproducing broadsides, maps, paintings and prints to create a thick packet of materials for the students to take along with them on a walking tour. Teachers and students retraced the path of the riots, walking through the financial district as they tried to envision the city of 30,000 people that stood there in the past. Bringing the exhibit materials outdoors provided a larger canvass for the materials to help students see the past (Barlowe, 2004). The streets of Lower Manhattan could flexibly accommodate different class sizes, and whenever a teacher received permission for a field trip, the streets were always open and available.

The exhibits that drew teachers, rather than disparate objects in the permanent collections, were not simple, but told complex stories through objects that had an immediate visual appeal and grabbed attention without the presence of a master storyteller. They solved the "problem" of students at a exhibition in one way. Bringing games to the classroom, or materials on a walking tour, presented another solution to the puzzle of drawing on the museum collections in extraordinary ways that engaged students.

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Exploring the potential for history and citizenship education with primary children at the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol

Penelope Harnett, University of the West of England, Bristol, United Kingdom

Abstract *This paper raises issues concerning learning and teaching about the British Empire and Commonwealth and suggests reasons why this area is an important one for children to learn about. Here it echoes recent concerns about the relatively absent role of Imperialism in the English National Curriculum for History. The paper analyses how the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol attempts to construct the narrative of Empire and takes into account different interpretations and alternative viewpoints within its collection. The potential for using the museum as a resource for learning history and citizenship is described through analysis of case studies emanating from primary school children working with postgraduate primary trainees at the museum.*

Primary school children learning about the British Empire and Commonwealth

It might be argued that learning about the Empire and Commonwealth has little relevance for primary school children in the twentieth first century. Unlike previous generations of primary aged children, brought up on imperial stories proclaiming British supremacy, some might suggest that present day children need to focus on Britain's shared heritages with Europe to foster European consciousness. In this respect, the narratives within such books as H.E. Marshall's (1920) Our Island Story and its sister volume, Our Empire Story could be seen as outdated; too focused on the elite with scant regard for the lives of ordinary people living within the Empire. Whilst they are exciting narratives for young children, they provide only one interpretation of the imperial story, a straightforward account of Britain extending its influence in search of more markets and stretching its civilizing influence across the globe. Views expressed by key architects of the Empire at its height such as Cecil Rhodes remark that, 'the British are the finest race in the world, and the more of the world they inhabit, the better it will be for mankind' (Cannadine 2001 :5), and the social Darwinist beliefs which gave legitimacy to British domination do not chime with current education beliefs on equality of opportunities and human rights.

Traditional interpretations of the imperial story have been increasingly questioned. As the Empire fragmented, the attention of historians turned to studying the history of both the rulers and the ruled. The history of particular regions became more popular and newly independent nations sought to investigate their own past researching the histories of their own peoples under imperial rule. More recently, new approaches to the history of Empire have been enriched by studies based on analysis of culture, gender, race and language.

However, Cannadine argues that neither traditional nor more recent interpretations provide sufficient evidence of the lived realities of imperial life. Traditional interpretations he claims focus too exclusively on the Empire as a distinct entity, separated from the social, economic and cultural history of Britain at the time which created the motivation for the development and extension of the imperial ideal. Similarly, he argues that recent scholars focusing on peripheral histories tend to disregard the significance Britain in the longer histories of their nations or to, ' settle for a cardboard caricature of British omnipotence and imperial wickedness' (Cannadine 2001:xvii).

Cannadine's view is that British imperial history needs to connect both the history of Britain, the lives and aspirations of people living within the metropole together with those of people living within the dominions overseas. He draws attention to the 'vast interconnected world', of the Empire and to how different communities interacted with each other within cultural, social, political and economic spheres. The history of Britain is central to the history of Empire whether viewed from a metropolitan or peripheral perspective.

Studying the British Empire and Commonwealth within the history National Curriculum in England

This view of Empire has implications for history educators planning work for primary aged children. The English history National Curriculum at Key Stage 2 (children aged 7-11 years) states children should be taught about either Victorian Britain or Britain since the 1930s in its Programme of Study ((DfEE:1999). The growth, consolidation and dissolution of Empire and the formation of the Commonwealth were key developments throughout these periods. Empire molded the way people in Britain saw themselves and Britain's relationships with the rest of the world. The influence of Empire and later the Commonwealth continues to pervade through many aspects of life: advertising; the introduction of different foods and new words to the English language and different cultural customs. Both Empire and Commonwealth have provided a context for the movements of people across the world in search of a better life away from and also within Britain. Such movements have been reliant on developing systems of communications and transportation. The impact of Empire and the Commonwealth has thus been considerable and it is important that children should know something of this story.

Studying the British Empire and Commonwealth provides opportunities for many children to investigate their own roots and those of their families. Many children presently at school can explain their presence in Britain from Empire and Commonwealth heritages. Children whose families might not have direct links with countries overseas also need to appreciate these connections with the Empire and Commonwealth. Some children might also be able to trace the stories of family members who moved from Britain to find work overseas. The Empire and Commonwealth provided the motivation for the movement of peoples both to and from Britain for a considerable period of time.

Some aspects of Empire history might also be very painful to remember; for example the British involvement in the enslavement and shipping of millions of men, women and children from Africa across to the Caribbean. The stories of these people need to be remembered – however painful their history cannot be forgotten.

The history Programme of Study (DfEE:1999) states children should gain knowledge and understanding of events, people and changes in the past including the different beliefs, attitudes and experiences of men, women and children. It emphasises the importance of historical enquiry through encouraging children to raise questions about the past and selecting information from different sources of evidence such as documents, pictures and photographs, music, artifacts, historic buildings and visits to museums and other historic sites. Central to the construction of historical accounts is the requirement that children be taught to recognize that the past is represented and interpreted in different ways and to give reasons for this.

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol provides a range of opportunities to develop children's knowledge, skills and understanding of these different aspects of the history National Curriculum.

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol

The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum was opened in Bristol in 2002. Controversy surrounded its development; many people were ambivalent and even hostile to the notion of a museum telling the story of Empire. However, the Museum has received much praise from a range of commentators and was a finalist in the European Museum of the Year award in 2004 and is currently being short listed for the Museums and Heritage Awards for Excellence in 2005. Part of its success may be attributed to the wide range of people who have been involved in its development and the particular involvement of local community groups as well as distinguished academics.

A further reason for its success is the attempt by the Museum to recognise the multiplicity of different viewpoints and consequent interpretations of Empire and Commonwealth history. As you enter the museum there is a large screen with people who originated from different parts of the world talking about what the Empire and Commonwealth means to them. Walking around the museum visitors are encouraged to develop their own interpretations and responses to the materials, and at the end of their visit they may choose to record their own impressions of the Empire and Commonwealth in the museum's radio room. We have here a continuing history; the recognition that stories of the past are constructed from a range of different viewpoints and that the story of the Empire and Commonwealth is never complete, but continues to evolve and be re-configured as fresh contributions are made.

The museum provides a narrative explaining the development of the British Empire and Commonwealth and explores different themes across periods of time. The chronological account is divided within three main phases; the building of the Empire (1480-1800); the Empire at its height (1800-1900) and the move from Colonialism to Commonwealth (1900- present). Themes addressed within these phases encompass a broad range of perspectives. They include monopolies, trading companies, enslaved labour, humanitarian ideas and post colonial immigration to Britain. The legacy of Empire is addressed in terms of cultural exchange – food, music, dance and language for example, all of which continue to impact on our lives today. Displays include artifacts, archive film footage, oral history stations and original and facsimile documents. There are 'hands on' interactive and dressing up areas.

Whilst the Museum recounts the grand narrative, personal stories are not neglected. Visitors learn of the individual accounts of convicts transported to Australian penal settlements; they can read the account by Louis Asa-Asa from West Africa of her capture and subsequent enslavement. The relationship between ruled and rulers is also explored. For people living in the mother country, the impact of the Empire on ways of life and ways in which they perceived themselves is depicted in displays relating to advertising, music, books and tourism. The voices of people living under imperial rule are also included. Several displays relate to contemporary issues; the effects of people on the environment in different countries; aspects of fair trade and political issues such as the different attempts to solve conflict in the Near East.

The museum presents a range of different viewpoints which is particularly challenging for many primary school teachers. Monitoring and evaluation evidence suggests that many teachers require support in understanding the nature of historical interpretations and how they may be developed through activities in the classroom (QCA:2005). In this respect, the museum offers a useful resource.

Citizenship education and the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum

The National Curriculum includes non-statutory guidelines for Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) and Citizenship for children between the ages of 5-11

years. The Citizenship guidelines focus on three key strands; political literacy, social and moral responsibility and community involvement. These three strands may map onto important historical concepts and processes which are described by Claire (2004: 129). Examples of some of the relationships between historical concepts and key issues in citizenship are outlined below.

- Changes and continuities – does change/continuity represent progress/standstill/ regression? How might changes be used to improve society?

- Causes and consequences – what are the causes for these changes or continuities and their effects? Who benefits?

- Historical enquiry – what can we find out from this evidence and how do we know?

- Historical interpretation – what do we or other people say about this evidence/causes/ consequences?

- Empathy – what might it have been like to be this person?

- Communication of knowledge and understanding – how can we explain what we have found out to other people? Presenting different points of view and opinions.

As children worked in the museum there were different opportunities to explore some of these historical concepts and their connections with citizenship education.

Case study material connecting children's learning in history and citizenship

The following case study material describes ways in which children engaged with these citizenship strands as they worked in the museum galleries. The examples derive from work undertaken by postgraduate primary teacher trainees with children at the end of their first term on their one year certificate course. Trainees are expected to plan a series of activities based on the museum's collection for groups of children aged 6-11 years from an inner city primary school. The children have a range of cultural and ethnic backgrounds; some originate from the Caribbean, others from the Indian sub continent and Africa and more recently some are recent refugees, most notably from Somalia.

a) Changes and continuities – developing awareness of different lifestyles.

One group of trainees used the collections within the museum to explore the lives of different people living within the Empire. They chose to focus on the lives of an Inuit woman from Canada; an Australian aborigine and a British soldier stationed in East Africa. Children were asked to find out about these people's lives; their food, clothing, shelter and ways of life. They contrasted different people's experiences and compared them with their own lives today.

Children were able to investigate the life styles of different social groups within a wider community. As they made comparisons they began to develop their awareness of key features of human societies – the need for food, shelter and safety and how different communities organized themselves. In terms of citizenship education this might be developed further in encouraging children to question the advantages and disadvantages of different lifestyles and how they might be improved.

b) Empathising with people living in the past

Trainees used the galleries to investigate the story of the Pilgrim Fathers sailing away from England in the seventeenth century to colonise North America. Children investigated some of the challenges which the early settlers met when they arrived in

North America. They were asked to reflect on the following questions and write/draw their responses in feely envelopes.

How would you feel if…

* strangers took away things that were special to you?

* someone changed your home without asking?

* someone hurt your friends and family?

* you had to leave your home?

* your new home was strange or different?

* you could not take all your belongings with you?

Trainees were surprised by the degree of empathy with which children were able to take into account other people's feelings. They also gained a unique understanding of the extent to which personal experience colours perceptions of the past; several children working in this group were refugees from Somalia who explained their happiness in leaving their home and moving to a new place – a response which had been unexpected by the trainees when they first planned the activity.

c) Exploring causes and consequences of change and questioning who benefits

Another group of trainees created a storyboard which described the arrival and subsequent colonization of Australia by the British. Good use was made of the different artifacts within the Museum to compare and contrast the different lifestyles Trainees involved the children in a re-enactment of an imaginary encounter between the Australian aborigines and British soldiers. The role play permitted the children to explore the different viewpoints of people involved in the encounter. As aborigines, children commented on the 'silly clothes' of the British, and they also pointed out the unfairness of the encounter when the British turned their guns on them.

In terms of whom benefited from the encounter, the trainees explained how the Aborigines lost many of their rights. They were only permitted to vote in 1967 and their fight to reclaim lost lands was only recognized in 1992 when their first legal battle to reclaim land was won. In this instance, the historical context provide a good opportunity to explore issues linked with social justice and citizenship.

Using the past to challenge existing thinking and initiate action

Children watched a video about Roy Hackett, a Bristolian who had come to Britain from the West Indies after the second world war. Roy described his reception in Bristol; the difficulties he had in finding work and accommodation and the racism which he had encountered. The trainees felt that Roy's story raised several sensitive issues and they used Roy's experiences to question the children as to whether racism still existed in Bristol. The children, whose families had originated in Jamaica, Somalia and Pakistan were not surprised by Roy's experiences and they rejected the idea that racism was less evident today.

Examples of graffiti in the local playground and the park bench with 'Pakis go home', engraved on it were described. The trainees encouraged the children to consider the importance of respect for and acknowledgement of differences between people. At the same time, they also began to question their own positions as teachers who were unfamiliar with the racist incidents which their children perhaps might meet on a daily basis. Trainees recognized the complexity of issues involved, but also felt it was

important to initiate action to address them. In this respect, Roy's story was the starting point for developing thinking on taking action to address social injustice.

Connecting history and citizenship education

The above examples illustrate different levels of engagement linking historical understanding and citizenship education which are summarised in the table below.

Historical example	Level of engagement with citizenship education
Changes and continuities – developing awareness of different lifestyles	Similarities and differences between communities – considering advantages and disadvantages
Empathising with people living in the past	Developing respect for different points of view
Exploring the causes and consequences of change	Questioning who benefits from changes? Is it fair?
Using the past to challenge existing thinking and to initiate action	Respecting individuals. Political literacy and presenting your own point of view to support social justice.

These examples provide some indication of ways in which history connects with citizenship. These connections were developed through children's active engagement in enquiries within the museum. In this respect the museum provided a rich learning resource which children could only capitalize on through an actual visit and work on site.

Correspondence

Dr Penelope Harnett, Faculty of Education, University of the West of England, Bristol

Penelope.Harnett@uwe.ac.uk

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Integrating Museum Education and School History: Illustrations from the RCR Museum and London Museum of Archaeology

Stéphane Levesque, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario Canada

Abstract *The pertinence of museums and how they educate students are central to any discussion of their educational role, function and effectiveness. The University of Western Ontario has been exploring how best to integrate museum education into the training and professional development of student history teachers in the context of the 'Ontario, Canadian and World Studies' curriculum. Students have experienced two widely contrasting museums in the City of London [Ontario], the Jury Museum and the Royal Canadian Regimental museum. The two museums reflect diametrically contrasting cultural, social and community orientations and interests. The Jury Museum is based upon the Jury family's private collection of anthropological and archaeological artifacts that encapsulates an interest in local heritage that extends from prehistoric times. In contrast, the Royal Canadian Regimental museum reflects the institutional and collective identity of an organization with a clear identity, role and purpose embodied in an historical continuum. The paper explores the relative educational role and value that these two museums can play in terms of the wider educational agenda: both substantively in terms of knowledge transfer and syntactically vis a vis educational experience and learning.*

Introduction

William Wilfrid Jury, better known as "Wilf" Jury, was not a particularly fervent student. This English Canadian of Southwestern Ontario quitted school after grade 7 and enrolled in the Navy in 1914 to serve the British Empire during the First World War. Having just escaped from the most powerful man-made explosion in Halifax in 1917, Wilf later contracted tuberculosis and was discharged for medical reasons in 1918. He immediately returned home where he spent the next seven years in a sanatorium.

It is during this period that Wilf developed a keen interest in Native history, and archival collection and excavation. His father, Amos, had already started a small collection of Native artefacts that were found on the family farming property near London, Ontario. As the time past, the "Jury collection" had grown to such an extent that Wilf became one of the most recognized and influential self-taught archaeologists in the region – and beyond. While he is most remembered today for his vast excavation projects in "Huronia" – a large Native territory on the Georgian Bay where Jesuits missionaries has established a mission in the 1600s – it is the Museum of Archaeology and Pre-history – better known at the London Museum of Archaeology (LMA) – that now serve as the repository of the Jury family legacy. Situated on the Lawson Prehistoric Indian Village, a site occupied by the Neutral Indians in the 15th century A.D., the museum "is devoted to the study, display, and interpretation of the human occupation of South Western Ontario over the past 11,000 years" (London Museum of Archaeology). Affiliated to the University of Western Ontario, the Museum has four missions:

- To provide knowledge, education, leadership, expertise, and innovation in and/or about archaeology, Native prehistory and early history in Southern

Ontario to the academic, educational, public, Native, museological, business and industrial communities;

- To collect, record, preserve, and display artefacts and data on local heritage;

- To identify, document, research, excavate, and/or preserve archaeological sites as heritage resources and to increase public awareness of the non-renewable nature of these resources;

- To be a contributing member to the work and community services of the University of Western Ontario (UWO). (London Museum of Archaeology)

At the same time as the Jury family developed interests in museological history, the city of London witnessed the formation of another organization – with a radically different mission – wishing also to preserve, present, and communicate their collective memory and history. The Royal Canadian Regiment (RCR) was officially formed on December 21, 1883 when the Canadian government issued General Order no. 26. Wolseley Barracks, the actual edifice of the museum, was the first building constructed specifically for the Canadian army troops during the period 1883-1886. As the oldest English Canadian Regiment rapidly engaged in various domestic and international missions and conflicts (North West Rebellion, Boer War, WWI, etc.), it became apparent that the RCR needed a regimental museum "to recognize the concept by which a regiment functions - the participation of its members in an hierarchical, yet benevolent military structure which places strong emphasis on the well-being of its members; and to ensure that the sacrifice and service of the past is displayed in the present and preserved for the future" (Royal Canadian Regiment Museum).

At the same time as the Regiment progressively served Canada at home and abroad, and became recipient of no less than 54 battle honours, so has the RCR museum expended by collecting more evidence of its members' service and operations. From Louis Riel's Rebellion at Batoche, through to Lieutenant Milton F. Gregg's Victoria Cross at Vimy Ridge, to General Charles Foulke's acceptance of the German surrender in 1945, to peacekeeping in Rwanda, Kosovo and elsewhere, the Museum now holds 14 different displays as well as virtual and on-site historical programmes for both adults and students. A constituent of the Canadian Forces Museums, the RCR museum has been assigned five goals:

- To serve as a training medium to teach regimental history;

- To preserve regimental history through the collection of documents, pictures, books, and artefacts with emphasis on the RCR;

- To serve as a place of military interest for the public and Canadian Forces personnel;

- To provide research facilities for the study of Canadian military history as represented by the South-Western Ontario Regiments and the accumulated collections; and

- To display and illustrate in an appropriate manner the dress, weapons, and customs of the Canadian military heritage dating from 1883. (Royal Canadian Regiment Museum)

While serving fundamentally different organizations, both local museums have a mandate to educate the public in their history, heritage, and institutional life. With decreased public funding in the last decades (10% down in the last 10 years alone across Canada), it is understandable that both see public schools as a non-negligible audience – and source of revenues – necessary to their survival and flourishing (Canadian Museum Association, 2004).

In a context where Canadian museums in general, and these two local museums in particular, are trying to make themselves more viable and, by the same occasion, reach out more extensively local school communities, two key questions come to mind as a history educator: What is the educational *pertinence* of museums? How do museums *educate* history students? These two far-from-revolutionary questions implicitly hold centre stage in teachers' instructional planning. Integrating community resources, such as the LMA and the RCR museum, has long been recognized by "experiential" educators as a valuable learning instrument because, in Dewey's words, it involves the "active relations… between human beings and their natural and social surroundings" (Dewey, 1916, p. 274). But what is the exact pertinence of museums for Ontario history educators? Do they really educate students? In what ways?

I will try to answers these questions in light of my teacher-education experience at UWO with student teachers. To do so, I will present qualitative data from a personal questionnaire distributed to this year to student teachers (participants n=33), in which they were asked to comment on their "educational" experience at the museum in light of their visits and classroom lesson on museum education.

The educational purpose of museums

As part of their in-service education, history student teachers at UWO study the importance and usefulness of experiential learning and museum education. Following in-class reading and discussion on the topic, students (voluntarily) participate in selected field trip activities at the end of year. Included in these field trips are visits to the LMA and the RCR museum. As both museums have interests and involvement in post-secondary education in the region, the links that the faculty of education has established over the years contribute to better mutual understanding (through networking) and staff development and training – as graduates of UWO often work at these institutions.

The current Ontario Canadian and World Studies curriculum (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005) is based on a constructivist, inquiry-based approach to the various disciplines. It is designed to allow students to engage in a variety of learning strategies that include "fieldworks (including data collection)" and "independent research." The curriculum guides point out that these strategies should emphasise the need to recognise that Canadian and world studies "are not just school subjects but fields of knowledge that affect their lives, their communities, and the world" (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 21). More specifically, the guidelines stress the experiential need "to include visits from guest speakers and trips to local museums, archeological digs, geographical features (e.g., land formations, rivers), art galleries, and festivals" (Ibid.). "Students," the document goes on, "develop better understanding of various aspects of Canadian and world studies when they experience them first hand… (Ibid.).

It is in this context that student teachers are introduced to history education and experiential learning in Ontario school history. It is also with the belief that museums can sometimes be more effective, or at least serve to complete, educators in their Canadian and world history teaching by presenting a more authentic environment; an environment that has the potential to increase their interest, motivation, and knowledge of the subject in question, be it war, native studies, archaeology, or peace-keeping (see Hein, 1998, pp. 14-40).

In the questionnaire distributed to student teachers, all participants without exception commented on the *value* and *relevance* of their visit and (potential) future use of the museums as educators. Some students emphasised the clear connection between the content, displays, and activities of the museums and the various curricular

objects, while others talked about the unique nature, tangible experience, and authenticity of the sites in question.

> Museums bring history to life – seeing models, artefacts, videos, etc. in a setting outside the classroom. (French imm. student)

> History, especially grade 10 Canadian. For the Units on WWI, and WWII. I thought they had the most information and were varied in scope so that something would interest everyone. (History/Ind.&Soc. student)

> Mainly for history courses – roles of Natives and archaeology. It seems as if it would be a good fit with the grade10 history course but I agree that we can fit it into many courses. (History/English student)

Some student teachers also commented on the applied nature of the museum (more "hands-on"), especially the LMA. This was particularly evident when students talked about "applied" history and geography classes in which students are expected to achieve the so-called "application" level of thinking as defined in Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives.

> Fits well for either history or geography. My grade nine applied class could have come here and they would have loved it. (History/art student)

> For grade10 history, even . It provides a different educational experience for different learners. (Geography/history student)

> Museums give students an opportunity to see actual historical items. Lots of hands-on experience. Student will enjoy and take home these experiences. (History/phys. ed. student)

Also interesting here is the background of student teachers. Surveys conducted in England, Canada, and elsewhere (see Hooper-Greenhill, 1994a, Statistics Canada, 2005) over the last decades suggest that students and upper socio-economic class people form a dominant group of visitors as they tend to be over-represented in proportion to their overall number in the population (up to 30% for students and over 50% for upper-class in terms of overall visits in Britain, Cooper-Greenhill, 1994b). Related to this is the level of formal education, which is a key variable in indicating who is likely to become a future museum visitor. Lack of museum experience or unpleasant past experiences can affect people's relations to museums. Put differently, those who have had positive experiences in the past and/or higher education are more likely to visit museums and see them as educational and/or entertaining.

My student teachers seem to support these findings. Two thirds of them mentioned having prior museum understanding and experience before visiting the RCR museum and the LMA. Some even indicated having museum working experience. Perhaps more interesting, while a third of them reported having "no" or "bad" museum experience, notably in school, almost all of them indicated in the survey that they enjoyed their visit and would clearly see educational benefits in bringing their students back to the museum in question. Those who stated they would not make use of the museums were students originally from outside Southwestern Ontario who viewed the RCR museum and LMA as essentially "local" museums that would not be possible to visit if working in their home school community.

> Were I to remain in London, I would consider this museum. Its size is conducive to learning and its specific purpose – war museum – to the study of grade 8 and 10 history (Rebellion of 1885, Boer War, WWI, WWII and the Korean Conflict). (French imm. Student)

> I personally love them [museums], but they were a bit boring in school. I was too young, I think. High school (grade 10) is a good time. (History/Marketing student)

> Museums were boring! And I like history (History/Business student)

> Very little experience [of museum]. Too many strikes and lots of trips cancelled… (Science student)

> I haven't had much experience with museums. I am very familiar with the ROM in Toronto. But after this tour, I can see however smaller museums can be very useful for educational purposes. (Ind.&Soc/Marketing student)

If the level of education, socio-economic status, and experiences of museums can (and do) affect people's relations to museum (present and future), the *positionality* or perspective with which they approach these sites of memory and history can change fundamentally their prior ideas and perceptions. The fact they are now beginning teachers looking for (new?) ways of making history, archaeology, or native studies more interesting and relevant to their students can reorient them or provide a new layer/lens for analysing the purpose of museum education.

Educational programmes in museums

I have noted that museums are recognised explicitly by the Ontario curriculum for their educational usefulness. Student participants have also stressed, in light of their two visits, the "enjoyable" and "applied" significance of museums in the context of school history, geography, and related social sciences. Yet, museums have a variety of educational programmes and school services to offer, ranging from formal tours through to guest-speakers, to teaching kits and digs, many of which were aspects of the RCM museum and LMA programs. I have indicated earlier that both institutions have some connections with post-secondary education in London, and both curators have reported strong interest in meeting school curriculum demands, notably in hiring part-time or full-time educational staff. Saying this is not to say, however, that the approaches taken by the two museums are identical.

On the one hand, the RCR museum has implicitly adopted educational programs very much in line with its mandate, that is, to display and illustrate Canadian military heritage and regimental history. As such, the traditional exhibit- layout on two levels in the historical building, plays a key role in educating visitors to Canadian military history. Each of the 14 displays presents a sort of chronological chapter of a larger historical account of the RCR operations over the last 120 years – from the perspective of its members. Elements used to inspire visitors and create a sense of historical empathy and perspective include print and visual artefacts, uniforms, medals, authentic weapons (both Canadian and foreign), and simulated war zones (with light, noise, and even smell effects). To enrich the visit, it is also possible to have RCR veterans as guides. These voluntary regimental members often supplement the "official" version by offering their own take on an issue or display, which are usually extremely illuminating but often unpredictable and difficult to control by teachers and even the curator. The RCR museum has recently integrated new technologies such as a self-guided tour system with audio-recordings, as well as a virtual exhibit presenting some of the displays and current RCR operations (www.rcrmuseum.ca). For school visitors, the museum offers worksheets that are essentially designed for them to "discover" the various aspects and elements of the exhibit while trying to support some of the curriculum expectations. If students are unable to go to the museum, it is now possible to have either guest-speakers or temporary displays mounted in the classroom for particular military history purposes (except for weapons).

On the other hand, the LMA has developed over the years a more integrated approach to museum education, notably with the University of Western Ontario archaeology and history programmes. As part of its main facilities, the LMA holds a permanent, open-space exhibit, which takes visitors on a journey into Southwestern Ontario's prehistoric past (7500 B.C. to 1500 A.D.). Included in the exhibit is a unique display on the founding family, the Jury's. On the LMA property is also a real-size, reconstructed prehistorical Native village of the Neutral Indians with cedar palisades and longhouses. The Lawson site has been recognized as a significant heritage site in Canada because of its unique historical location and for its scientific research (only a fraction of the site is open to the public because of ongoing digs).

Aside from the exhibit and reconstruction site, the LMA also includes a variety of more "hands-on" and "minds-on" educational programmes for elementary, secondary, and even university students. As part of a loan service, the MLA owns many artefact kits that can be used in class or onsite with museum guides. These kits contain both replicate and authentic relics that were found on the excavation site. For more advanced and specific educational objectives, the MLA offers workshops and core courses in archaeology and native studies. These indoor and outdoor programmes range from cultural native workshops (on fur trade, lacrosse, etc.) through to craft workshops (creating dream catchers, potteries, etc.), to day and summer archaeology courses. Students, under the supervision of University archaeologists, have the opportunity to conduct actual excavation and, thus, contribute actively to the research of the museum.

Discussion

What can we conclude from this brief survey of museum education in Southwestern Ontario? It is obviously difficult and tentative to provide firm conclusions and generalisations based on two local cases with 33 student teachers. Yet, at least three elements do emerge and help form an interesting picture of how museums can contribute to and enhance student's historical understanding.

First, museums do not have to be "large," "provincial," or "national" to provide visitors meaningful learning and entertaining experiences. Both the RCR museum and the LMA are regional institutions with a strong focus on local history and community. If this regional interest makes generalisation and overall representation problematic, it can offer students and teachers various advantages. Being closer to the community needs and interests makes it possible to adapt educational programmes and/or exhibits to particular demands or objectives. It also facilitates access, transportation, and even contact between museums and schools authorities. As Hooper-Greenhill (1994a) observes, it is "quality of service" rather than "quantity of resources" that make museum education pertinent (p. 250). The fact that both institutions do have interest in museum education and even employ educational staff suggests some attention to and connection with the educational world.

Second, educational approaches taken by museums do influence teachers' and students' interests and responses to them, but do not inevitably lead to the simplified conclusion that "hands-on" programmes are always preferable to exhibits. Student teachers found merit and learning application in the approaches taken by both the RCR museum and the LMA. It is true that the workshops and archaeology programmes of the LMA support actively the constructivist learning model of discovery and inquiry – an aspect repetitively mentioned by student teachers. By presenting students with intriguing artefact kits, mise-en-scène, historical scenarios, and real excavation students are exposed to authentic learning performances hardly possible in formal classroom setting. Yet, exhibits do not necessarily lead to uninspiring, passive education. It is possible to have interaction and multimodal learning experiences if displays are designed to activate and promote such learning

(Davidson, Heald, and Hein, 1994). The RCR display on past and contemporary weapons, for example, offers a unique experience for students as they can see, feel, touch, and even manipulate some of the weaponry used by Canadian and foreign troops over the last 100 years. With adequate support and instructional guidance, it becomes possible to engage in comparative analysis of weapon effectiveness, evolution, continuity/change, etc. Part of the current problem at the RCR museum is the lack of engagement with the evidence. There are powerful images, texts, artefacts, and montages in the collection that are simply presented to visitors from an authoritative narrative point of view. These could be introduced in ways that render their messages more problematic and interpretative. If understanding is to be meaningful and enduring, it is favourable to link what students bring to the museum with what the museum has to offer. "If we are primarily interested in learning," Frances Sword argues, "we must create situations where children's own perceptions become the steps up which they climb" (in Husbands, 1996, p. 83).

Third, teachers need to plan and build museum trips as meaningful and complementary learning experiences that will enrich formal school history education and not as "rewards" or end-of-the-year field trips disconnected from classroom teaching. Most student teachers saw a clear and positive fit between the educational programmes of the RCR museum and the LMA and the Ontario curriculum. Both institutions have programmes and activities in line with the required objectives and expectations of the Ministry of Education. The fact that they both have educational staff, some of which are graduates from UWO education, encourages these museums to adapt their collections and programmes to this particular audience. That being said, the physical arrangement and movement in the museum, particularly the RCR, are not always conducive for students' learning. Visitors do not get a clear, overall perspective of the museum before engaging with each respective display, nor is it possible to have large groups (say 30 students) moving from one display to another in a nice flow. Student control may therefore become an issue for teachers. Equally problematic is the initial contact and follow-up with the schools. Both curators talked about the close connection between formal schooling and their programmes, but rarely did they refer to how their museum is integrated in the overall planning of teachers. This problem is evidenced in their lack of information on visitors (who they are, where they are coming from, what they want, etc.), absence of formal evaluation of their programmes, and finally lack of knowledge re. students' use of what they have learned.

To be meaningful, and possibly more effective and significant, museums need to shift some of their power from curators and staff, who design museum programs and exhibits, to those who are meant to be their audience. Only then will it be possible to bridge the gap between the two perspectives, and between students' naïve understanding and/or disinterest and museum educators. It is precisely this close connection between people's living memory and museums as educational sites that brought Wilf Jury to study Native peoples and Southwestern Ontario history a century ago. At the opening of a local heritage site developed by Jury and his wife in London in 1959, he declared: "I may be too sentimental about the past – its been my life's work to give the lesson of the past in a visual way, preserve the evidence and let the old junk, the relics, come alive, telling their own story" (Pearce, 2003, p. 28). Pushing Jury's ideas further, it is possible (perhaps necessary) to say today that students need to be engaged in the story (or stories) that relics are supposed to tell, and ultimately (re)construct their own narrative accounts of the collective past.

Correspondence

Stéphane Levesque, Faculty of Education, University of Western Ontario
Canada

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Pedagogic activities of museums in the Republic of Slovenia

Danijela Trskan, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Abstract *This paper explores the role and significance of pedagogic activities in Slovene museums; forms of cooperation between museums and schools; the role of museum pedagogues and history teachers in the process of incorporating different activities into school and out-of-school history teaching in the Republic of Slovenia.*

Museum pedagogic activities offered by 63 institutions are introduced in a special publication, entitled Pedagogic programmes in Slovene Museums and Galleries. Various pedagogic activities are carefully and systematically planned and contribute to closer cooperation between schools and museums or history teachers and museum pedagogues. Thus Slovene museums offer guided tours of museums and galleries, sightseeing tours of cities and historical walks and prepare lessons with the help of worksheets and workshops.

The pedagogic programme of the City Museum of Ljubljana with various activities for young visitors aged between 5 and 18 is an example of successful inclusion of a museum in the pedagogic process or teaching of history and other social sciences.

Active involvement of learners in archaeological, ethnological or historical workshops, role-play in   an authentic environment that connects past to every-day life, historical tours and learning tasks help to develop learner's writing skills, communication skills and life skills.

In this way, museum pedagogic activities also can help to develop curiosity and interest in past events. They broaden the knowledge of local history and consequently also of Slovene history, which is crucial for knowing, understanding, respecting and developing an appropriate attitude towards European and world history.

Keywords: History education, Museums, Museum education, Pedagogy, History, Identity, Nationalism, City Museum of Ljubljana

Introduction

The pedagogic role of museums in Slovenia is becoming more and more significant. The main reason can be found in the fact that museums offer various pedagogic activities, designed for children under school age, primary school pupils, secondary school and university students as well as learners with special needs.

> Visit to a museum can help to establish a connection between History lessons and reality, every-day life. This way, also, will lead us closer to one of the most important teachings of life: the teaching of how to enjoy the things you are doing, how to enjoy what you teach and what you learn. (Potocnik, 2004, p. 195)

The most important role of museums is to preserve and present the cultural heritage and to offer an insight into the history of Slovenia. There are four main groups of museums in the Republic of Slovenia: state museums, provincial museums, municipal and city museums and other specialised museums. The most common museum collections are: archaeological and ethnological collections, collections pertaining to the history of art, historical and numismatic collections, collections of weapons, uniforms etc. Among many specialised museums one can find museums for children, technical museums, museums of industry and crafts (shoemaking, forestry, textile industry, leather industry museums, museums of firemen societies), outdoor museums (presenting architectural heritage of a region, lifestyles of people

belonging to different social classes and trades, typical rustic farmhouses), archaeological parks, castles with various collections, memorial rooms or birthplaces.

Slovene museums offer guided tours of buildings, historical educational paths and historical walks, hours of tales and stories for children, museum classes, musical evenings, AV presentations, theatre performances, quiz-shows, various museum activities and workshops (Pedagogic Section of Slovene Museums, 2001, p. 1). Museums can offer many different workshops: archaeological, historical, ethnological, architectural, technical, literary, culinary, dancing, musical, multimedia, enterprising, journalistic, science workshops, as well as workshops of art history, painting, sculpture, art, theatre, photography, puppet-making etc.

> Seeing historical sources and monuments in natural environment or museum not only contributes to more precise visual perceptions of objects or historical phenomena and periods, but also develops young people's respect of remnants of the past as such. (Zgonik, 1974, p. 215)

Forms of cooperation between schools and museums

A museum is also one of the sources for discovering and studying history. A visit to a museum can be a part of excursions, fieldwork or other out-of-school activities. 'A tour of the museum can serve as a warm-up for real museum work, but even more often it is used to revise and consolidate the knowledge of a broader topic.' (Novak, 1991, p. 16) Teachers take students to a museum when they want them to find out about the role and functions of museums; to see sources for research of history, originating in different periods; to help students broaden the knowledge; or just to revise. Museum activities train learners in individual, pair or group work, self-evaluation and in testing their own knowledge. They also train them in paying regard to findings and opinions of their peers and in asking different questions. Students get used to order and the discipline of the museum. (Trampus, 1998, p. 43) On the other hand, visits to the museum may encourage students to visit museums later on their own.

> A museum is becoming a sort of generator, which, in connection with other educational, tourist and cultural institutions, develops a new way of thinking. This mission of a museum as an educational institution reflects in the process of educating a visitor, who has to be taught that a museum is not only a storehouse of objects that are said to be our heritage. During his visit to a museum, a visitor has to find contact with the heritage and identify with it. (Rataj, 2002, p. 10)

Museums present various themes or topics. These can be connected to typical features of a village, a town, a city, a port etc. Thus, they have an important role in learning about local history. 'Researching local history helps students to find deeper links with broader, general developments in history more quickly and easily. Consequently they are able to organise them logically and see a whole picture more clearly.' (Weber, 1981, p. 13) Museum activity in the home town is the very thing that arouses interest in the historical past and present of local history, history of the Slovene people and their achievements, European and world history.

Museum collections, especially occasional exhibitions, are used for teaching purposes (presentation lessons, tours with worksheets for students, museum workshops) within the days of cultural activities, optional activities, extracurricular activities, project weeks etc. Other forms of cooperation include museums offering thematic lectures, setting up smaller thematic exhibitions in a museum or school, organising workshops in agreement with teachers or thematically oriented guided visits to exhibitions or collections (mostly with the help of worksheets that learners fill in during the visit). Museums also help learners with their research assignments, projects and homework or organise days of cultural activities, science days and

optional activities in cooperation with schools. (Rataj, 2002, p. 12; Trampus, 1998, pp. 12-13)

An important role in the museum is that of museum educational staff, who prepare guided tours and worksheets, organise and lead workshops and classes. (Rataj, 2002, p. 11)

Museums offer a possibility for the teachers to organise an additional out-of-school activity, which connects theoretical and practical knowledge and helps to encourage young people's interest in past events. However, teachers and students have to prepare themselves and plan their visit to the museum to achieve successful out-of-school learning. (Trampus, 1998, p. 13) The number of learners in a group should be adjusted to specific features of working in the museum, students have to be prepared for museum work, the exhibitions have to be appropriate for learners' level, teachers should consult museum pedagogues on suitable length of a visit and activities, allowing learners some free time (breaks) etc. (Trampus, 1998, p. 42)

An example: Pedagogic activities in the City Museum of Ljubljana

In continuation, pedagogic activities of the City Museum of Ljubljana are described, as an example.

> The city of Ljubljana is a showcase of changing times and the City Museum of Ljubljana, its main meeting point. With the Museum's collection, preservation, documentation, research and presentation of the cultural heritage of Ljubljana and the lives of its people over several thousands of years of history, we provide our visitors with the opportunity for a personal yet active experience of collective memory. The City Museum of Ljubljana its collected materials, documents and knowledge, its exhibits and events represents a contemporary symbol of the self-confidence of the Slovenian capital and its inhabitants. With its openness and access, its information and interpretation, the City Museum of Ljubljana has become an indispensable source of knowledge of the past and of an understanding of today's Ljubljana and the wider Slovenia. (The City Museum, 2005c)

In the following paragraphs programmes for children and learners between the ages of 5 an 18, offered by the City Museum of Ljubljana in the academic year 2004/2005, are presented.

The museum organises four workshops for children aged between 6 and 8. The first workshop is located in the archaeological park where children can "excavate" in an improvised sandpit and find different objects (ancient coins, shelves, toys, earthen pots etc.). (The City Museum, 2004, p. 4) Among many objects children find their own earthen pots, which they paint later on. While painting, they talk about how such objects were made and used in the past. Children can carry their own creations home as souvenirs. The Old Christian Centre Emona archaeological park also allows children to see the antique remains of Roman Emona and find out what a mosaic is. To conclude the workshop, children sketch mosaic patterns or play one of antique games. (The City Museum, 2005a)

The title of the second workshop is A Home in the Past and Nowadays. Children can touch various objects from museum collection that were used at home. They try to find out what the objects are made of, how they were made and used. They also compare them to objects used nowadays. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 5)

The third workshop is entitled St. Nicholas is Making Biscuits. Children shape and decorate biscuits and talk about St. Nicholas and his companions, the devils. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 6) The fourth workshop for children is The Marsh-dweller is Making Pottery. Children meet "The Lake Flower" from the Ljubljansko barje

marshes, who tells them about everyday life in crannogs and demonstrates how women made earthenware while men made tools and weapons. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 7)

The museum also organises four different workshops and activities for primary school pupils aged between 9 and 11. The first workshop is Marcus Will Be Sixteen. The learners get to wear the costumes of ancient inhabitants of Emona, who were the predecessors of Ljubljana. They present different trades and crafts in an imaginary forum. Then they sit around the table with the typical ware and discuss the life of Roman people. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 10) The second activity or a workshop is called Discovering the Traces of Roman Emona. While visiting archaeological parks in Ljubljana (remains of a house, the market, the Old Christian centre and the Roman wall), learners answer the questions on worksheets and learn about lifestyle and houses of the people who lived in Emona etc. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 11) The title of the third activity is Discovering the Traces of Medieval Ljubljana. Again, learners have to fill in worksheets while visiting Old Square, Town Square and Upper Square in Ljubljana where the guide helps them to revive the Middle Ages. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 12) The final, fourth workshop for 9 to 11 year olds is Museum Detectives. Learners try to reconstruct the history of an object with the help of a museum pedagogue. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 14)

> We try to encourage young visitors to use their imagination creatively, observe and study museum objects from the spheres of everyday life that seem to be close to children. On the basis of oral or written sources and pictorial material, communication with the objects, peers from the group and museum pedagogue, a learner tries to reconstruct the past of an object. They try to find out how, why and by whom it was used and what life was like at that time. (Pedagogic Section of Slovene Museums, 2005, p. 51)

The City Museum of Ljubljana has also arranged a programme for lower secondary school pupils aged between 12 and 14, which is entitled Ljubljana Becomes a Modern City. Students go on a sightseeing tour of Hribar's Ljubljana (Ivan Hribar was the mayor at the beginning of the 20th century). With the help of a guide they fill in a worksheet. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 18)

For students over 15, a special restoration workshop is organised. Students learn how the restorers handle, restore and protect fragile objects. They also get some advice on how they can protect their own objects. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 21)

> First of all we present the process of restoration and different materials that objects are made of. We show students how the objects can change or even fall into decay because of use, environment, damage or accidents. After that, they join us in the restoration workshop, where we demonstrate how to handle and restore the objects and make protection for the future. We advise young visitors on how to protect the objects they have brought with them (photographs, diaries, videotapes, pictures, textile and metal objects). (The City Museum, 2005e)

However, a special offer has been designed for hospital schools, schools for learners with special needs and lower graders of remote schools around Ljubljana. A special itinerant museum group can visit such schools. It performs two activities under the title Museum On a Visit. The first is called Marcus Will Be Sixteen. It offers the opportunity for learners to wear the costumes of ancient inhabitants of Emona and find out about their life. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 23) The second workshop, Painter On a Visit, tries to present old painting techniques to learners. (The City Museum, 2004, p. 23)

Museum educational staff also prepare worksheets for historical walks around Ljubljana. Worksheets are from 7 to 14 pages long and consist of the introductory

page and introduction, a glossary of new words; pictorial material (sketches, photographs of statues and artefacts etc.) and different types of questions. The most common activities are: multiple-choice questions, short answers, drawing tasks, maps for learners to fill in etc. Each worksheet is intended for a particular grade or age level. Children can complete them in the museum, at school, at home or on tour.

The City Museum of Ljubljana is trying to attract visitors of all age groups. Every year it organises various winter and summer holiday programmes (e.g. making colour mosaics of glass cubes, resembling mosaics of Emona, making masks and figures for the Black-and-White carnival ball, visiting the market place) (The City Museum, 2002, p. 17) For young visitors the museum also organises ceramics workshops, where learners put together stick and paint ceramics. (The City Museum, 2002, p. 17) Numerous workshops for children also proved to be inviting for the parents, especially at the end, when children's products are exhibited.

A special activity at the City Museum is organising a birthday party in Emonian style for children over six years. A special room in the museum is transformed into a Roman forum, with tables and antique ware. Children wear typical costumes, go two thousand years back in time and play family birthday party. (The City Museum, 2005b)

Another special offer is a Beauty Salon Workshop where children beautify themselves before the birthday party. Children over five make imitations of very ancient pieces of jewellery. They make imitations of earthen necklaces made by the settlers of crannogs in Ljubljansko barje marshes and typical Emonian bracelets made of leather ribbons. Children also play ancient games. (The City Museum, 2005b)

To sum up, the City Museum of Ljubljana offers pedagogic activities for visitors of different age groups and presents a model of successful cooperation of a museum in a pedagogic process or teaching of History as well as of other school subjects in the Republic of Slovenia.

> In recording, collecting, keeping, protecting, researching and presenting the Ljubljana past, the City Museum of Ljubljana has done its best to consider the new role of modern museums, which have become cultural hot spots and the promoters of identity in their local environments.

> We promote and strengthen relations with the users through our programmes, as we wish to realise their interests and wishes. With them, we create a modern, open and visitor-friendly museum. With its collections, information, interpretations and programmes, the museum reveals the identity of the city, motivating people to reflect on it and reinforcing the city people's pride as well as the visitors' curiosity. (The City Museum, 2005d)

Conclusion

Numerous museums in Slovenia organise pedagogic programmes and activities. Thus they create possibilities for perception through all senses: sense of sight, touch, smell and hearing.

> In this way the best museums will consider their collections as a part of a theatre and use all techniques of the world of theatre – special light and sound effects, screen play and actors, recreation and animation. The visitors will often be invited to participate in a play, allowed to touch the objects (originals, when this is acceptable from conservators' point of view, or replicas) and give them opportunities to try making their own objects. /…/ Museums that use all senses, virtual and research museums, are places of discovery, not only teaching. (Mundy, 2001, p. 55)

Learning by visiting, discovering, studying and researching museums in Slovenia helps to develop a positive and respectful attitude towards local history and cultural heritage. On the other hand, it helps to establish 'historical awareness of the Slovene national identity and citizenship'. (Curriculum Board for History, 1998, p. 3)

> For the heritage, preserved by our museums, is not only the objects we see in showcases; moreover, it is a part of our existence, culture and ourselves, even though sometimes we may not be sufficiently aware of the fact. (Rataj, 2002, p. 12)

Every kind of work, no matter how simple it may be, has its purpose 'to thoroughly study a material and conceptual aspects of a specific, well chosen phenomenon and later generalise the findings from a particular case to broader dimensions of time and place.' (Weber, 1981, p. 15) Understanding the local environment means also understanding the regional, national and world-wide environment.

Through museum activities learners explore their hometown or region, develop understanding and respect of the people living there and a positive attitude towards the Slovene natural and cultural heritage, which is the basis for understanding the modern world. Individual or group research on one hand, as well as guided tours and active workshops, on the other hand, allows students to enjoy rich experiences which prepare them for future learning.

> Because of the increasing sense of alienation of individuals in modern society, we believe that museums, with their rich and comprehensive collections which bare important witness to the past, will be able to bring people closer again and give them back a sense of community and citizenship. (Pedagogic Section of Slovene Museums, 2005, p. 3)

Correspondence

Danijela Trskan, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana, Slovenia

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A comparative study of the construction of memory and identity in the curriculum of post-conflict societies: Rwanda and South Africa

Gail Weldon

Abstract *Post trauma polities are by definition at the epi-centre of curriculum construction and development. A traumatised polity is one that is undergoing a radical transformation as the result of 'revolutionary' upheavals. Such upheavals can encompass war, civil war, revolution, famine, natural disasters and genocide. Currently traumatisation is occurring extensively in the Middle East from Palestine to Afghanistan. In Africa two polities that are in, or moving into, a post trauma period of reconstruction are South Africa and Rwanda. In both societies the educational system is having to deal with the issues of memory and identity within the context of the political education of their proto-citizens. History Education must play a crucial, central role in this. The issue is multi-faceted, impacting directly upon the values, beliefs and orientation of the teaching force. Below is a report upon the first stage in a comparative study of South Africa and Rwanda.*

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand how societies (Rwanda and South Africa) with a past of internecine (ethnic) conflict resulting in gross human rights abuses re-invent or re-imagine themselves as they emerge from conflict and the ways in which the curricula, in particular history, both reflect and assert such struggles for reinvention.

Rationale

In examining the national processes that contributed to curriculum reconceptualisation in the two countries, I will draw on my personal experience of curriculum development within South Africa not only for an analysis of change within this country, but to inform the analysis of curriculum development within Rwanda.

My orientation is that of a practitioner led researcher drawing on the orientation of Stenhouse, Elliott, Hargreaves and Winter. My interest in this area of research has a number of origins. A few years after graduating, I lived for a year in a multi-racial community. Many nights were spent deep in conversation, drinking (illegally!) many glasses of wine with a black friend who was a theology student, discussing alternative histories, race and 'culture' in South Africa and the meaning of being African. This was at the height of apartheid, the era of Black Consciousness and liberation theology. This experience not only challenged my notions of race, but also opened up the notion of counter-narratives in history in a way that the university had never thought to do and enriched my teaching of history in the years that followed. The issue of counter narratives will be more fully explored later.

As an historian and history teacher during the apartheid years, I was acutely aware of the use of history to serve a particular, Afrikaner national identity and of the hegemonic role played by the Afrikaner nationalist narrative in school textbooks. History as interpretation, as a construct, is no more clearly presented than through the filter of school curricula. The research of the revisionist historians of South Africa from the 1980s provided new visions of the South African past that challenged and destroyed the prevailing orthodoxy of Afrikaner nationalist history as mirrored in the textbooks. It also provided a rich source of classroom material for teachers who were

able to introduce alternative interpretations of existing views plus a new dimension, social history, into their teaching. My experience was of a small group of teachers in the Western Cape, teaching in independent schools, who ironically were able to use their privileged position of relative freedom under apartheid to challenge its intellectual foundations, in a few large white state schools in the southern suburbs of Cape Town, and teachers teaching to the Peoples' History programme in former coloured schools.

During a seminar in Boston in 2003, questions were raised in a session by an academic, Henry Theriault, working in the area of genocide denial that set me thinking more deeply about transition societies, and the history curriculum. He asked what happens to a society that commits genocide and/or gross human rights violations. He wondered how such societies transformed, and how they could prevent a repeat of the cycle of genocide/gross human rights abuses. Theriault had no answers, but pointed to research being done by psychologists on trauma from genocide and inter-generational trauma that was opening up productive questions that focused on the psychological legacy of mass violations of human rights. At the time I was involved in the revision of the South African curriculum, within a top-down, politically motivated and driven, human rights framework that had not been discussed and debated at the levels of curriculum construction or implementation. Theriault's questions had a deep impact on my thoughts about conflict and transition societies, sparking the initial interest for this research in South Africa. I could not find the answers I sought in the preliminary reading of the research literature.

The original preliminary research was comparative within the wider context of genocide in Europe in the Nazi era and in the Balkans in the 1990s. A comparative African dimension emerged after participation in a Rwandan-South African dialogue in 1998 organised jointly by the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. A number of speakers from Rwanda accorded the colonial past a key role in the preparation for genocide within the overall eugenics framework that informed white colonial attitudes (and the racial policies of Hitler's Germany, resulting in genocide in both countries). School history in Rwanda, it was claimed, entrenched these imposed identities and was used to create division and hatred. Was this a just perception? This belief was so firmly held that a moratorium on the teaching of history in schools was declared after the 1994 genocide. What, I wondered, does a country do in the aftermath of genocide, particularly when perpetrators and victims have to co-exist in such close proximity? More than ten years later, the moratorium on the teaching of History in Rwanda is being lifted. A United States NGO, *Facing History and Ourselves*, which is involved in a curriculum project with the Western Cape Education Department and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre, was invited to participate in a history materials development project in Rwanda. This provided me with an opportunity to become involved in Rwanda and opened the way to developing a comparative study of memory, identity and the curriculum in South Africa and Rwanda, two developing countries, both African, and both emerging from a violent past.

The construction of curricula in post-conflict societies is an under researched facet of research in the field of curriculum development and education policy. While there are studies on the curriculum of transition from socialist to post-socialist states (Freedman, et. al.: 2004; Pingel: 2005) or colonial to post-colonial regimes (Woolman: 2001; Jansen: 2003; Pandey & Moorad: 2003) or routine changes of government in capitalist democracies (Hess: 1999; Hill, M. & Hupe: 2002; Kingdon, J.W: 2003) there are very few, if any, studies which examine societies that have experienced the transitional trauma arising from internecine racial conflict that was culturally embedded at all levels as the focus of curriculum analysis – and how in such societies issues of memory and identity are both reflected and contested

through what is taught (content). The concept of <u>conflict</u> in this study is that of gross human rights abuses, genocide in Rwanda and crimes against humanity in apartheid South Africa. It is perhaps useful for the purposes of this study to refer to these societies as emerging from **violent** conflict or de facto civil war. The historical legacy is the ongoing tensions and conflicts within these societies that are a legacy of the violent pasts and the racialised and ethnic identities imposed by the oppressive regimes.

This study could make a major contribution to the understanding of this process and the interaction between the history curriculum and the process of re-imagining the state. This could be relevant to South Africa, Rwanda and to other countries emerging from conflict in, e.g. Eastern Europe, Latin America and for Northern Ireland.

Research focus and questions

The central focus of this thesis is the reflection of collective memory and identity in curriculum in societies emerging from internecine conflict. In order to achieve this, an analysis of how memory and identity are socially constructed and how they contribute to re-imagining a nation is crucial to understanding curriculum transformation in Rwanda and South Africa.

The main research question for this study is:

How do post-conflict societies re-conceptualise/re-imagine themselves through the medium of the school curriculum?

Further questions include:

How are memory and identity constructed and to what purpose?

How do post- (violent) conflict societies deal with an abusive past?

How does curriculum reflect and assert new identities?

Framework, perspectives and concepts

Governments of societies in transition, consider education to be a crucial arena for positive change. When the transition is from a past of gross human rights abuses, the transition takes on a traumatic dimension that needs to be dealt with politically and educationally. Political visions for a new, democratic and cohesive society, including the ideal citizens, predicated on a clear break with the traumatic past have influenced education policy development in South Africa and Rwanda.

a) What is memory?

Memory operates on many levels within society: individual, group, wider community as well as the 'common' or 'collective' memory associated with nationalism and the building of collective national identities. The meaning given to terms such as memory, remembering and history has differed widely and are still far from clear. Memory has been used to denote the contents of the past as they become present and the process that brings the past into the present (King: 2001); as a substitute for history (Nora: 1978); and as complementary to history (Boodry: 2005). A distinction has also be made between social and historical memory (Halbwachs: 1980), with social memory regarded as the memory of things that one has experienced personally (or the group to which a person belongs has experienced) and historical memory that which has been mediated, by films and books and schools and holidays. For most people in most countries, national experience is overwhelmingly based on such represented memories.

However, this does not help us to understand what happens to memory and identity in societies that have been involved in violent conflict. A number of historians writing about Eastern Europe refer to the concept of 'traumatic memory' (Lavabre 2000; Leggewi and Meyer 2002; Maier 2002; Rupnik 2002). According to Winter (2000) this was a subject that received increasing attention in the 1980s and 1990s when *post-traumatic stress disorder* became more widely acknowledged with the acceptance that among us, within our families, there are men and women overwhelmed by traumatic recollection or memory. When a collective memory is traumatic, there is the possibility of tension between those who feel it is better to forget a traumatic past than remember it, and those who feel that it should be remembered. The notion of traumatic memory is particularly relevant to Rwanda and South Africa as each are coming to terms with a violent past with the tensions between remembering and forgetting that go with it.

The genocide in Rwanda left both survivors and perpetrators with deep emotional, psychological and economic scars and continuing deep identity-based divisions. The challenges of reconciliation are mistrust, suspicion, and fear of revenge (Fatuma Ndangiza: 2005). The genocide in Rwanda was particularly traumatic with victims and perpetrators coming from the same neighbourhood, sometimes living under the same roof, as members of families turned on one another. Genocide was accompanied by wide-scale rape and infection with the HIV virus. Theriault in his seminar session referred to this as continuing the genocide through rape and HIV/AIDS. When having to come to terms with crimes of such magnitude, how does a country begin to build a common memory and new identity? There is the need to rebuild hope and confidence at all levels, not only in government but also between neighbours and family members. There is a need to mend the deep divisions and tensions between Hutu and Tutsi, victims and perpetrators and the returning refugees, some of whom left Rwanda during the conflicts of 1959 and 1972. What are the implications for the emerging curriculum? Lessons can, perhaps, be learnt from South Africa.

The post-1994 trauma in South Africa is the legacy of over 40 years of institutionalised racism and oppression, preceded by 300 years of colonial segregation and oppression. The evidence of the trauma might not be as dramatically widespread as in a country such as Rwanda, but the psychological scars for **all** South Africans are deep and at times difficult to identify, confront and challenge. For many of those who experienced the brutality of the regime first hand, the trauma of torture, murder and rape has not been given closure. For all South Africans, racialised identities need to be confronted in order to challenge and turn around the continuing legacy of apartheid.

Part of the process of 'moving on', is creating a common national identity that reflects memories that acknowledge the trauma of the past in a way that prevents denial:

> The first element…is the need to transform the memory of trauma, the closed memory, which obsessively sends us back to the trampoline memory. Therefore, once it is established that the past was really true, that it was not a nightmare, that it pervades our skin and that we recognize and accept what happened, we will know that it can be overcome. It is the awareness that it really happened and that we are not willing to let it ever happen again. *(Pureza: 2002:158)*

b) What is the link between memory and identity?

Memory (or personal history) is used to create and feed identity. Identity, fed by national myths, can become 'a bloody business'; that directs individual behaviour and overrides cool, logical, rational empirical thinking making people 'do unspeakable

things to one another' (Burma: 2002). As with memory, identity is constructed on many levels, from individuals to societies and nations and any one individual lays claim to a number of identities at any one time. Memory has a political and well as a cultural function – pivotal to the creation of group identity. It is a means of legitimating the nation state as well as of a particular form of government (Boodry: 2005). It is also the means of creating and identifying 'the other', the 'enemy' that needs to be eliminated in order for the group to survive. Therefore, the concepts of collective identity and memory can be problematic, because collective identity has been so closely associated historically with notions of racial, ethnic and gender stereotypes (King: 2001). Identity politics based on race and ethnicity have fed into traditions of exclusionary nationalism and to genocide, and curriculum is one of the tools of oppression.

c) How does the memory/identity bond inform this study?

In many countries throughout the world, governments have used the history curriculum to reinforce their perceptions of national ideologies and identities. But just as history can be used as negative propaganda, it can also become a means of building a positive memory and identity. In societies emerging from conflict, the notion of a collective memory and identity that will bring about social cohesion within the new nation becomes critical when mediated via the political process.

Collective memory is a contested terrain on which competing groups self-consciously struggle to shape and reshape a version of the national past to suit their present political views of the future. In societies emerging from conflict, there are additional layers of tension in the search for a national identity that emanate from the political negotiations that take place in forging a new political society. Once debates are politicised, the central question becomes which past should be admitted and which should be rejected and which is the legitimate voice that decides. What is at stake in the debates is not merely the explanation of the past but its transformation into a reference point for current individual identification with the national polity for the present (Levy: 1999). Furthermore, also at stake, is what of this history should be included in the emerging curriculum and again, who decides.

With the close link between political ideology and education transformation in developing countries there is a danger that the new ruling elite may construct a single, politically acceptable new national narrative that can become, in Foucault's terms, a new regime of truth equally as oppressive as that of the previous regime. There are clear signs of this happening in Rwanda with a Rwandan Patriot Front-imposed version of Rwanda's history (Pottier: 2002).

Historiography plays a key role in the construction of a common memory. Those who control images of the past, shape the present and possibly ideas of the future (Levy: 1999:51) therefore historiography is an important site for the organisation of collective memory with historians becoming important players helping to shape collective identity by connecting past and present in particular ways. By extension, school history is a crucial arena for perpetuating national notions of memory and identity, both positive and negative, placing enormous responsibility on curriculum developers.

There is a gap in the literature surveyed of research that makes links between memory, identity, history and construction of curriculum. The studies on traumatic memory particularly relating to Eastern Europe cited previously, focus generally on traumatic memory and political processes, memory and transitional justice, and academic questions relating to traumatic memory and the reinterpretation of history. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent collapse of communism opened the way in Eastern Europe for a re-evaluation of national narratives in school

textbooks, breaking down the varying degrees of ideological control the USSR had on history narratives in communist bloc countries. Research has focussed on the debates generated by the conflicting national narratives between Eastern European countries and Russia and the moves towards reconciling the histories within school texts (Kujawska & Skórzynska: 2000) rather than locating these debates within a wider context of curriculum change in transition societies.

Research on school history, nationhood and identity, particularly in Britain has highlighted the various interpretations of national identity, where Welsh nationalism has resulted in revision of regional history textbooks in terms of new 'national' identities that draw on foundational myths of past Welsh history (Morgan and Phillips: 2003). In countries such as Northern Ireland and Israel, research has underscored the barriers to teaching a common history in countries that have emerged from violent conflict, but are still divided and still within a situation of conflict if defined in its broadest sense (Naveh: 2005, Gallagher: 2005) What all of these researchers into history education have in common, is the view that '*History and history education becomes a live political issue and concern within nation states at points of evolution or transition*' (Nichol: 2000:2). South Africa and Rwanda have both constructed new national visions, reflected in education policies that consciously articulate the necessary break with the past.

Given that nationalisms and distorted histories in school curricula have contributed to oppression, gaining some insight into the ways in which memory and identity are constructed and the manipulation of both for negative ends, is crucial to the process of curriculum construction for prevention if we are to learn from the past at all. But, it also begs the question of what the curriculum means in reality.

The two national contexts for the enquiry

South Africa

Apartheid South Africa was a society based on legalised and institutionalised segregation that was a continuum of development from the 17th century. When the National Party won the general elections in 1948, they had put before the mainly white voters a vision for the country based on white supremacy and the separation of races. Once in power, legislation was introduced that systematically entrenched the power of the National Party and placed the laws that formed the building blocks of apartheid on the statute books. The Population Registration Act classified people as belonging to different 'races', the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act banned marriages across the racial divides, the Group Areas Act identified separate residential areas and the Separate Amenities Act in theory provided equal separate amenities such as park benches, beaches, toilets for the different 'races'. Apartheid's authoritarian system of racial domination and ethnic segregation permeated all aspects of life, resulting in deep-rooted racialised identities. But underpinning this was a view of identity that had strong historical links.

The implementation of the apartheid policies tore families apart, resulted in large-scale forced removals and 'resettlements', which in some rural areas led to deep-seated poverty and widespread malnutrition among children. The policing of free movement of black South Africans led to the imprisonment of thousands of men and women for not having the necessary identity documents that permitted them to be in a particular place at a particular time. Resistance to apartheid was brutally suppressed with the scale of repression, including states of emergency, banning, house arrest, detention without trial, imprisonment, torture and murder, increasing as the scale of resistance increased. In 1973 the United Nations General Assembly declared apartheid a 'crime against humanity'.

At the heart of the racial state was the education system. Segregated education reinforced inequality and the racialised identities (which lowered the self-esteem of the majority of South Africans and bolstered the self-esteem of the minority). Thus education in apartheid South Africa was an instrument of division and oppression with school history playing a key role. However, education was also a means of resisting oppression throughout the apartheid era.

Apartheid education as articulated by the National Party was both Christian and National. While Christian National Education (CNE) was ostensibly a policy for white Afrikaans-speaking children based on Calvinist Christianity and Afrikaner nationalism, it also spelled out the features of education for black South Africans that clearly articulated the dominant racist ideology. This had been expressed in a pamphlet distributed by the National Party during the 1948 election campaign:

> *The white South African's duty to the native is to Christianise him and help him culturally. Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's way of life, especially that of the Boer [Afrikaner] nation, which is the senior trustee…Native education should not be financed at the expense of the white…*

The policy of CNE included the belief of the 'Boer nation' as the senior 'white trustees of the native' who was in a state of 'cultural infancy' and 'the sacred obligation' of the Afrikaner was to base black education on Christian National principles…'

CNE was supported by a South African version of Fundamental Pedagogics developed in the 1950s. Fundamental Pedagogics viewed education as a science with claims of being able to establish universally valid knowledge about education. A distinction was made between theory and practice; values were accepted as a given and not to be questioned (in this case Afrikaner nationalist values underpinning CNE), in fact, it was not the task of educational theory, regarded as the Science of Pedagogics, to engage with values at all. There was no culture of problem solving, free enquiry or active learning – fundamental pedagogics was technicist, rigid, authoritarian and conservative (Ashley: 1989, Enslin: 1984). History was considered to be a science, with verifiable, indisputable, objective 'facts'.

In 1953 the Bantu Education Act formalised the system of unequal education for black South Africans, who were to be educated to the level of manual labour. Bantu Education resulted in unequal teacher education programmes, black colleges of education that provided inadequate training, too few schools and large classes in black schools with sometimes up to 100 learners in a class. By 1994, the year of South Africa's first democratic election, the education system was divisive, unequal and fragmented. There were 18 different education departments based mainly on race and ethnicity; many dysfunctional schools (many black schools having become sites of struggle, resisting and rejecting apartheid) and a high dropout rate among black school children.

History as an uncontested body of knowledge was a major tool for legitimising the apartheid state. The dominant narrative was that articulated by Afrikaner nationalist historians, with the central theme the triumph of the Afrikaner volk or people, chosen by God, over the chiefdoms and societies of the interior of South Africa. The narrative fed into the

> *dominant stereotypes of white as civilised and black as barbarous. Such representations in turn mirrored patterns of inclusion and exclusion from citizenship rights and played a role in shaping social identities.*

(Chisholm, 2004)

Afrikaner nationalist history included a number of 'foundational' myths, presented in history texts as 'facts', among which it was said that all peoples of South Africa were immigrants, arriving more or less at the same time from various directions, and that the interior of southern Africa was 'empty' when settled by the Boers in the mid-19th century. In this way no one could be said to have a prior claim to the land, and no one was displaced during the Boer migrations into the interior from the Cape Colony. This was the privileged historical narrative that was taught in all state schools in one form or another. The histories of the majority of South Africans were marginalized or distorted.

However, at the height of apartheid in the 1970s and 1980s, radical or revisionist academic historians such as Shula Marks, Colin Bundy, William Beinart, Peter Delius and Charles van Onselen[6], to name but a few, became influential in reshaping the understanding of the South African past as a counter to the apartheid narrative. Revisionism is used here in the sense of reassessing old and new evidence. These historians provided South Africans with a usable past in the deliberations about history in the curriculum after 1994 and in the construction of the Revised National Curriculum Statement for General Education and Training and the National Curriculum Statement for Further Education and Training: History from 2001.

Rwanda

Colonialism entrenched ethnic identities in Rwanda, although there is some debate among historians about the extent to which these identities were formed before colonial rule (Longman and Rutagengwa: 2004, Newbury, C. and Newbury, D: 2000, Des Forges: 1999). Colonial education in Rwanda, largely controlled by Catholic missionaries, favoured first Tutsi and then Hutu and incorporated into the curricula of the mission schools the lessons that pupils had clear ethnic identities. (Longman: 1997) Longman claims that the concepts of ethnicity developed by the missionaries, fed into German and Belgian colonial policies and that after independence, leaders trained in church schools exploited ethnic identities to gain support, helping to intensify and solidify, ethnic divisions.

History and history teaching in Rwanda reinforced notions of inequality. Colonialism brought the first written histories of Rwanda that conflated the ruling Tutsi dynastic court history with the history of Rwanda (Fujii: 2001), drawing on the pseudo-scientific racism of the late 19th century. A mythological version of the Rwandan past ranked ('Hamitic') Tutsi, supposedly later immigrants to the region, above Hutu ascribing to them a biological and cultural superiority as a group. These colonial narratives of Tutsi supremacy became part of schools texts and under the Hutu-led government in the 1950s were manipulated to demonstrate Tutsi abuse of power and some decades later, in the 1990s, to feed into the hate speech that contributed to genocide. Over the decade, competing accounts of history in Rwanda '*reveal a complex struggle between and among competing elites, local actors and outsiders over power and identity'* (Fujii: 2001).

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[6] For example, Bundy, C. (1979) *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry,* Heinemann, London; Peires, J.B. (1981) *The House of Phalo,* Ravan Press, Johannesburg; van Onselen, C. (1982) *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914 New Babylon (Vol 1) New Nineveh (Vol 2),* Ravan Press, Johannesburg; Delius, P. (1983) *The Land Belongs To Us The Pedi Polity, the Boers and the British in the Nineteenth Century Transvaal,* Ravan Press, Johannesburg; Marks, S (1986) *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa, Class Nationalism and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg; Beinart W. and Bundy, C. (1987) *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape 1890-1930,* Ravan Press, Johannesburg.

Current official (equally mythological) versions of Rwanda's past espoused by the ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), simplify and romanticize the pre-colonial past and deny post-independence academic research, particularly by Francophone scholars. (Pottier: 2002). This official narrative of the past is demonstrated in Rwanda: 2020 Vision:

> The Rwandan nation, known in the region since the 11th century, is founded on the common history of its citizens, on the shared common values, on unity of language and culture by which the belonging to that nation is recognised even beyond the present borders of the country. The unity of the Rwandan nation was also anchored in manners and behaviours and expressed through a belief and a religion which brought [them] together…

This version tells of peaceful co-existence until the advent of the European missionaries, followed by the colonialists, with the ethnic divisions imposed on Rwanda by colonial rule being the root cause of the 1994 genocide. A number of academics have challenged this revisionist version of Rwanda's past, demonstrating a far more complex history than the official RPF version (Newbury, C & D: 2000, Des Forges: 1999, Longman: 1997, Pottier: 2002). Revisionism here refers

> *to the systematic attempt to discredit and obliterate all post-independence research in order to reinstate Kagame-Maquet's functionalist account of pre-colonial Rwanda…[going] beyond the RPF's own use of the term, which denotes disagreement with the view that ethnicity is the 'creation of colonialism* Pottier (2002: 222).

Pottier claims that the Anglophone 'instant experts' on Rwanda who have little deep knowledge of Rwandan history have uncritically espoused the RPF version of the past, ignoring the research not only of the historians mentioned above, but a number of Francophone historians as well.

There is still no general agreement on the causes of the genocide. However, the official emphasis on ethnicity created by colonial regimes ignores a range of possible contributing factors such as economic collapse, pressure on land, the determination of the Habyarimana government to remain in power in the face of international pressure to negotiate with the RPF-led invasion forces in the early 1990s and the consequent transformation of the youth group of the governing party, the *Interahamwe*, into a real militia. (Newbury, C & Newbury, D: 2000, Des Forges: 1999). According to Des Forges, the genocide resulted from the deliberate choice of a modern elite to foster hatred and fear to keep itself in power, carried out by people who chose to do evil.

In the months leading up to the genocide, the discourse that legitimated the genocidal actions was spread across the country in the media and in numerous political speeches. In propaganda reminiscent of Nazi Germany the Tutsi 'enemy' were identified as cockroaches (*Inyenzi*), as the enemy within, as Hamitic immigrants who had oppressed the Hutu for centuries, as needing to be sent back from where they came.

The genocide was carried out with a speed and thoroughness attributed to the use of the well-established hierarchies of the military, administrative and political systems (Des Forges: 1999). Soldiers, national police, former soldiers and communal police directed the major killing in many areas, but all over Rwanda, the local population joined in. The Catholic Church has also been heavily implicated in the genocide (Longman: 1997). In a matter of three months some 800 000 Tutsi and Hutu, who in various ways resisted participation in the genocide, were murdered, some by members of their own families.

The genocide was brought to an end by the defeat of the government by the invading RPF military forces. At the same time, its troops committed grave violations of international humanitarian law, attacking and killing unarmed civilians (Des Forges: 1999). General Paul Kagame who led the RPF forces, is currently President of Rwanda. He has denied that the RPF committed human rights abuses.

The policy context for this study

This research will investigate the construction of curriculum as a window onto the reinvention of nation in transition societies, as it emerged in Rwanda and South Africa in national dialogue and in practice. The focus will not be on history curriculum itself, but it is rather the view of what it is about in the educated, political nation as part of the evolving collective identity that will provide the insight into collective memory and identity. In societies emerging from conflict, changing the education system not only signals a new national identity, it is also regarded as a means of reducing societal violence and creating a democratic society. Understanding the bargaining that occurs about the shape of education with respect to the society's structure and symbolic representation (Rosenmund, 2000) within the broader framework of understanding the bargaining that took place during political settlements and the nature of the conflict provides an important context for analysis of curriculum construction. This process of negotiation and social dialogue about the way in which a national school education system needs to change is context-specific (UNESCO Colloquium Report: 2003). The assumption is that processes of curricula change reflect the ways in which society has changed as a result of violent conflict or needs to change in order to bring about or reinforce the vision and values of the new society.

Curriculum for the purposes of this study will include curriculum as a product or set of government curriculum policy documents containing official intentions analysed within both an educational and political framework and curriculum as policy-in-practice as practitioners engage with and make meaning of the curriculum. Relevant conceptions of curriculum include those of a society-oriented curriculum, in which the purpose of schooling is to serve society (Longstreet & Shane: 1993 quoted in Marsh: 1997:7) and social reconstructionist oriented curriculum in which the purpose of schools is to become agents of social change (Eisner & Vallance: 1974 quoted in Marsh 1997:7).

However, useful as these conceptions may be, they do not go far enough in helping us to understand curriculum in societies emerging from a violent, and traumatic past. In these societies, curriculum is as much part of a political as well as educational discourse with curriculum and education policy changes in general, needing to signal a break with the violent past, needing to make choices about how to work with the traumatic legacy of the conflict, as well as constructing a workable vision of the future. Options open to history curriculum developers in terms of dealing with the violent past, ranges from denial (leaving it out of the curriculum) at the one extreme to confronting the violent past and incorporating it into the new curriculum at the other. If inclusion is the option followed, further choices need to be made in terms of finding ways of working with the past for a positive future. Perhaps this could be termed a transformation-oriented curriculum, the purpose of which is re-envisioning the nation in contrast to the past, with schools as agents of change. Such a curriculum would incorporate aspects of both the society-oriented and social reconstructionist oriented curricula, but would expand the understanding of both, including an analysis of the articulation between politics and bureaucracy in curriculum construction after violent conflict.

A preliminary survey of some education policies in Rwanda and South Africa show that the political vision of the new society seems to have informed the curriculum

process, articulating a new social and educational order that stands in sharp contrast to the ideologies and pedagogic practices of the past. Curriculum policy is expressed in the language of human rights, social and environmental justice, and democracy, plus, of course, the political discourse.

Examples include the preamble to the South African Constitution of 1996, which juxtaposes the past and present in declaring the importance of 'recognising the injustices of our past' and 'healing the divisions of the past' while establishing 'a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights.' This political vision is reiterated in all South African curriculum documents for schools developed after 1994, from the original curriculum revision that resulted in Curriculum 2005 (C2005) to the Revised National Curriculum Statements for GET (Grades R-9) and the National Curriculum Statements for FET (10 – 12).

The trauma of confronting genocide in re-imagining the nation in Rwanda is clearly spelled out in a document outlining a 2020 Vision of the Ministry of Education for the country:

> Rwanda is rising from its ashes, healing its wounds and rifts, thinks of its future and formulates its aspirations…National reconciliation constitutes a fundamental challenge for Rwanda. The reconciliation and the reconstruction of the nation in relation to internal divisions that have marked our history during the last decades are a necessity. It would allow making available and orienting all the strengths and national resources towards a new destiny for a whole people.

Analysis of curriculum policy as negotiated (political) meaning (Sutton and Levinson: 2001) will provide further valuable insights for understanding the development process in the context of the specific societies included in this study. This approach demands researching the powerful and examining the specific social arenas of curriculum negotiation, including the role of values, beliefs and identities in policy formulation and implementation. The shortcoming in Sutton and Levinson's analysis if it is to be applied to developing countries, is the underlying assumption that those involved in policy and curriculum development form a more or less homogeneous group in terms of background, of knowledge and of ability. In developing countries, and particularly societies emerging from violence, we simply cannot assume that all involved in education are at the same level or that they are able to exercise effective agency.

Policy has also been characterised as an authoritative allocation of values that projects images of an ideal society (Ball, 1990) which provides useful insights into curriculum development processes in developing countries where the political and educational interests tend to be more closely aligned than in developed countries. Policies cannot be divorced from interests, conflict, domination and justice, and even more so in countries in the process of re-inventing themselves. Ball suggests that policy might best be understood as responding to a 'complex, heterogeneous configuration of elements' including ideologies that are residual, emergent and currently dominant. Within the context of this research, policy formulation must also be understood with relation to the political debates and negotiations that took place after the conflicts. He aligns himself with Foucault, suggesting that power is invested in discourse with discursive practices producing, maintaining and playing out power relations and poses the crucial question: How does the state exercise and impose its power in part through the production of truth and knowledge about education? Within a transition context, bureaucracies that survive the change of political power, provide yet a further level of competing interests that need to be analysed.

Significance of the Enquiry

This study will break new ground in a number of significant areas.

Firstly, it is a comparative study of two African nations, heavily traumatised by a violent past. The nature of the violent past is so different, that there will be no attempt to compare the violence itself. However the context of Africa, of colonial pasts and of developing nations, and of the processes of re-envisioning the nation will provide the focus areas for comparison.

Secondly, the study will focus on the processes through which societies with a past of gross human rights abuses attempt to re-invent themselves, particularly through the construction of memory and identity. Constantly recurring comments in the discussion sessions during the conference, *Transforming Conflicts: Options for Reconciliation and Reconstruction* held in Cape Town in October 2005, centred on the recovery of history and memory, and memory for the future. Twentieth Century history has demonstrated the extent to which memory and identity and school history can be manipulated for genocide. It is crucial to understand the process of construction of memory and identity and the creation and demonisation of 'the other', in order to appropriate memory and identity for positive ends, particularly for curriculum development in countries looking to education and changing curricula to become agents for positive change.

Thirdly, this study will attempt to develop a theory of curriculum change in post-conflict societies. A conference was held recently in Warrenton, USA around the theme of the secondary school history curriculum in societies emerging from conflict. What became clear from the papers and discussion was that although the majority of societies in transition are revising their curricula, the revision tends to be of content – of constructing new national narratives, with little attempt to grapple with theories of change. (Representatives from Colombia, Guatemala, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Germany, Bosnia, Israel, South Africa and Sri Lanka attended the conference.)

It is my belief that a theory of change will best develop from an analysis of the research data within the context of each of the countries in the study. Therefore, data from this research will be used as a 'starting point' for questioning, challenging and seeking interpretations (Winter: 1998) contributing to what Winter terms, the development of a 'theoretical interpretation' [7] that will in turn, contribute to the development of a theory of change grounded in the research data.

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[7] Richard Winter (1998: 66) critiques the 'theory-practice' link and the literature survey for 'gaps' in the context of action research. He uses the phrase 'developing a theoretical interpretation' rather than 'linking practice to theory' contending that the latter embodies an 'inert' conception of the relationship between practice and 'theory'. Although this study is not fully grounded in action research, there are a number of conceptions, such as this one, and approaches that I believe will be extremely useful in providing insight into the dynamics of societies undergoing change.

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Mediating Narrative in Classroom History

Kate Hawkey, University of Bristol, United Kingdom

Abstract *This article looks at the changing status of narrative[1] in classroom history and the ways in which narrative is mediated in history classes at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) in England. It includes the views of departmental heads responsible for the history curriculum and other history teachers on the place of narrative in the history curriculum as well as observations of history lessons. The research is set in the context of the English history national curriculum although the relevance to curricula elsewhere is evident. The discussion is located within a discourse of different models of good practice both generic and specific to narrative. The research findings suggest that, despite a mixed economy of methods and priorities within different history departments, the prevailing trend is a dilution of the academic tradition towards one which stresses an accessibility agenda. The impact of this on the place of narrative in history classes is considered and areas for further research are identified.*

Narrative in the context of change in history education

Story telling has always been an important part of human culture and the past has always been organized and shaped through stories. Traditionally, story and narrative have been denigrated as low order skills, associated with academically weaker students, and often counterposed to the (supposedly) higher order skill of analysis. Story and narrative in history teaching are chiefly associated with the 'great tradition' (Sylvester, 1994), an approach which privileged the stories of great men in the nation's past. The assault on this approach came from various quarters (see Phillips, 1998, p. 14) and by the 1970s had resulted (in England) in the 'new history' of the Schools Council History 13-16 Project (SCHP, then SHP) (1976). The 'new history' focused more on the process and skills of history and less on the content. By 1989, when the government introduced a National Curriculum for history for all schools, the pendulum had swung back to put a more equal emphasis on both content and skills.

Children's knowledge and understanding of history, however, is still seen as an area needing attention by some commentators, researchers and policy makers. Shemilt (2000), for example, commenting on children's understanding suggests that, 'It is as if odd scenes of a play could be variously interpreted and even, with benefit of scholarship, new lines substituted here and there, but the plot as a whole remain both unknown and immutable' (p.85). Similarly, the national Qualifications and Curriculum Authority's[2] (QCA) (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2005) annual report on secondary history in England comments that 'many pupils are failing to gain a good overview of history or an understanding of the significance of some key events and individuals' (p. 10).

If children's overview or synoptic understanding of history is seen as an area needing attention, then the focus on skills associated with 'new' history is also seen as problematic. Lang (2003) has complained of 'our heavy over-reliance on the detailed, almost agonizing, evaluation of sources at the expense (not just) of narrative' (p. 15) and this complaint is echoed in the Historical Association's (2005) recent curriculum development project. Hawkey's (2004) classroom-based research with students points to 'the centrality of narrative as a preferred organising form that children use in their study of history' (p. 40) and the Historical Association's (2005) recommendations to the Secretary of State for Education recognise that 'the construction of historical narrative from historical source material … is a high-order skill which lies at the heart of the historian's craft. It is the end to which historical

research and source analysis leads' (p. 28-9). The Historical Association recommendations call for research into how the construction of narrative might fit into the teaching and learning pattern of history classes and how it might be effectively assessed.

The status of narrative, therefore, is changing and is very much on the current agenda for research and curriculum development. On the one hand, the shaping of history into narratives and stories can be seen as providing an access point into the subject discipline. On the other hand, the production of detailed analytical narratives can be seen as an achievement of the historian's craft at the highest level. Although not directly equated with content, narrative does imply a concern with knowledge and content. The initial entry point or overview narratives, for example, are often content rich, introducing key developments, changes, people or events. Whilst to develop deeper understanding or to critique such entry point narratives requires the deployment of extensive historical skills, the association between narrative and content in history is certainly recognised.

Generic models of good practice

Such changes in the status of narrative and content in history education mirror wider trends within education over the past 50 years or so relating to different models of what is considered good practice. Ever since Raymond Williams (1961) produced his three ideologies of educator, namely, 'old humanist', 'public educator' and 'industrial trainer', philosophers and educationalists have challenged or developed his typology. Goodson and Mangan (1998, p. 123) pick out three as being historically predominant: Firstly, the liberal or academic tradition, according to which schools should concentrate on transmitting the most important aspects of our cultural heritage with an emphasis on the legacy of the subject disciplines. Secondly, within the pedagogic or developmental tradition, the learner's needs and interests become the main objective, so as to encourage their cognitive and affective development. Finally, in the economic and vocational tradition emphasis is placed on the skills and knowledge that ensures the production sector has a qualified workforce and prepares pupils for their future working lives. Each of these types implies a different model of what constitutes good practice.

In England, the selective grammar schools were seen as the guardians of the old humanist tradition, characterised by teachers with strong subject knowledge which they could transmit and deliver to children using didactic approaches. From the 1960s onwards, the move to comprehensive schools brought with it a new conceptualisation of what constitutes good practice, with a move away from hierarchical discrete subject knowledge to be delivered, towards integrating subjects, a blurring of strict boundaries between subjects, and the teacher being seen as a guide or facilitator. This was the context from which the Schools Council emerged and its associated curriculum development projects in many subject areas including history. By the 1980s, the impact of industrial decline began to cast doubt on the efficacy of such approaches and the new vocationalism came to prominence; this prioritised student development but related this to effectiveness and competence in terms of core skills. The underlying assumption was that the old humanist tradition was outmoded and students needed to become flexible skill-based individuals who could adapt to an ever changing world. The National Curriculum (1987), introduced under a Conservative government, moved back towards a more traditional subject based curriculum, but without abandoning the focus on vocationalism and skills in order to meet perceived national needs. Since the 1990s the emphasis has been on technical managerialism with a strong emphasis on outcomes. Good practice has come to mean good exam results and the guiding metaphor has become the delivery of standards. More recently, the introduction of initiatives such as the Key Stage 3

Strategy[3] (Department for Education and Science, 2001) can be seen as part of this same emphasis on outcomes and meeting national targets. The Strategy brings with it a focus on accessibility, inclusion, and engagement and a drive to raise standards for all.

Models of good practice of narrative in history classrooms

Such competing models of generic good practice translate into different models of good practice in terms of what narratives are selected to be taught in history classes along with how such narratives are mediated. In the academic tradition there is a strong emphasis on detailed knowledge and in-depth study. The knowledge selected is broadly traditional, an established canon, the history of significant events and individuals. The 'how' in this tradition is broadly a didactic approach, with the teacher as the main transmitter of this established body of knowledge.

The 'what' within the pedagogic or developmental tradition is less prescribed. The focus is more on what the learner is interested in as they develop and mature or what they are able to do often with the support of others, drawing from the theoretical positions of writers such as Bruner, Vygotsky and Egan. The 'how' in this tradition is similarly informed by such considerations so that history classes are characterised by ways to 'hook' in the interest and personal engagement of the children. Such approaches include initial stimulus material (Phillips, 2001), empathetic approaches and mysteries to solve.

The 'what' within the economic or vocational tradition is likewise less prescribed. The focus is more on topics which are seen to be relevant, linked perhaps to citizenship agendas; the emphasis is on transferable skills and driven by assessment objectives. The 'how' in this tradition includes attention to accessibility so that lessons will have a clear structure to them and material presented will similarly be structured using literacy based scaffolds such as writing frames. ICT is embraced within this tradition as both the source of information, mainly the internet, as well as the means by which children present their work. Research using the internet is largely in keeping with contemporary means of using computers, characterised by surfing and use of hypertext links. Gordon and Alexander (2005) have argued that because hypertext links are 'democratic', non-linear and unhierarchical (p.145) any emerging account is more likely to be a collection of parts rather than an organic whole. Moulthrop (1994) relates these characteristics of hypertext to the concept of rhizome, as developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). The concept of rhizome is contrasted to an arborial one in this way, 'a tree has one central root, which fixes an order. The rhizome has no centre. Any point of a rhizome can be connected to any other. It is a multiplicity and not a unity.' (p. 7). The potential implications of this for narrative in history classrooms are interesting to consider and Gordon and Alexander's claim that 'a state of affairs in which our students' worlds are dominated by rhizomatic texts like hypertext will weaken the development of their narrative receptivity' (p. 146) deserves further testing.

Research rationale

The study reported here is part of a larger project looking at tasks in history classrooms at Key Stage 3. The broad research questions that the project addressed are: 1. What is the nature of the tasks set by history teachers? 2. How are these tasks related to the classroom process? 3. What purposes and conceptions of history are embedded within these tasks? 4. How has the nature of tasks set by history teachers changed since the early 1990s? The concern of this paper is to focus on the findings of this project in so far as they relate to narrative and how it is mediated in history classes.

The research was conducted in 5 schools. A total of 20 lessons were observed and the 5 departmental heads were interviewed. In addition, data was drawn from a discussion amongst a group of history teachers from schools across the local area, set up as part of a professional development session. The schools were largely an opportunity sample drawn from local schools that had worked with the university in the training of teachers for many years. Other considerations, however, did influence selection. Each of the history departments had a good reputation. Two schools had recently been awarded humanities status, a result, in part, of their humanities faculties being seen as centres of excellence (schools 1&2); in one school, the history department had received special mention in a recent inspection report for excellent practice (school 3); one school not only had good history results but also had an experienced head of department who involved herself in curriculum development initiatives (school 4); one school was an academically selective school with good exam results (school 5). The assumption, therefore, was that these were departments where considerable thought had gone into the history curriculum and its implementation.

Research findings: interviews with department heads

Content and skills

Interviews with department heads reflect a number of different positions in relation to the relative importance of content and skills. In terms of priorities, the most academically successful school (school 5) stressed content in history and the need to present material in enough depth to sufficiently challenge the students. The frustration, for this department, was with many textbooks which 'tend to have very interesting pictures but don't have the sort of descriptive detail that these students need if you're actually going to ask them real questions rather than questions that are going to elicit either knee jerk reactions or the sort of Pavlovian reaction about evidence, you know the sort of the more you have the more you corroborate ….. I don't think that is a fair reflection of what history is actually about' (Head of history, school 5). On the importance of knowledge, he says 'in getting somebody interested in the subject it (knowledge) is more valuable than skills but the skills are absolutely vital if you're going to get the qualification, But if they don't find it interesting enough to take it in year 10 then the skills are largely irrelevant.'

In this department many of the recent initiatives associated with the Key Stage 3 Strategy which focus on literacy, relevance, accessibility and scaffolding were seen as largely irrelevant in their particular context.

By contrast, the department in one of the schools with humanities status (school 1) suggested that their curriculum was 'far too content driven' and the head of department was planning to change this, 'I want to see historians at that age (11-14) with a clear understanding of the key historical skills and ability to express their ideas in some degree of depth …. And every assessment is geared around a particular skill' (Head of history, school 1). The aim for Key Stage 3 in this department is 'to enthuse and to educate. To inspire a love of, to make sure they've got an understanding of why history is important' (Head of history, school 1) although, unlike school 5, the means of doing this was very much a focus on skills.

School 2, also with humanities status, suggested that 'there are two reasons they do history – one is to get a good exam grade, and the other is to develop historical skills which they can then apply. I think the actual content is arbitrary. Our job is to get them interested in the topic … and then to equip them with the skills' (Head of history, school 2). In this school, the priority is very much on skills; there is also a clear articulation of the influence of assessment requirements and achievement of good results on what is taught.

The priorities in different but successful history departments then, as articulated by their heads of department, vary considerably despite a common national framework. There is evidence of continuing adherence to the academic tradition in some contexts as well as a mix of developmental and vocational traditions where utility and skills are stressed in other schools.

Difficulty in history

Heads of department were asked about what students find difficult in history at Key Stage 3. In response, extended analytical writing was mentioned explicitly by two schools, 'the whole development of a point, discussion and elaboration of a point'(Head of history, school 1), 'detail and being able to sift and sort sufficient detail to make these wonderful objective led learning activities come up with something pithy and worthy of them rather than making huge judgements from small amounts of stuff.' (Head of history, school 4). School 3 suggested that sources and using evidence used to be the most difficult area but that recognition of such difficulties had lead to considerable curriculum development on sourcework enquiries so that this aspect of the curriculum now resulted in good standards of work; extended writing was the area which currently needed to be improved in school 3. By contrast, school 5 suggested that independent work was their challenge, to move students away from dependence on the teacher and the regurgitation of what is presented to them.

The areas of difficulty, therefore, were seen differently in the different schools. In keeping with the academic tradition, the teacher in school 5 was still perceived largely as the deliverer of canonical knowledge so that the challenge was for students to construct their own knowledge. In keeping with the traditions of the new vocationalism and an emphasis on skills and accessibility, the other schools perceived the challenge as enabling children to produce detailed analytical writing.

Narratives and stories

When asked about narratives in history, comments from heads of department revealed an awkward response, 'I love them but I'm probably a little bit apologetic for them you know, when you stick them in there it's sort of one professionally might think this isn't proper history. Well, let's take the story of the Gunpowder Plot – am I missing the point here, but I've got the story from the children's book, with nice pictures and so on and so forth and one could then cross reference that with historical sources to see if – I'd want them to do a cross referencing lesson and not a story telling lesson.' (Head of history, school 1).

School 2 was likewise cautious about stories and narrative in history 'the only problem is normally like assessments and achievement and my only problem with stories and that kind of approach to things is if they end up telling stories – if they learn it in that kind of way, and they think that that is the way that history works – they tend to then regurgitate it in that kind of form when it comes to assessment. So, I wouldn't really do it like that myself and I'm more focused on doing it according to assessment criteria' (Head of history, school 2).

The lack of confidence over using narrative in classes is evident from these comments, along with the ways in which assessment requirements dominate what happens in history classes, and an assumption that narrative isn't sufficient for assessment requirements. The notion of narratives as either an initial entry point into a topic or as the final result of study of a topic was not articulated by any of the department heads.

The group of history teachers invited to discuss the place of story in the history curriculum also expressed their views on narrative in history. They were similarly cautious and tentative although some comments suggested a recognition of the

importance of narrative as an entry point scaffold to a topic. One teacher, reporting his observation of a colleague comments, 'she was teaching the Johnston County War – teaching this lesson with sort cards, causes, consequences and all these things like that, and she asked them a question about it, and they couldn't answer it, and I heard one of them say 'We don't know the story of it, could you just tell us the story?''

Another teacher articulated the view that the appropriateness of activities depends on the age of students: 'Sometime I feel really guilty about it ….. what are you doing to make sure you progress, but actually there's all this progression happening within children anyway, as they grow and mature. One thing they do get better at is writing, and one of the things we do is actually to penalise them for the better writing, we say no, no, no, you haven't been doing enough analysis here, it's a lovely piece of work, and we're actually saying no, that's not right…. And I sometimes worry that we're trying to force this analysis on them too early – when they're not really ready…'. There is much in common here with research which shows that children storify and sequence information into a narrative as their initial way of grasping meaning (Hawkey, 2004; Lyle, 2000). It is also resonant with Egan's (1997; 1999) ideas about the changing characteristic ways in which children engage with the world as they mature.

Observed lessons

In the lessons observed, the ideas articulated in interview were evident, indicating broad consistency between espoused theory and actual practice. In short, the impact of Key Stage 3 Strategy was clearly in evidence in schools 1-4; by contrast this was seen to have little influence on lessons at school 5, and this was clear both from the interview with the HoD and from the observed lessons. The discussion here will concentrate on the narratives in the lessons observed and how they were mediated in the classroom.

There were different expectations regarding the amount of knowledge that was presented to students, suggesting differing assumptions were made as to the students' capacity to assimilate information as well as underlying assumptions about the purposes of studying history; moreover the ways in which such information and knowledge was presented differed according to school.

In lessons observed at school 5, the teacher was the main source of information and lessons were characterised by teacher presentation of a detailed narrative, albeit broken up with question and answer work and other tasks; if students struggled there was a tendency to spoon feed the answers which students duly regurgitated. The oral elements in lessons were characterised by a lot of fairly low level questions, such as 'what', 'who', 'when' and 'where'. Paradoxically, although many questions were not set at a challenging level, the overall resulting narrative of the period that emerged was a complex and detailed one. Many questions served to 'oil' the narrative which the teacher presented. Such questions served to keep pupils largely engaged although the selective nature of the school may have been a factor in this. Children were clearly able to sit and listen at length without any issues of disruption or behavioural difficulties.

In schools 1-4 the focus was more on accessibility, student involvement, pace, structure and scaffolding to support learning. Sort card activities were commonly used as one method by which narratives were presented. In one class, students were invited to organise factors relating to causation into the categories of economic, social and political; in another class, sort cards had to be organised into chronological order. In both of these classes, the material was new to the students and the approach was used to introduce the topic. Such approaches enabled a

narrative to emerge although because the information on the sort cards was limited, the emerging narrative was dependent on the teacher's interpretation to draw out links and significance.

Interestingly, in the sort card lessons observed the teachers took the line that all responses were valid, 'you have free choice in answers so long as you give reasons' (teacher) even in instances where some responses were clearly more accurate than others. In the causation categorising activity, for example, whilst some factors could equally well have been placed in different categories, some were clearly economic or political, and correcting student misconceptions along the way was not prioritised. Student involvement, participation and response was valued over and above historical accuracy. In other lessons it was difficult to justify reasons for their categorising based, as it was, on limited information so that the justifications often had less to do with history and more to do with an assumed common sense deriving from literacy clues on the cards. Literacy skills were prioritised over discussion about the history.

Other features in these 4 schools included various starter activities consonant with the Key Stage 3 Strategy, including bingo, beat the teacher / student, questions you wanted to ask of a tipi (sic), or a slave on board ship. Such activities served to motivate and engage students; they also served to reinforce a basic set of vocabulary as well as rudimentary knowledge; they did less, however, to link such vocabulary or knowledge into a more complex context or narrative. Whilst such activities were only intended as starter activities, the upbeat pace that followed in the lessons, moving students on through a range of activities, meant that opportunities to deal with material in substantial depth were limited. Pace, therefore served to ensure a fairly superficial treatment; it also, however, and crucially in some cases, served to support sound classroom and behaviour management.

In another class rather than sort cards, keywords were written on the board and students invited not only to explain their meaning but also to articulate the links between them; this was used as a re-cap of previous work and enabled a narrative to emerge. Whilst the keywords had much in common with other starter 'bingo style' activities, the requirement to write in what the links between the different keywords placed greater emphasis on contextual knowledge and the emerging narratives were consequently much richer and more detailed. It allowed all students to have access to the work and also facilitated differentiation since some students would find more connections than others.

A task focussing on extended writing was observed in one lesson. The focus here was on persuasive writing. Students were asked to write a persuasive account arguing that the Indians were either savages or not, drawing their material from various internet sites and a class booklet. It was interesting to observe the limited use made of the class booklet in comparison with the internet sites, despite the quality of the booklet being more fit for purpose for the particular task in terms of information included than most of the internet sites referred to. In spite of the teacher's guidance for students to attend to both, the style of the presentation, focussing on persuasion, was more the focus for the students' attention with less emphasis being given to the substance of the argument. One student in this class asked to write the account from both points of view and was told not to, despite this being a characteristic of high level history, and one which encourages a greater engagement with detail to substantiate each point of view. Arguably, the focus in this lesson was on prescribed activity, structure and ensuring all had access at the expense of an opportunity (at least for one student) to have a go at constructing an analytical narrative.

Discussion

As with all studies of this kind, any findings need to be treated with caution. The sample of schools was small and the departments involved cannot claim to be fully representative of all history departments. Whilst claims to generalisability are small, the findings provide some indication of current practice and priorities.

All schools show a concern with assessment requirements which play a hugely significant role in shaping what happens in classrooms. The priority, in all the schools involved, is very much on results. Despite the trend towards greater uniformity in pedagogy brought about by initiatives such as the Key Stage 3 Strategy, this strategy was not, however, followed much in the academically selective school where it was thought not to be particularly useful. With impressive exam results, it seems, there is every opportunity to avoid such trends toward uniformity or prescribed pedagogy.

This small scale research project looking at tasks in history lessons at Key Stage 3 with particular focus on narrative reveals a mixed economy of traditions and methods in evidence, ranging from the academic model to more developmental and vocationalist models where greater stress is given to the accessibility agenda. All the departments involved in the research are seen as successful although close scrutiny of what happens in each of the departments reveals very different practices in keeping with these different traditions. In this sense, the lessons observed reflect the recognised tension between subjects in their more traditional form and subjects moulded and shaped to address contemporary needs. This tension, clearly evident in the history classes observed, reflects a wider tension within contemporary educational discourse which is at the very heart of current debates on future educational policy. The QCA is reviewing the Key Stage 3 curriculum (2005) and its preamble that 'the curriculum cannot remain static, it must be responsive to changes in society and the economy, and changes in the nature of schooling itself' (p. 2) hints at a continuing move further away from the liberal academic model. The consultation lays a clear focus on the place of skills and the subject curriculum is also to be reviewed although what any subject curriculum looks like as a result of these changes is still unclear.

The practice of accepting whatever answers students provided similarly suggests a move further away from an academic tradition towards one which prioritises the accessibility agenda over an historical one. The benefits of engaging students and ensuring their participation in this way are evident, although there is also a danger, in approaches which accept all responses as valid, of trivialising the subject thereby undermining its value. Lee expresses it in this way, 'without explicit teaching and reflection on the nature of historical evidence and historical accounts, as well as the different ways in which various types of claims can be tested for validity, multiple perspectives become just another reason for not taking history seriously' (Lee, 2005, p. 70). Such trends run the danger of resulting in superficiality, consonant with post-modern perspectives characterised by 'multiple surfaces' (Jameson, 1991, p. 12) and 'a celebration of surface' (Gordon and Alexander, 2005, p. 153).

The potential of using new technologies to support the construction of narratives warrants further consideration. In the observed history lesson where ICT was used, the task was to use the written and internet sources to construct a piece of persuasive writing. In practice, the written sources tended to be overlooked in preference to the initially more attractive internet sites although these tended to be less appropriate and the use made of them was certainly superficial; the style of presentation was also prioritised over the substance of the argument. The experience in this lesson appeared to be consonant with Gordon and Alexander's (2005) concern that 'a state of affairs in which our students' worlds are dominated by rhizomatic texts like hypertext will weaken the development of their narrative

receptivity' (p. 146). A single lesson, however, is clearly weak evidence from which to make such assertions and more research is needed in this area. Certainly with the rapid increased use of internet and hypertext in lessons, the impact of such sources and approaches on narrative in history classrooms is an important area to explore further.

In conclusion, then, the wider current educational discourse in the UK looks set to possibly reduce the place of history within the school curriculum in keeping with more vocationally-oriented priorities. This study has suggested that the emphasis on accessibility and engagement has been embraced by some departments and that this has resulted in some dilution of the discipline in its traditional academic guise in some schools. There is evidence, however, of classrooms where accessibility is embraced alongside pedagogic practices which support the emergence of more detailed narratives; such examples provide helpful foundations on which to build in future development. The place of narrative, as both a scaffolding tool to enable students initial access to the subject as well as the result of detailed historical study, is not much in evidence when teachers describe their work, despite recent recommendations by the Historical Association (2005) and the QCA (2005). In light of pending changes in the curriculum which look set to embrace more vocationally-oriented priorities, the need to understand the place of narrative in history and how it can be most effectively mediated in contemporary classrooms is more pressing than ever.

Footnotes

1. The definition of narrative used here is, 'the construction and presentation of a version of historical events which inevitably reflects the author's own understanding and interpretation of those events' (Historical Association, 2005, p. 28). It does not include 'grand narrative' or 'meta-narrative' (Historical Association, 2005, p. 28).

2. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) is a non-departmental public body sponsored by the Department for Education and Skills in England. It maintains and develops the national curriculum and associated assessments, tests, examinations and qualifications.

3. The Key Stage 3 Strategy is a national scheme introduced in 2001 with the purpose of raising standards in the early years of secondary schooling. It focuses on strategies of teaching and learning.

Correspondence

Kate Hawkey, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol
35 Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol, BS8 1JA, UK

kate.hawkey@bristol.ac.uk

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Museums and History Education in Our Contemporary Context

Irene Nakou, University of Thessaly, Volos, Greece

Abstract *This paper is on the theme Museums and History Education. The educational significance of museums' interface with history education is explored on the basis of a theoretical investigation of the epistemological, historical, social, cultural, technological and educational parameters, which form the context of both museums and history education within contemporary global reality. As theoretical work and research results suggest, contemporary museums seem to form fertile educational environments for the interpretation of both tangible and intangible (material, written, oral, visual, digital) culture as historical evidence, because they seem to help children develop historical thinking, knowledge and skills in ways that are important for both an understanding of the past in historical terms, and for self-knowledge and self-orientation in the present.*

Moreover, approaching, reading and interpreting material culture – museum objects and museum environments – could be considered crucial procedures for contemporary education, in general, and for history education, in particular, as a means for students' reconnection with the materiality of present and past realities. The educational benefits of such tasks, though, seem to relate more to the nature of the educational methods used than to the type of the museums visited.

Introduction

The paper is on the theme Museums and Education. More precisely, it focuses on the educational significance of museums for education, in general, and for history education, in particular, especially within the virtual and global context of the contemporary world. Basic questions are: What are the basic general parameters involved in the context of contemporary history education? On what basis the interpretation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage as historical evidence within museums can serve contemporary education, in general, and history education in particular?

The contemporary context of history education

Contemporary trends of historiography, contemporary epistemological ideas about history and our contemporary social environment, which benefit the broad public use of history, have, among others, innovated the discussion about history education. International debates about history education today suggest that history education should help students a) to construct basic historical knowledge about the past, as a dynamic frame of reference, that would enable them to orientate themselves in time in historical terms; and b) to understand history as a discipline, with its special rules and methods (Lee, 2005). The construction of a historical frame of reference is not conceptualized as acquisition of static historical knowledge about a strict 'proof' and chronologically arranged past, but as a dynamic and constantly developing knowledge, within the open borders of which alternative historical interpretations about the past can coexist with a flexible chronological scheme. Such a dynamic type of historical knowledge cannot be formed, unless subjects understand and use historical methods and rules. Therefore, history education should not focus on one of these two aims to the exclusion of the other.

Contemporary history education relates to new epistemological ideas about history, which have caused crucial changes in the general orientation of history. The postmodern epistemological background of contemporary history has broadened history's horizon, as it was formed on the basis of modern epistemological ideas, and has demolished both the theoretical and the practical basis of traditional history, as it was mainly formed in the 19th century. As basic outcomes of this procedure we can consider a) the discrimination of the terms 'History - story - historiography', 'real past - historical past'; b) the deconstruction of past and present, as well as the deconstruction of their relation; and the interrelation of both history and historiography with a deconstructed present (Jenkins, 1995; White, 1973; Shanks & Tilley, 1994); c) the replacement of the concept of objectivity in history by inter-subjective historical procedures, which are open to alternative historical interpretations; and d) the broadening of the cycle of the historical subjects who are involved in the construction of history and of those who synthesize the thematic object of history (Thompson, 1978).

The last consideration, which can be translated as 'the right to history', implies the political dimensions of history, and relates to the broad public use of history, by art (literature, painting, cinema) and TV serials, by which history is used as the thematic basis of 'historical novels', but also to the use of history as a commodity, in the sphere of marketing, of advertisement, of printed and electronic media, as well as to the use of history by political, social, religious and cultural propaganda, in the broad site of globalization and mass media. Moreover, a theme directly related to our discussion, the use and/or the construction of history by museums, becomes central in our times, on the basis of their social, cultural and educational role and the large number of their visitors, who, among others, respond to 'cultural heritage' campaigns.

New ideas about history, and history's broad public use, which has invoked historians' agony about the misuse of history in the public sphere, as well as social, cultural and technological parameters, that synthesize global reality mainly in visual terms, have, among others, formed a new basis for history education.

First, history education cannot ignore the terms in which history functions, the terms in which history is constructed, understood and used in our times, its braking into histories and their discrimination from stories, history's relative (modern) or absolute (postmodern) relation to the present, the existence of several alternative types of historical presentations and interpretations, and the inter-subjective - non objective - terms in which they are tested, the discrimination of 'real' and 'historical' past.

Moreover, history education cannot ignore the relevant historical representations and prejudices, the controversial 'microtheories' (Claxton, 1993) that children bring with them to school. According to Husbands (1996), children come to school with a series of background ideas about the world, with their personal understandings and misunderstandings about present and past societies, as well as with a group of assumptions about human behaviour. In their attempt to understand the past they tend to use their own personal experiences. Present experiences and interests form an organic part of the procedure by which children approach and understand history.

Children's environment, in which they form their microtheories, has been enlarged by electronic technology, and, thus, their presentations do not only associate with their family, community and school, but with our complex, broad multicultural and multiethnic global world. The intercultural synthesis of contemporary global reality demands relevant intercultural approaches and understandings of reality, as a whole and partially, in terms of its social, historical, cultural, ethnic, religious, economical components. Therefore, history education has to cope with the thematic, methodological and ideological changes required for approaching and understanding

different nations, different societies, different cultural, social, religious, ethnic and gender groups in equal terms.

In addition, history education has to face the broad thematic object of contemporary history (history from below, local history, oral history, personal and family history, gender and history), while, on the other hand, it has to focus on students' special personal abilities and needs, on the different paths they follow in their social and at the same time personal learning and thinking procedures, as well as on their 'right to history', their right to resist against a history imposed by others.

Postmodern deconstruction, in which we live, whether we like it or not, relates to our intangible virtual reality, mainly created by contemporary electronic technology, which, besides its advantages for quick and broad communication and easy access to an enormous quantity of facts, has altered both the nature of communication and the nature of messages themselves. Besides others, electronic media, producing a digital, non-material image of reality, a virtual, 'not physically existing as such but made to appear to do so' reality, give a relevant visual and virtual form to our perceptions of reality (Kress, 2002).

The virtual synthesis of contemporary reality and the relevant virtual perceptions of reality demand new ways of approaching, understanding, and interpreting reality. TV documentary films, reportages, news, electronic multimedia and the Internet, with the development of a feeling of direct access to information, to events, to time and space, form the illusion that what we see is exactly what there is to see, what really happened or what really happens or exists at the moment we observe it. It is the past or present reality itself, or an indiscrete reality of both past and present together, since events develop, or seem to develop in front of us (see events on 11 September 2000).

The power of electronic moving images, among others, rests on their intangible character and on their fast rhythm, which make their direct placement in our mental field possible, without the interference of our thinking (Hochberg, 1972). Accordingly, students seem to form relevant general iconic conceptions about past and present realities. On this basis, education in general, and history education in particular, have to develop methods that can help students learn how to resist, how to critically handle and interpret a plethora of visual electronic icons, discriminating them from reality.

The development of a critical approach towards contemporary virtual reality, relates also to the power of contemporary technology to affect the authenticity of digital, visual, oral and written accounts. The critical testing of the reliability of several different sources seems to be very important for our lives, in general, not only for history. On this basis, the development of relevant skills gains great and broad educational significance.

On the other hand, we can suggest that the interpretation of tangible culture (of material, 'physically existing as such' objects and sites, as well as material representations of reality) as historical evidence seems to obtain great significance for education, in general, and for history education, in particular, mainly because it can reconnect us with the material parameters of past and present realities. It should be noted here that, in contrast with digital representations, material representations of reality, mainly because of their material nature, imply their representative character, because they interfere between the represented reality and us, and, thus, call for an interpretation, i.e. they call us to interpret them in order to approach the complex reality they partially represent.

If the development of critical abilities and skills required for interpretation was a main task of education in previous contexts, under contemporary circumstances it

becomes central for education, mainly because it does not only relate to special forms of knowledge and thinking, like historical knowledge and thinking, but to everyday life, to self orientation in time and space and to self identification within a fast moving, global, multicultural virtual world. For the same reason, history education cannot be considered as a special form of education addressing an elite, but a prerequisite for substantiating the 'right to history', to self-knowledge and self-identification, with parallel recognition of the 'others', both in the past and in the present, of their right to history, to self-identification and to difference, as well as of their right to withstand a history imposed by 'us'.

In order to develop personalities who can use critical alternative ways of questioning, testing and interpreting both tangible and intangible sources of information, but also themselves and the 'others', education should address children's creative minds, which reinforce and are reinforced by imagination and by their senses, and all their emotional, psychological and social abilities (Arnheim, 1986; Gardner, 1983; Goleman, 1996).

The transformation of children's 'microtheories' and prejudices into critical historical thinking and knowledge, by the development of skills for historical understanding and interpretation, is not an easy task, though. Because, among others, such skills can be developed by the recognition of the basic scientific idea, that every new piece of knowledge rests on a new question and every new piece of knowledge is open to cross-testing, changes and even to disapproval, in the light of new questions, new facts or new methods of collecting, approaching, testing, studying, and interpreting facts. The scientific way of thinking cannot be developed and adopted, if we do not question ourselves, if we do not free ourselves from the common everyday ways in which we usually understand our selves and our experiences.

On the basis of the above discussion, let us see now, if and how museums can help history education to achieve the aim of developing critical - not ignorant - personalities, because, as Lee (1984) argues, 'to be historically ignorant is just to be ignorant'.

Museums and history education

'New Museology' (Vergo, 1989; Bennett, 1995), and Material Culture Theory (Pearce, 1994; Hodder, 1991) offer important keys for approaching museum objects' polysemy, within the cultural, social and educational environments of museums, through alternative ways of interpretation that lead to various relevant alternative forms of knowledge. They also offer a basis for understanding the great changes that have occurred in museums, in their social and educational role (Ambrose, 1987; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992), in relation to the changing character of their epistemological, museological, social and educational background.

Besides the coexistence of museums of different type, most museums are transformed in terms of both their 'inner' and 'external' public function, in the context of contemporary societies and the demands they pose to cultural institutions. Contemporary museums tend to present both tangible and intangible heritage, offering a stimulating environment for educating children in new, fertile and persuasive ways, in which written and oral texts, visual and electronic images and material objects can be questioned, evaluated and interpreted in historical terms.

In addition, many museums have been transformed into pleasant places, where visitors feel at home, smile, discuss, touch and use objects, collect information by active means and even play, dance or sing. Museums form a unique reality, which goes beyond visitors' everyday reality. This museum reality, in which visitors are actively involved, or feel that they are, usually presents 'here and now' objects

originating from other times, other places or other cultures, in ways that are or can be understood by visitors.

Museum objects are not presented in a neutral way, though. They are presented according to the story that each museum attempts to tell. For this reason, even contemporary objects presented in museums, gain new meanings and call us to see them in a new, different context. The exhibition context offers them a meaning beyond the meaning they already have as cultural objects, because they are involved in the telling of a story, and gain relevant meanings and values (Vergo, op. cit.). Usually, with the exception of postmodern museums, which attempt to form equal relations between the museum and its visitors in the procedure of knowledge construction (Hooper-Greenhill, op. cit.), objects are not presented open to alternative interpretations. Thus, we can understand historians' doubts about the quality of 'history' presented in museums and about the ability of museums to introduce their visitors, and especially children, into history, in historical terms.

Historians' doubts are also supported by the 'external' character of contemporary museums. Their relation to the market of cultural heritage, their public relations and advertisement campaigns seem to lead most of them to produce exhibition scenarios and educational programmes, which, at least under some circumstances, decrease museum objects' polysemy and visitors' chances to develop an open critical dialogue with the presented museum objects. As Liakos (2004) suggests:

> besides handling cultural heritage, according to our needs, we can leave a door open, so that we, who are specialists, and people, who are not, can listen to messages for which we had not thought to ask. These ideas come to me whenever I visit a museum and I see children attending educational programmes to run about, from object to object, from hall to hall, with questionnaires in their hands. Their teachers, the educational staff of museums, and those who handle material culture and create material culture policy, teach children, and society in general, to pose questions, and determine the frames of questions and approaches on the basis of current well elaborated theories. And, no doubt, they teach it well. But fewer and fewer people seem really to enjoy looking at objects in museums, to stay without speaking in front of museum objects and archaeological sites and to carefully listen to their messages. Fewer and fewer people escape from the way we choose to show them cultural heritage. […] The problem is not **what** we expect to hear, but **how** we can hear that which we do not expect to hear. For this reason, we need to question our self-evident categories that organize research or reading, archives or museums. Not only once, but as constant deconstruction. But questioning the obvious requires standing away from our selves and self-questioning. Let us see things from opposite points of view; here is the educational value of carefully listening. In this way, what we call 'cultural heritage' could not only serve as a positive affirmation, but it could gain a critical dimension as well.

At first sight, the specific historical character of museums, which underlines the authority of museums, as well as the authority of all other institutions which construct or present history, poses relevant questions about museums' interface with history education.

At this point, I would like to stress that the educational advantages of this interface seem mainly to rely on the chances museums offer to students a) to interpret relics, material, physically existing authentic objects of the past; and b) to critically approach and 'read' museums as 'historical spatial accounts', constructed by written, oral, visual, digital and material sources of historical information, in order to go beyond the historical interpretation that each museum implies (Nakou, 2001a). But as Dickinson, Gard, & Lee (1978) claim,

the assertion that the concrete nature of historical materials will help children to find our about the past also merits careful examination. […] What makes them *historical* materials is our historical understanding of them, and that is *not* concrete. This means that if we are to succeed in using primary sources for anything more than arousing interest then our children must understand them as saying something about the past. It is tempting, but misleading, to ignore this fact and to assume that children are automatically getting closer to 'real' history if they are given primary sources. (p. 3)

On this basis, the educational benefits of students' work in museums seem rather related to educational than to museological parameters. Even 'traditional' museums, which present their collections in a strictly academic and chronological way, can positively affect students historical thinking and knowledge, if students work in museums according to open, well organized educational programmes, designed on the basis of sufficient knowledge of history, museology, material culture theory, museum and history education (Nakou, 2000, 2001b).

Substantial work in museums may appear to be a demanding task for both history educators and children, mainly because it relates to several educational, museological and historical parameters. On the other hand, this is one of the ways in which history can be substantial, appealing and meaningful for children, because, among others, such work seems to help children to develop special types of mental skills that make historical learning and understanding possible, by facilitating the retrieval, building and application of historical knowledge.

The following response was given by a boy (age 13/14) to a task, according to which students had to pose historical questions, supposing that they were historians, who wished to find about the past by studying two prehistoric cycladic statues representing musicians, in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens:

By using these objects as historians we begin with the fact that these objects present two musicians an element that shows to us that in that period there was a development of music. The first question refers to [the hypothesis] if this development relates to the Cyclades islands or more generally to the Greek region. But the historian must question whether the activity of music presents a picture of the reality of the period or if it has been inspired by another place or by a myth of an older period. Another question might be: Does the representation of instruments correspond to reality or has been changed in relation to the technical constraints of sculpture? Are the instruments that we see really a harp and a flute?

But can children, at different ages, be involved in such tasks? Material objects, visual images, museums and archaeological/historical sites seem to be more open to alternative interpretations than written texts (Lowenthal, 1985, Burke, 2001), and they do not pose the type of language difficulties that written texts pose. Based on relevant research results (Ashby, 2005; Barca, 1996, 2005; Lee, Dickinson & Ashby 2001) and relevant theoretical studies (Barthes, 1972, Bennett, 1987), we can hypothesize that it is very difficult for (young and older) students to interpret written texts as historical evidence, going beyond the implied story, at least when written texts are isolated from their tangible, concrete historical context.

Moreover, material, visual, written, oral, spatial, environmental and digital heritage presented in museums seem to appeal, among others, to students' emotions, which, by a well organized educational method, can gradually get a symbolic character and reach understanding at the abstract level of language. According to Christidis (2002),

the sensate perception of a live experience – of the thing – directly related to the present stimulus, is transformed into the indirect mental perception and organization of experience, by the procedures of generalization and abstraction of human mind. The sensate, concrete thing 'dies' under the strokes of generalization and of abstraction - of meaning, and leaves behind it's generalized, abstracted reflection - the concept. […] In the beginning there is not the general, the generalization and the abstraction, but the concrete thing, – not the 'table' in general, but 'this table'. In order to conquer the generalized and abstract world of reason, the live experience is a prerequisite. (p. 88)

Our mind is fabricated by signs. And this fabrication cannot be separated from action, which directly relates to the dialectic character of thinking and speech. The linguistic presentation – the concept – relates to the ability for expressing it. The prehistory of concepts is formed then by senses and emotion. Senses and emotion are closely related, because there is no pathetic, neutral sensate perception. As Damasio & Damasio (1992) suggest, 'our minds do not simply reflect views of external reality. They also reflect the way by which our bodies investigate the world and respond to it'. (p. 92)

Paraphrasing what Christidis (ibid) further suggests, the interrelation of a live experience with abstract thought goes under stages, each of which plays a different role in the conquest of relevant concepts. The indirect holistic character of a live experience forms the basis for the second stage, for the energetic meeting of subject and object, for the beginning of the thoughtful act, which ends up with the synthesis of the two previous stages, with the development of the generalized and abstract thought, which functions as the 'the murder of the thing'. The conquest of concepts, though, relates to our ability to communicate them, and thus the whole procedure goes beyond its subjective character and gains social linguistic hypostasis.

These procedures could be considered keys for the organization of educational programmes in museums that could help history education to realize its two basic aims, discussed in the first part of this paper; to help students a) build a dynamic type of historical knowledge, and b) to understand history as a discipline, with its special methods and rules, avoiding the great difficulties that children face while approaching history on the basis of written narrations and sources. As C. Husbands (op. cit., pp. 59-60) suggests, language difficulties in history have, at the same time, both a hermeneutic and an epistemological basis: the way we describe the past relates to the ways we interpret it, and the way we understand the past cannot be separated from the ways in which we build our knowledge about it. (pp. 59-60)

The museum environment, at least partially, forms a basis for understanding the past in the present, in terms of both the past and the present, and for approaching past meanings and contexts of 'present' words. Words gain their meanings in the concrete.

Footnotes

1. The word 'historia' in modern Greek means both 'history' and 'story'.
2. It is important to note a characteristic difference appearing between British and Greek students' ideas about the past, which seems mainly to relate to the different orientation of their 'microtheories', to their different experiences and interests in the present. Responses falling into the category 'the divi past' (Ashby & Lee, 1987) do not appear in relevant Greek results, mainly because Greek children's ideas about the present directly relate to the glory of the past. Characteristic are recent (unpublished) research results, (presented by Demertzis, Department of Communication and Mass Media, University of Athens), based on 1600 respondents

(age 15-29), according to which young Greeks' national pride is based first of all on 'Ancient Greek culture' (75,1%), and second, on 'folk tradition' (51,3%), leaving far behind 'contemporary culture' (24,3%), 'science and research' (11,4%), 'being in the E.C.' (7.9%) and 'contemporary Greek educational system' (1,8%). (See Liatsou, 2005)

3. See, among others, the work of Lee, Dickinson & Ashby (2001) on project CHATA, and especially their conclusions about the 'seven year gap', where, among others, they claim that 'it seems possible that the gap is less marked in areas where ideas are more specific to history […] than in areas where they may be more generic […]'.

4. There are several different views about how school history and public history affect children's historical ideas and understandings. See, among others, Cooper (1995); Frangoudaki (1978).

5. On the basis of 'traditional' epistemological ideas, museums originating from the 19th century were formed as big, 'object oriented' museums, which basically functioned as guardians of material cultural heritage that was presented as national heritage. Based on relevant traditional educational ideas, they offered a strict academic type of information, which served, or even built national history and national esteem, paying no or little attention to their visitors' abilities, skills and needs.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, museums formed new social and educational environments, according to modern epistemological and educational assumptions, which suggested that, reality is complex and cannot be absolutely and objectively known. Accordingly, knowledge cannot be offered, but can be built by energetic and thinking subjects on the basis of their dialogue with facts. In this modern context, 'object and people oriented' museums appeared, paying equal attention to their objects and to their visitors, and investigating ways by which people were helped to approach and understand museum objects' meanings and to reconstruct relevant views of reality.

Over the past three decades, postmodern epistemological ideas have questioned modern assumptions about reality and knowledge, suggesting the deconstruction of reality and the existence of different icons of reality related to different discourses and interests. On this basis, postmodern museums tend to create open exhibition environments, which can help visitors realize museum objects' polysemy and the relevant different alternative 'histories' that museums and their different visitors can construct with them.

6. Contemporary museums do not only present material, tangible heritage, but 'intangible heritage', 'living heritage', 'digital heritage' as well, and, more generally, heritage relating to languages, oral accounts, expressive arts, as well as skills and knowledge that cannot be presented by concrete objects. See ICOM NEWS, Newsletter of International Council of Museums, vol. 57, 2004, (p. 4.), which is dedicated to the 21st General International Conference of ICOM, which took place in Seoul in 2004, with the general title: 'Museums and intangible heritage'.

Correspondence

Irene Nakou, University of Thessaly, P.T.P.E., Argonayton & Philellenon, Volos 38221, Greece

inakou@uth.gr

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History in Environmental Education:The experience of the Cape Town Centre for Conservation Education

Sigi Howes, Centre for Conservation Education and Education Museum, Western Cape

Abstract *The Centre for Conservation Education is an environmental education museum that works with primary and secondary age range. Founded in 1989, it has developed a role that focuses upon issues of identity and conservation for the new South Africa that has emerged out of the crucible of the period of transition from Apartheid to Democracy. The Centre copes for both pupils and teachers, and has a wide range of active and inter-active learning experiences. Its educational provision is in line with the new South African curriculum that is Afro-centric in contrast to the pre-Apartheid emphasis upon the cultural heritage of the West. The Centre is grappling in a constructive, creative and hopefully effective way with the challenge of meeting the needs of both pupils and teachers with a wide range of ethnic, cultural and educational backgrounds. The very survival of the Centre is a testimony to the sensitivity it has shown in being needs driven and responsive to the current political zeitgeist with its educational ramifications.*

The **Centre for Conservation Education** is a unique educational institution in the services of the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) that has been operating for 17 years, providing environmental education to primary and secondary learners. Teachers book a date and a topic, and bring their learners to the Centre or one of our off-campus sites. Working from 1989 until 2006 means that for the most of our existence, we have had to cope with change in some form or other. I want to share with you how we have adapted and coped with some of the challenges.

Many definitions exist for the word **environment**, and even more exist for **environmental education**. At the Centre, we see the environment as everything around us, and falling into 3 categories: the bio-physical, the built and the social. But as the title of this paper suggests, history is a part of the environment in which we live, and therefore a part of environmental education. the teaching of history forms an integral part of our teaching programme. There are many environmental education service providers in Cape Town, but not many have a history focus, and those that do, like museums, seldom see their work as environmental education.

We started life in 1989 as the **Education Museum**. This coincided with the 150th anniversary of the then Cape Education Department and we are based in an old school dating from 1836. From the outset, the functions of the Museum were education and research, the promotion of conservation, and the collection and display of artefacts. And like school museums elsewhere in the world, it offers children an opportunity to experience what it was like 'when great-granny was at school' in a hands-on history experience similar to other museums of its kind (Sovereign Hill in Ballarat, Australia; British Schools Museum, Hitchin, UK and many more).

When the 'green movement' began to sweep the world, the **Education Museum** too was affected. From an early curriculum that focused initially on history and the conservation of the built environment, a progression to include the bio-physical environment was inevitable. It was felt that the name Education Museum no longer adequately described the range of our work, so in 1995 the name was changed to

the **Centre for Conservation Education**. This was also a prudent political move. In 1992, when the new government took over, there were three museums dedicated to the history of education in South Africa; ours is the only one that was not closed.

We have worked tirelessly over the past 10 years to make ourselves as indispensable to the Education Department as possible. We have broadened our services to providing a reference library for research, assistance with research on school histories, period exhibitions for schools' anniversaries, visits to schools to speak at assemblies and staff meetings, workshops for teachers, special programmes for special environmental days such as Arbor Week, free distribution of environmental posters, and a big interactive exhibition for International Museum Day. And of course, a daily educational programme that is varied, interesting and that has curricular relevance.

When schools book a lesson at the Centre, they come for the entire morning. Our lessons are generally 3 hours long, because the schools often have to travel great distances to get to us, and as transport is expensive, we feel that we owe it to the schools to make the trip worthwhile. Gone are the days when teachers took their classes on outings designed purely for fun and enrichment. Instead, they have become much more discerning and more critical of how lessons are presented by service providers such as ours. We see this as a good thing, because it keeps us on our toes and forever looking for ways in which to improve. Every teacher is given an evaluation sheets that requires them to assess how the lesson meets the Learning Outcomes and Assessment Standards they seek, and if they fail to see the link in our lessons, we know we must go back to the drawing board.

The lessons must be special, something the ordinary teacher cannot do in the ordinary classroom. So we use specialised equipment where possible, such as our lesson on games of yesteryear, we let the children play with old marbles (sodies), tops, catapults (very controlled for safety reasons), skipping ropes and so on. We also aim for a high degree of learner activity, so we always strive to make our lessons as practical as possible. We use the Environmental Action Model designed by O'Donoghue (2001) for most of our lessons, namely that environmental education:

Is **about** the environment   **Information**

Should be **in** the environment   **Experience**

Is **for** the environment   **Action**

Our archaeology lesson, for example:

The children are first given the information to do these activities carefully and properly (**Information**);

They proceed outside where an archaeological site has been recreated and where they dig up stone-age implements (**Experience**);

They go through the processes of sifting, cleaning, identifying, labelling and writing up the artefacts they discover; they have to report back on their findings and show that they have understood the importance of conservation (**Action**).

One of our biggest challenges was to make sure that our programmes are in line with the new National Curriculum Statement (NCS). Luckily the NCS has a strong emphasis on environmental education and sustainability in most learning areas and subjects. We have lessons on water conservation, river ecology, fynbos economy, waste management, attracting birds to suburban gardens, global warming, climate change, the rocky seashore and beekeeping, all adapted to the different levels of learning. And History lessons on archaeology, examining and interpreting historical sources, games of yesteryear, oral history, the South African War, 'When Great-

Granny was at School' and the Industrial Revolution and mass education. To us, seeing history as an integral part of environmental education is second nature now. We try to integrate different curriculum disciplines as much as possible. See, for example, our lesson called 'Bees at Work' in the Appendix.

The new history curriculum, particularly at primary school level, differs vastly from the old. For one thing, it is far more Afro-centric, whereas the old one was more Euro-centric. This not only means content that heeds African history and achievement, but also allows silent voices of history and marginalised communities to be heard. Indigenous knowledge systems are recognised and oral history is a strong focus. Consequently we have recently developed a lesson in medicinal plants, which is already becoming quite popular, and we have an oral history lesson that involves children interviewing older members of the community and recording the results. But first we teach them what kind of questions to pose and how to ask them. History also lends itself to nation building and is an opportunity to heal the divisions of the past.

This means a paradigm shift in planning lessons and one has to look for examples of shared history, in other words, common experiences, despite our differences. Sometimes historic accuracy has to be sacrificed in the interests of sensitivities. Take our lesson 'When Great-Granny was at School'. While early schools at the Cape were often mixed, the masala was generally white, coloured, Malay and the children of free slaves; there were very few indigenous African people. Most former white schools are now multicultural, with Xhosa-speaking learners, and it would be unacceptable to differentiate on the basis of historic accuracy. We strive to make all children feel comfortable in the role-play, so we don't mention the issue of race at all unless the children ask. And sometimes they do!

During the apartheid years, our Centre received mainly groups from white schools. Suddenly, in the early 1990s, we had new clients from the Coloured and Black communities, and children whose experience of life was often very different from our own. Most of our teachers began their careers in white schools, and were not familiar with the problems faced by many of the schools on the Cape Flats, and most had never taught black children. By way of example, in our culture, when we speak to a child, we expect the child to look us straight in the eye. A Xhosa child will respectfully lower the eyes and avoid eye-contact, because this is how a child shows respect for an adult. We had to learn a lot of things fast! Extra care is required when handling children of cultures other than our own, and in making sure no-one is offended. Our teachers have had to learn many new skills and sensitivities. But these experiences have also been enriching and have broadened our experience of humanity.

Language is still a problem, however. Most of the children from the township schools are Xhosa-speaking and their English teachers are not first-language English speakers. This means they don't easily follow the English that we use in our teaching. We've tried several methods: watering down the content; keeping the lessons simple and practical; letting the class teacher translate; and in the end, we felt that the best would be to have a Xhosa mother-tongue speaker to do the lessons, and so we have been petitioning the Education Department for such a post. This year it has at last been granted, and it will go a long way towards us being better able to serve these schools.

One of the other things we found is that many of the township teachers have a very sketchy knowledge of history or the environment. So now, every year, we run about 6 workshops for teachers, and they are generally well-attended. We have also started producing Teachers Guides for our lessons which give teachers facts that they can use in their own lessons, things they can do to prepare their learners for a visit to the Centre, ideas for follow-up activities, links to the curriculum and worksheets. These have been well received, but take a long time to produce.

At the other end of the scale we have client teachers who are sophisticated, knowledgeable, insightful and who know exactly what they want. We have found that since the introduction of the NCS, teachers prefer to book for lessons and activities that have a strong link to the curriculum, and consequently we have had to do a lot of self-examination of what we offer to the schools, and many lessons have subsequently been discarded and new ones introduced.

This is the pattern of education. In the environment, things change all the time. As teachers, we find that we have to make sure we are up do date with environmental knowledge and issues, as well as current methodologies. We can never sit down and think: now we know it all, we have the experience. Last year saw the launch of the **UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development**. It has 3 main focus areas:

1.   Environmental Protection

2.   Economic Development

3.   Social & Cultural Development

In a country like South Africa, which is developing very quickly, we have to be extra vigilant of the pressure that development puts on our natural and cultural heritage. So our work will never be done. Luckily, we love it and believe in it, and while there are dedicated educators, who believe passionately in protecting our environment, we can continue with our calling: to teach others to care for the earth today and protect what we had yesterday for tomorrow.

Correspondence

Sigi Howes, Principal,
Centre for Conservation Education and Education Museum
9 Aliwal Road
7800 Wynberg
Western Cape
South Africa

postmaster@cce.wcape.school.za

Tel: +27 21 762-1622

Fax: +27 21 762-8690

APPENDIX

Responsible Teachers:	Anton Fortuin, Nicci Hoal, Myrtle Edwards, Mark van Rensburg, Sigi Howes
Focus Learning Area:	**NATURAL SCIENCES**
Time allocated per lesson:	**3 hours**

This presentation can, with inputs from their teachers, be adapted for learners with special needs.

LESSON:	Description	Practical Activities	Integrated Learning Areas	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
Bees at Work	Honeybees have been farmed successfully for thousands of years. This lesson can be adapted to suit Grades 5 – 12, according to the Learning Outcomes.	Worksheet for each Grade in line with the assessment standards. Group work Pictograms Poetry Making models of bees Imitating bee dances Assisting with extraction (only twice a year) Opportunities provided for teachers to record their learners' responses during the lesson	Languages Social Sciences Arts and Culture Life Orientation		<u>Knowledge Focus</u> **Life & Living** • Life Processes • Interactions in Environments **Energy & Development** • Food & Cooking <u>Learning Outcomes</u> **LO 1**: Scientific Investigation **LO 2**: Constructing Scientific Knowledge **LO 3**: Science, Society & Environment <u>Assessment Standards</u> L can label a picture of a bee's body; classify bees as insects; understand the historic relationship between humans and bees; demonstrates an understanding of IKS; understands simple ecology; lists the uses of bees; suggests safety	<u>Knowledge Focus</u> **Life & Living** • Life Processes • Interactions in Environments **Energy & Change** • Food Production • Development & Poverty Relief in South Africa <u>Learning Outcomes</u> **LO 1**: Scientific Investigation **LO 2**: Constructing Scientific Knowledge **LO 3**: Science, Society & Environment <u>Assessment Standards</u> L can list different sources for honey; label a hive; understand how bees communicate; put in order the stages in the life cycle of the bee; understand the role of bees in the environment; evaluate beekeeping as a hobby and source of income for poor rural communities; describe safety measures for working with bees.

Museums and Identity: Robben Island and the Cretan Cauldron

Jon Nichol, School of Education and Life Long Learning, University of Exeter & Faculty of Education, University of Plymouth

Abstract *What is a museum for? Somewhere to dump the kids on a wet afternoon? Or, do they have a much deeper and wider cultural, social and political significance particularly in society's forged in a crucible of conflict?*

The plundering of Iraq's museums placed museums as guardians of a society's collective memory and identity at the top of the international political agenda. Museums are the repositories of the intent of those who created them, of a human agency that transmits messages through the signs and symbols of their collections. A museum artifact has a role and purpose the moment the museum creates the display. Purpose is in the mind of the creator, it is also in the messages that the visitor receives on entering a museum. Museum displays can have many purposes: but in relation to the museums of South Africa and Crete, they are overtly political. Robben Island as a cultural icon makes clear, definite and precise statements about the politics of South Africa, past and present. The museum's messages are currently in a passive, transmission mode of education – it was our privilege to suggest how the museum might be transformed into an active learning centre that would deepen and heighten children's perceptions.

A visit to Crete heightened an awareness of the cultural and political role that museums play in society whose identity was forged in a crucible of conflict and emotion. Identity has a strong temporal dimension: messages from the past; stories, myths and legends all combine to give a sense of belonging. The symbolism of Crete's museum's are stark and clear: Knossos and Heraklion link back to the heritage of Ancient Greece, and through that a sense of Greek identity that is in stark contrast to alien cultures and societies. Gortyn carries the torch on through the Ancient Greek period into the Roman era. Arcadia combines a sense of fervent religious and racial identity in the Age of Nationalism; it is a shrine to the martyrs who blew themselves up rather than surrender to the Turks in 1867.

A small, private museum in the village Asomatos was the brainchild of Papa Michalis Georgoulakis. Papa Michalis gathered together hordes of artifacts that reflected the history of the local society. At the museum's centre is a tribute to the survival of Cretan society in its darkest hour: the Second World War. The final museum I visited, The Naval Museum of Chania, was the most moving and evocative of them all covering all periods and phases of the emergence of Cretan identity from the Minoan period onwards. History and identity were 'in your face'. Each exhibit, organized chronologically, stressed the development of Cretan / Greek identity in the face of invasion, oppression, conquest and control. The most poignant display was a tribute to a man shot as a member of the Cretan resistance in 1944, John Pendlebury. In 1932 he had written the first guide to Knossos that paid tribute to the continuity of Minoan/Cretan and Ancient Greek culture. When Crete was invaded Pendlebury put down his trowel and picked up the gun, with fatal consequences.

Introduction

This paper is in three parts: the first looks at the potential educational use of Robben Island. A range of suggested activities are included in the Appendix. The paper's

second section explores some musings about museums, education, citizenship and society that arose from investigating museums in Crete. The final section draws together common ideas, themes and insights about the role of museum education, history and citizenship in South Africa and Crete.

Part 1: Robben Island

Introduction: Robben Island

Jacqui Dean and I, as guests of the Cape Town Education Department, stood on a quay in Cape Town harbour waiting for the ferry to carry us across the short stretch of sun drenched choppy water to Robben Island, silhouetted against the distant skyline. As members of The Nuffield Primary Project History team we were enjoying the rare privilege of participating, no matter how peripherally, in the crucible of curriculum development reform in the emergent South Africa of the post apartheid era. Four years before South Africa had held its first democratic elections. These served as a backcloth to a period when 'the apartheid curriculum would be cast aside and history could claim its place as an important instrument in the construction of a new national identity.' (Sieborger, 2000, p. 39). In the new South Africa History had a tripartite role that combined the idealistic and functional:

1   keeping the triumph over evil fresh, memorializing the struggles of the past, and helping to break down all remaining racism;

2   giving back a history to those who had been denied or robbed of one before;

3   helping to strengthen democratic and constitutional values – or the three 'r's of reconstruction, redress and reconciliation.' [my enumeration] (ibid., p. 39)

History, with its focus on attitudes, ideologies, values and beliefs, ethical standards and the development of the critical judgment upon which voters in a functioning democracy depend, was and still is explicitly a supremely politically subject in the new South Africa. The creation of a national identity stands at the confluence of myth and reality, of propaganda and academic objectivity, of folk-memory and beliefs and the careful sifting of the evidence from a contested past. The interplay of such factors was nowhere stronger than at Robben Island: the symbol of both totalitarian oppression and the triumph of freedom over tyranny. And so we waited for the ferry to carry us across the water to carry out the brief that John Fines had given us. John Fines and I were co-directors of the Nuffield Primary History Project: John had fronted up the Robben Island field visit. Unfortunately he was unable to join us on the ferry.

The Robben Island brief

The Cape Town Education Department had asked John Fines to prepare a set of ideas of how to use Robben Island as an educational site to promote in children:

- an understanding of the significance of Robben Island to all pupils in the new South Africa of the rainbow generation;

- the critical thinking that would enable them to make sense of the 'messages' that investigation of the evidence from the past at Robben Island revealed;

- an appreciation that historical 'truth' is grounded in processes of critical enquiry that engage the full range of mental faculties, including the imaginative and emotional as well as the logical and deductive.

A key principle of the Nuffield Primary History Project is learning by doing: learning should be an active as opposed to a passive activity. It should provide challenges, i.e. problems to be solved; questions and questioning to drive on the enquiry; study in

detail in order to develop a deep level of understanding; working upon the genuine testimony of the past in whatever shape and form it has survived and communication of findings.

Preparing the brief

John Fines prepared the brief around the premise that pupils needed to be actively involved in what it might be like to be a political prisoner on Robben Island. By looking at the past through the eyes of political prisoners like Nelson Mandela, John felt that children would grasp the realities of apartheid more fully, clearly and in greater detail than through the medium of a guided tour. Accordingly, John prepared the fieldwork plan around the concept of putting the pupils in the shoes of a political prisoner disembarking from the terminal in Cape Town harbour on a boat bound for Robben Island. We discussed the plan with the Cape's museum staff on the morning of 5th September, who seemed interested in what to them was a radical solution to the island's educational use. That was why on a Saturday in September 1998 we stood in a disembarkation cell through which all Robben Island prisoners had passed on their way to political exile and incarceration.

The visit

Because of problems with the ferry, we were literally cast adrift on the waters of the harbour, so we visited the island alone. Luckily arrangements had been made at the other end for our visit - when we landed a guide greeted us. Almost as if by magic the guide was the perfect person to help us implement John's plan: he was an ex-prisoner of Robben Island. We were able to spend two hours visiting all of the buildings, facilities and recreational areas of the prison compound, followed by a visit to the limestone quarry, (map A). With the help of our guide, we were able to carry out an intensive and extensive reconnaissance, of which we kept full notes. Our overall impression was that the site was extremely rich and full of possibilities to engage children of all ages and abilities in the way that John had suggested. At the time of our visit the site was relatively under-used: indeed, within the main prison complex the education facility consisted of a single room with chairs and tables.

Reconnaissance

Successful fieldwork depends upon reconnaissance. In our reconnaissance we wanted to investigate the site from the perspective of children using their informed imaginations *to enter into the spirit of the past, to try and see things, no matter how inadequately, through the eyes of those who were prisoners of the Apartheid State.* This thread runs through and connects all of our activities.

Robben Island as an Educational Resource

It immediately became clear that there were numerous opportunities in the prison complex for pupils to participate in a range of activities that mirrored the lives of Robben Island's political prisoners. We designed each activity to be discrete and self-contained. This meant that the island's education staff and visiting teachers could select those they felt appropriate for their pupils. They would be able to modify, adapt or discard our suggested activities as they felt fit. We tried to make the activities as mixed-ability, mixed-gender and cross phase as possible. To undertake their fieldwork pupils would need to take writing and drawing materials with them – we wanted them to be able to draw, sketch, and take notes as well as to engage in physical activities. No death by a thousand worksheets! We also stressed that pupils should wear casual clothes suitable for the tasks undertaken on the visit.

Field Work at Robben Island: Entering into the spirit of the past

We identified 13 points where 34 fieldwork activities could occur. Robben Island contained c. 400 political prisoners, split into two categories: the top-security prisoners held in single cells and the general prisoners, who lived communally. Our fieldwork suggestions aimed to try and allow pupils inside the minds of the political prisoners, to begin to understand of what it might have been like to have been incarcerated in such a way. The essence of Robben Island was keeping alive and fostering the anti apartheid principles, ideals and the collective will to resist oppression. As such, it served as an icon, a symbol that all South African pupils could relate to in coming to terms with living harmoniously in a multi ethnic society. The Appendix contains full details of the suggested Robben Island educational activities.

Part 2:The Cretan Cauldron

Involvement in 2004 with the Museum of London's plans for restructuring the museum via its advisory committee awoke an interest in museum education dormant since my return from Robben Island. The Museum of London advisory group meetings raised major issues and concerns about the role and purpose of museums: indeed, it brought into focus the untested and unspoken assumptions that underpin museum provision. What is a museum for? How does it relate to the working of society and government? What is the justification for museums receiving public funding and support? What is the significance of the museum's collections: their overall structure, inter-relationships and the holistic messages that they convey and the individual collection and its artifacts. What are the messages, the intent, that the museum intends its audience to receive? And, what view does it have of audience, of the messages that it conveys to society in general?

The Museum of London's meetings took place against a backdrop of the museum's staff and governing body's shared common cultural involvement and knowledge. These illuminate, shapes and provide a framework for interpreting the 'messages' that the museum's displays and artifacts mediate and convey. A visit last summer to Crete provided the opportunity to visit a range of museums in a society that was culturally radically different from England, yet shared certain common cultural roots and interest that spilled over into politics, religion and art. How would the thinking that the Museum of London's advisory committee shared relate to the museums and their educative role in a radically different milieu and society, a society at the cutting edge between European and Asiatic cultures, ethnicities and religions?

Museums in Crete are closely linked to a community that has been forged in a cauldron of conflict over the past two thousand years: conflicts grounded in ethnic, religious, political, cultural and social animosity that group like iron filings around the polarity of nationalism: both Greek and Turkish. Crete is an island that has been colonized and ruled from without for over 2000 years as the guide book headings indicate:

WAVES OF INVADERS

The sudden collapse of Minoan culture marked the beginning of centuries of invasion, as one race after another occupied Crete.

The Classical Period

The rule of Byzantium

Arab occupation

Return of the Byzantines

Sold to the Venetians

Turkish occupation

MODERN TIMES

Free from foreign domination at last, and eventually part of Greece.

The Battle of Crete

Post war chaos (Insights Guides, 2004)

This chronology provides a defining structure for Crete's museums: their raison d'etre is to illuminate the narrative, to thicken it and present an interpretation that relates to the shared identify of being Cretan, but Cretan as a sub-set of modern Greece. Accordingly, Cretan identity is rooted in the Graeco-Roman tradition, hence the symbolic role of Knossos. The focus of Knossos and the Knossos displays in the museum of Herakleion, as stated in the official Knossos guide book, is on its Ancient Greek and European antecedents:

> Knossos, on Crete, was one of the most ancient cities of the Aegean and of Europe. The vast site over which the ruins lie, at a distance of approximately 5 kilometres from Herakleion, the modern capital of Crete, is visited every day by thousands of people from all over the world. They come to see and to admire the remains of this brilliant and refined ancient Greek civilization.(Vassilakis, 2004, p.23)

Knossos is inextricably linked to the myths and legends that are a defining feature of Ancient Greek civilization. Central to these is the legend of the Minotaur that gives the classical period of Crete its nomenclature: Minoan. In detail, it is argued that the legend is cited in the labyrinthine network of rooms and passages that make up the palace of Minos, King of Crete: Knossos.

The issue of culture and identity is equally central to Gortyn, the site that relates most closely to Knossos and the Herakleion Museum where Knossos's finds are displayed. Gortyn succeeded Knossos from 67 B.C as the capital of Crete, after the Roman conquest. Gortyn remained the capital until the Arab conquest of A.D. 828. Gortyn's museum and display of remains focus on key symbols of nationalism and identity: in particular the role of the historical continuum, geographical identity, law, religion and art and architecture:

> The Gortynian Law, *Europe*'s earliest *law code*, is preserved in the longest inscription of *Ancient Greece*, the so-called 'Queen of Inscriptions'. The *public buildings* and the *sculpture* bear witness to Gortyn's splendour as the *capital city* of Crete. The island's first *Christian church* was founded here by the Apostle Paul and his pupil, Titus(Vassilakis, pp.6-7). [my italics]

Knossos and Gortyn illuminate the focus of Crete's museums and historical sites illuminating particular elements of Cretan history that relate to contemporary Cretan identity within a continuum of Greek culture from the Ancient Greek period. Nowhere is the role of museums to sharpen and deepen national identity clearer than at Arkadi, a monastery set in the Cretan hinterland. The path to Arkadi is twisting and circuitous through deep plunging ravines lined with groves of olive trees, pines and cypress. The walled monastery is perched on a patch of level ground in the middle of rolling hills and woodland.

The isolation of Arkadi is a clue to its symbolic, iconic importance for Cretan national identity: a guerilla war for Cretan independence had broken out against the Turkish rulers in 1866. The rebellion was aimed at securing Cretan independence from Turkey and union with Greece. The Turks sent an army to suppress the rising: in November 1866 it attacked and surrounded Arkadi, the centre of Cretan resistance. The defenders of the monastery retreated to the gunpowder store where they blew

themselves up (Kalogeraki, 2002). Arkadi is a symbol of Cretan identity forged through martyrdom; commemorated in for example:

- 8th November being National Day

- Street names

- Engravings, paintings, sculptures and other memorials to the Arkadian leaders

- The Arkadi museum

- Books, articles and publicity materials about Crete

The theme of museums and nationalism is again the coherent, consistent and progressive element in the final two museums that we visited: the small, private collection of Papa Michalis Georgoulakis in the village of Asomatos and the naval museum of Hania. Hania is Crete's second city. Papa Michalis's museum is a collection that capture's the essence of Cretan rural life: working life; arts and crafts; religion; values and beliefs; family and communal activities; leisure and entertainment. Again nationalism raises its head as a major feature, intruding upon the essentially local and parochial nature of the museum. Central to the museum is a display commemorating Cretan resistance during the Second World War, and local figures who symbolize the spirit of Cretan and Greek survival. The Asomatos museum bridges the gap between the local and the national: here we see local identity embedded in the bigger picture of national identity.

Museums' role as nodes that encapsulate cultural identities is nowhere clearer than at Hania, Crete's second city. Hania was the Venetian capital of Western Crete: a major entreport. The Naval Museum is on the city's waterfront, overlooking the exquisite inner harbour at the city's heart. The museum is organized as a tribute to the spirit of Cretan survival in the face of centuries of occupation and oppression. The main central display focuses upon the 'Battle for Crete' in May 1941 and subsequent resistance to German occupation. The display contains a tribute to a figure that unites the concept of the continuity of Cretan culture from the Minoan and Ancient Greek period: John Pendlebury. John had penned the guide to Knossos cited earlier, a judicious, scholarly work that balanced the evidence about the nature of Minoan civilization and concluded that it was impossible to make a crude alignment between it and Ancient Greek civilisation. When war broke out John joined the Cretan resistance, was arrested and executed. In a personal sense he illuminates the wider role that museums can play within the overall framework of culture, heritage and identity.

End note

The links between South Africa's museums in general, Robben Island in particular, and a range of museums in Crete lie in the intended role and function of museums. Intention is a complex and difficult concept where a museum is the expression of collective will and endeavour that can extend from the period of the museum's foundation. Identity is multi-faceted, it is both and individual, familial and social construct that draws upon a multitude of elements. The South African and Cretan examples suggest that one element suffuses them all: nationalism. It is the role and purpose of History Educators to temper nationalism with dignity, constraint and civilized values and beliefs. How that is to be done is perhaps a central theme of our seminar.

Correspondence

School of Education and Life Long Learning,
University of Exeter,
Heavitree Rd.,
EXETER,
EX1 2LU

Email J.D.Nichol@ex.ac.uk

Tel: 01626 890050

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Map A

Behrens, P. et al (1994) *Dreaming of Freedom: The Story of Robben Island*
Johannesburg: Sached Books Ltd, pp. 50-51

Illustration 1

Behrens, P. et al (1994) *Dreaming of Freedom: The Story of Robben Island*
Johannesburg: Sached Books Ltd, p. 49

Source Mayibuye Centre

Appendix

Please consult the map in relation to the 13 places suggested for learning activities.

1 The Quay – The Embarkation Point

This was perfect for immediately getting the pupils into role. On the quay was the screening cell that all prisoners passed through, completely intact, although used as a lumber-room. So, we felt that the cell could be reactivated.

Activity 1: Logging the prisoners

The prison officer would:

a.   log each prisoner in the prison logbook

b.   give each pupil a certificate that provides him or her with a prison identity

c.   fingerprint the pupils

d.   ask the pupils to remove their shoes. We would have to provide alternative footwear!

e.   handcuff them using rubber bands!

Activity 2 Discussion

- Why were prisoners treated in this way?

- The pupils could be asked to say what their thoughts and feeling might be in terms of their home and families their fears, apprehensions about their future in the prison

Activity 3 Sending a postcard home

The pupils could be given a postcard to complete to send home. The teachers/museum staff or fellow pupils in role as guards would then censor the card.

2 The voyage from the Quay to Robben Island

The journey on the ferry struck as being perfect for the children to become involved in observing and sensing. The smell of the sea, the sound of breaking waves, seabirds, jellyfish, and then the approaching disembarkation point: So:

Activity 4. The senses and observations

- What would sounds and smells did they experience on the trip?

- What animals, birds, fish and plants did they see

- What might prisoners be thinking as they crossed the water to the jail?

3 The inscription on the entrance arch to the jail from the port, illustration 1

> [insert illustration 1]

The prisoners marched into the prison through an inscribed arch. Having been to Auschwitz three months before, the echo was genuinely nauseating. It could not be an accident, or could it?

> **Arbeit macht frei [Auschwitz]**

> **We Serve with Pride [Robben Island]**

Activity 5 Discussing the inscription

- What does 'We Serve with Pride' mean?

- Why was it chosen as a message to give to the prisoners of Robben Island?

- Can the pupils think what was going on in the minds of the government when it chose that motto?

- Can they provide a new motto of six words or less to welcome visitors to Robben Island that show the change in South Africa since the apartheid era?

- Again, what ideas and thoughts might a prisoner have on passing through the arch, handcuffed and marching in silence with armed guards on both sides.

4   The Sports Ground

We quickly passed through a number of buildings, including dormitories, to the sports ground. This was a large, open grassed space that contained a number of clues about how the prisoners passed their time. These included a running track, goal posts for football, a volleyball court and sandpit, all overgrown. Sport played a major part in the lives of prisoners: sports committees were set up, teams were organised across political lines / divisions to give a message of unity to the prison authorities. During playing games prisoners could talk and pass messages outside the hearing of their guard. Most interestingly to us, the prisoners organised a 'Sports Olympics'.

Activity 6 Interpreting the sports ground and the Olympics

- Working on the Clues

Use the clues on the sports ground to work out what sports the prisoners played

- The Olympics

    Having sorted out the games, the children should organise and take part in a prisoners' Olympics. Their Olympic games at their opening should also involve running around the running track with an Olympic Torch.

Activity 7 Playing volleyball

Volley Ball Court – this would have to be recreated!

- The children could take part in a volley ball game in **which they have to pass messages to each other undetected by the guards.**

- The teachers could take the role of guards, or pupils could be guards.

Activity 8 Discussion

How important do the pupils think playing games was for the prisoners?

How did games playing help them resist the prison regime and apartheid?

What might the significance of the Olympic torch have been?

5 Indoor games, the main community section

Our guide told us that in their dormitories, day rooms and the recreation room the prisoners played all kinds of games such as chess, scrabble, board games and card games. The education department could re-create such a room, enabling pupils to engage in activity 8. There would have to be enough games for all children to participate.

Activity 9

Pupils in pairs, threes or fours take part in one of the games.

Activity 10 Discussion

Why would the prisoners want to play these games?

What do the games suggest about their imprisonment?

6 The Recreation hall

Our next port of call was the concert hall. Here the prisoners held concerts, theatrical performances, carried our readings of poems and literature. Within the context of the prisoners' performances, here was a perfect opportunity for pupils to engage in similar activities.

Activity 11 Pupils as performers: concerts, plays, readings

Pupils could be provided with music, with readings, with instruments to engage in a whole range of performances. This could provide the focus for a working day, with the pupils participating in a performance from its planning through to staging a performance for a live audience

Activity 12 Discussion

What might have been the value of the concerts for both prisoners and warders and their families?

7 Education, the Study section

All of the literature on Robben Island stress the educational activities that went on, summed up in the phrase 'Robben Island University'. The prisoners were often highly educated, but among the inmates were the full range of educational experiences. So, there was an extensive range of peer teaching activities in which the able and experienced taught their inmates.

Activity 13

Split children into groups of 3-5 pupils. Each group would have one pupil who is an expert on a topic. That pupil then teaches the other children.

Activity 14 Discussion Point

What does the education programme suggest about the prisoners on the island, and how they thought of themselves?

8 Sculpture and Art, central enclosure, facing the library

In the buildings and the open space were examples of prisoners' art: in particular the sculptures were very striking. Here there were clear opportunities of creative art, with children taking part in producing sculptures and pictures. However, these would need to be carefully managed in the context of the political context of apartheid, with the sculptures and pictures being expressions of ideologies, values and beliefs. Opportunities to create sculpture / art for the enclosures

Activity 15

Pupils could undertake artistic work from the perspective of a political prisoner. This would, of course, need major organization!

Activity 16 Discussion

What materials might the prisoners have been able to use for their sculpture?

What themes / messages might their sculpture or art get across?

9 Work, courtyard of solitary block, huts

The prison regime had a work regime with a clear, grim purpose. In touring the building the guide made it clear that the prisoners spent most of their time working on a range of tasks, including labouring in the infamous limestone quarry. The limestone quarry involved prisoners having to achieve a quota per day of broken rock. So:

Activity 17

- Create a work room, with sewing machines etc. for children to take part in the work that the prisoners were engaged upon

- Rock breaking. Provide sledge hammers, goggles, rocks and a container for pupils to fill in an allocated amount of time

- Look at opportunity here for prisoners to communicate with each other.

- Garden. Plan out a garden that would provide fresh herbs and food for the prisoners.

Activity 18 Discussion

Why did the authorities organize the prisoners work in this way?

10 Health, Hospital

The hospital and medical room reminded us that illness was a constant issue and problem on the island. Everyday the prisoners paraded: this was when they reported if they were sick. The prison officers were very, very reluctant to accept that a prisoner was sick.

Activity 19

- Pupils play groups of prisoners. Some have health problems such as sore throats, sore chests, diarrhea, and sprained ankles.

- At the morning roll call they try to convince the prison doctor [the teacher] that they are sick.

Activity 20

Why might prisoners want to claim that they were sick?

What reasons might the doctor have had for treating the sick prisoners in this way?

11 Political Resistance

The prisoners on Robben Island were not a passive community – they were politically active, and dreamed of escaping to rejoin the freedom struggle. A high wire double fence surrounded the prison camp, there were armed guards and searchlights. Resistance took many forms: the activities reflect these, including obtaining paper on which to write messages. The prisoners seized upon any pieces of scrap paper they could find. Messages had to be hidden – again a challenge for the prisoners. Also, how would spoken messages be passed with guards or informers overhearing them?

Activities 19-28

21 Escape Committee Organise an escape committee to plan how escape from the island

22 Crossing the wire Attempt to get across a bit of the wire undetected

23 Writing messages. Before the visit staff scatter litter. Pupils use brown paper bags, other bits of paper as basis for creating writing paper for writing memoirs, letters etc.

24 Code work out a secret code for sending messages

25 Sign Language Create a sign language for sending messages.

26 Burying Messages

How and where would prisoners bury messages in the garden? How would the person for whom the message was intended know where to find it?

27 Treasure Hunt Divide the pupils into two teams, one buriers and the other diggers

Create a treasure hunt in the context of a garden.

pupils create messages using a secret code

the messages are buried in bottles or jars

other pupils have to find and dig up the messages, using a grid system

27 Political Meeting

- Get the pupils to draw up an agenda.

- Get them to agree on rules for the holdings of meetings.

- Organise meetings in groups.

- Discuss and debate issues on the agenda.

28 Discussion

- Why would the prisoners need paper?

- What reasons did the authorities have for denying them access to paper?

- Why did they have to hide them?

- What were the prisoners' motives in burying their papers?

- What would they use the sign language for?

- What things would the prisoners discuss at political meetings?

[need to relate this to what they have learned about the resistance movement]

12 The Mandela Cell, Solitary Block

Nelson Mandela was confined in a single cell in the high security wing of the prison. The Mandela Cell now serves as a shrine for the anti-apartheid regime. At the start of his incarceration the cell was bare with minimum facilities for survival, including a mattress on the floor. Nelson Mandela developed a close relationship based upon mutual respect with his warders. Due to pressure from outside S. Africa, the cell became relatively well furnished and civilized: interestingly the photograph most commonly used of it in textbooks was a propaganda picture the S.African authorities provided!

Activity 29 Mandela's cell

- Recreate the pattern of life in the cell

- [thoughts, hopes, feelings, expectations]

- Role play - with pupil as warder developing a healthy relationship with Mandela

- Sketch the cell : try to create the atmosphere of what it was like to live there

<u>13 The Visiting Room: Prison Visits and Letters, Building at entrance to prison</u>

Prisoners were allowed infrequent visits. The authorities made these as difficult and unpleasant as possible for all those involved. Prisoners stood in a row, their visitors were kept 2 metres away from them behind a wire barrier. Prisoners could also write letters home: these were censored. Outside visitors were allowed to visit the prison in the more liberal period before the end of apartheid.

Activity 30 The prison visit

- Recreate the visiting room, with its wire barrier

- Get pupils in rows to stand a distance apart [2 metres] and talk to each other, one row in the role of prisoners, the other as visitors.

- Then ask the prisoners in turn to tell the rest of the group what they had been able to discuss.

Activity 31 Discussion

What might the authorities have been trying to do in organizing visits in this way?

What impression would they want to give?

Activity 32 Outside visitors

A deputation of foreign visitors is coming to the island. The children have to organise a visit from he point of view of the Apartheid regime to show Robben Island at its best to the foreigners.

Activity 33 *Letters home*

The children can use their fieldwork to write letters to their family telling them what life was like on Robben Island. The can sit quietly, shut their eyes and imagine the lowest points in the lives of long-term prisoners.

Activity 34 *Discussion*

What helped prisoners survive their low points and not give up their anti-apartheid struggle.

What strengths of character were needed in these dire situations?

Follow-up and dissemination

After our visit we prepared a full report which we forwarded to our hosts. This paper is based upon that report – when we visit South Africa next year we look forward to seeing how Robben Island is now used as an educational resource.

Narrating the Holocaust to Younger Generations: Memory and Postmemory in the Cape Town Holocaust Centre

Sofie M.M.A. Geschier, University of Cape Town, South Africa

Abstract *This paper looks at the role of primary witnesses and their narratives in the mediation of traumatic memories of the Holocaust to the younger generations who visit the Cape Town Holocaust Centre as part of their formal education. Oral history interviews were conducted with seven museum facilitators in 2003. Two of the interviewees are Holocaust survivors.[i] The Cape Town Holocaust Centre is the first Holocaust Centre on the African continent. It opened its doors officially on 10 August 1999. The Centre strives to further South Africa's transformation process by making explicit links between the racial ideologies of Nazism and apartheid. The Centre is extensively visited by school groups and has developed lesson material and specific programmes for teachers and learners.*

The crux of the paper is an exploration of the pedagogical myth –prevalent in education and the heritage industry- that full understanding is possible if primary narratives are conveyed to the next generation. This myth entails a paradoxical relationship between the following claims: On the one hand mediators pedagogically justify remembrance: the younger generations have to remember and understand the traumatic event so that it will not happen again. On the other hand they stress that the younger generations struggle to or even cannot understand the trauma because they did not experience it. This paradoxical relationship is rarely investigated.

Introduction

To understand the process of generational transmission it is crucial to make a distinction between primary and secondary witnesses of the Holocaust and their respective narratives. Primary narratives are narratives of the victims of the traumatic historical event as opposed to narratives of secondary witnesses or commentators of the event. Secondary witnesses have what Hirsch calls 'postmemory'. She defines this term as follows:

> [P]ostmemory is distinguished from memory by generational distance and from history by deep personal connection. Postmemory is a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through imaginative investment and creation.[ii]

As Ashplant, Dawson and Roper argue:

> [Postmemory] signals the shift from narrative based on direct memory to cultural productions which explore what it means to live under the shadow of past wars. It is constantly negotiating events and experiences which are outside personal experiences, but which nevertheless shape the subjectivities of the 'outsiders' in profound ways.[iii]

The seemingly uncomplicated distinction between memory and postmemory however needs to be nuanced. While mediators, such as teachers and museum facilitators, expect (or desire) a full understanding and change, their own and learners' responses to the traumatic character of the event might impede these very expectations. The traumatic character of the historical event of the Holocaust is one of the reasons why 'Holocaust education means internalizing a number of disturbing questions.'[iv]   These disturbing questions relate to what the goals of Holocaust

education are or should be, namely what is precisely to be remembered, which narratives, how and with what effects. Analysis of pedagogy, the philosophy and practice of teaching, however is rare not only in the education of traumatic events but also in museum studies.[v] This is worrying, especially when the teachers and/or museum facilitators are primary witnesses to the traumatic event that is thesubject of their teaching. Various writers such as Bar-On and Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert have pointed out that people do not merely change their identities and values when political or social changes occur.[vi] Paying attention to the subjectivity of mediators is pivotal if we want to understand how 'change' (as a historical 'event' but also as changing moral values, behaviour and thought) is taught.

Experiencing and narrating the Holocaust

Testifying, the creation of narratives, is especially complex when people experience a totalitarian regime such as Nazism that–figuratively and literally- tried to erase and reshape individual and collective memories that were not compatible with its ideology.[vii] For the survivors of the Holocaust the actual loss of their physical and metaphorical place in society and thus of their identity is traumatic because with it they lost their trust in others and in the safety of the world. The challenge for the survivor is to create meaning out of an experience that is unprecedented, 'not normal' and thus traumatic.[viii] The survivor (as all human beings) tries to fit the experience in their previous personal experiences and cultural understandings of the world and according to Ashplant, Dawson and Roper also the culturally constructed templates society has of previous conflicts.[ix]

When a primary witness conveys a story to a secondary witness these challenges are influencing not only the primary witness' attempt to understand, but also the listener's. Assumptions about the listener's knowledge and potential to understand, and the social practices of forgetting/remembering that both parties share, shape the dialogue.[x] For example, survivors can make the assumption that the listener has a basic understanding of what the Holocaust was about. I had the following dialogue with Isabelle Lagrange*, one of the Holocaust survivors, who testifies at the end of some of the educational programmes at the Centre:

> *Sofie Geschier*: so, how, how, how was, how was it in the camps?
>
> *Isabelle Lagrange**: how was it in the camps? [Describing one of the concentration camps] […] [W]e lived in the barracks, these were old barracks, you see. They were not really fit for human being anymore, they were all OLD, very old, [delectated], um, we slept on the floor. Um, what concentration camps are like! I mean, you know (SG: yes) with these banks, these, um, you know, and, um, it was rather difficult. It is the people around me, [describing people who were disturbed and people who died of hunger] […] [T]here weren't any good facilities for washing. It was a camp! As all camps are (SG: ja) […] [W]e were living like Gypsies, you know. Um, totally different existence to what we were accustomed to obviously.[xi] (author's emphasis)

In this dialogue Lagrange* refers to her previous life, which was 'totally different' to the experience in the concentration camps. Four times she refers to the (assumed) commonly held present schemata of 'concentration camps', which she once equates with an assumed understanding of 'living like Gypsies'. This assumption about the listener's knowledge is made because we look back at the event, and have as the present society an assumed understanding of what a concentration camp is.[xii] Making this assumption however also makes it easier for the survivor not to have to go into the details of the experience, to 'relive' the experience. This 'reluctance' to revisit the experience can also be shared by the listener (see below).

The survivor can indicate the terror or painfulness of telling about her experiences also through another assumption that can be perceived as the opposite of the above: the listener cannot fathom the experiences that she went through. Maria Dubois* for example stressed that it is impossible for the young learners, and for the researcher/interviewer to understand what had been happening in the camps. Even for herself, a survivor of the extermination camps, understanding is an everlasting challenge and this is what makes testifying a difficult thing to do:

> They [learners] don't grasp it! And another thing! We can't speak so often! You speak a few times; you have to have a break! It, it's, you yourself cannot and/you're trying to find out, you're trying to learn, you're trying to study, you will never fathom it! […] [Reflecting on a personal, very upsetting experience in one of the concentration camps:] For a (silence) good moment I thought I must have died and I am in hell! Because it couldn't happen in reality. […] [N]o MATTER how much you learn about it, you cannot fathom it, you cannot even VISUALISE it![xiii]

The personal pronoun 'you' in Dubois*' positioning first solely refers to 'we' -the witnesses who testify-, for whom the attempt to understand is very painful. Later on the pronoun refers to the researcher/interviewer who tries 'to find out', 'to learn', 'to study' but who 'will never fathom it'. Finally, after having reflected on a personal upsetting experience, Maria Dubois* positions 'you' as implicitly including both the researcher/interviewer and the survivor herself who couldn't 'fathom' what happened to her 'because it couldn't happen in reality'. The complexity of this construction nuances the seemingly uncomplicated distinction between primary memory of the Holocaust and what Hirsch calls 'Postmemory'. Both primary memory and postmemory are invested, however in different degrees, with indirectness, fragmentation and what Hirsch calls 'imaginative investment and creation.'[xiv]

Paddy Berkovitch*, one of the museum facilitators, says that the Centre asks the Holocaust survivors to testify only in some of the educational programs because of the emotional impact the act of testifying has on them. She states that even when the survivors talk, listeners do not necessarily understand what they say:

> […] often that is also falling, almost, on deaf ears. Because the listeners haven't got the context, and therefore haven't even got the empathy. Unless you've done quite a bit of reading, you don't really know what they are talking about. Because they never talk worst case scenario. They give you an outline of what happened to them. And these people have no idea what the worst case scenario actually was. (Silence). And we also don't LIKE to expose them to st/, even to young people, who may not appreciate what they are talking about. […] [They do] not empathise efficiently, you know, this, to them, to a very young person, this is an old person standing and talking about something that happened 60 years ago. OK and they don't REALLY understand what it is.[xv]

Paddy Berkovitch*'s reflection indicates that the construction of *a(n) (full) understanding* is challenging because of the different historical positions and needs of both parties. This challenge is complicated by dynamic and intrinsically social practices of forgetting and remembering.[xvi] These practices are closely linked to the above mentioned assumptions about the listener's knowledge and understanding of the traumatic event. For the survivors it is important to be able to deal with their traumatic past and to construct a morally defendable self-image while the listeners might accept and even demand redemptive narratives.[xvii] While Isabelle Lagrange* is perceived as a primary witness of the Holocaust 'as a whole', having been a Jewish child experiencing concentration camps and later been hidden, she is a secondary witness to the extermination camps. She highlighted the two-way direction of

wanting to forget by saying the following about a family member who experienced the extermination camps:

> [S]he would never talk to me about it. About the camp. And I didn't want to know.[xviii]

The encounter between memory and postmemory

The museum facilitators, whether they are primary or secondary witnesses of the Holocaust, define the role of the Centre as on the one hand a spiritual home, a 'place of memory' for survivors and their descendants and on the other hand an educational centre for the wider public. I would argue that the 'raison d'être' of the Centre is informed by a need to imagine a progress towards an (ideal) society without racism and prejudice. A pivotal question then is: how does this 'work' given the (seemingly) paradoxical, but constant negotiation between the 'memorial' and 'teaching'/'promotion' mission of the Centre? Isabelle Lagrange* indicates that these different roles of the Centre are intrinsically linked with each other in the message that 'it should not happen again':

> [the Centre] is very good, it's, it will HOPEfully teach in humanity to [manage] it should not happen again. And […] the Holocaust Centre is a most, a most important place. I think also for us survivors and I said that once in a [speech], that I feel that it is our spiritual home. (silence) I really do. And that's why it is so important, that young children come through. […] And, um, it, it serves a very good purpose to maybe avoid Holocaust, no matter, I am calling it now it not only a holocaust for the Jews, but a Holocaust for ANY human being (silence) hopefully, and, that, that is the, I think, the main importance, as far as I am concerned, of this Holocaust Centre, as a teaching, um, tool.[xix]

The Cape Town Holocaust Centre's Holocaust Resource Manual defines the Holocaust as

> the intentional systematic, bureaucratic annihilation of six million Jews by the Nazi regime and their collaborators as a central act of state between 1933-1945. Other individuals and groups were murdered, persecuted, and suffered grievously during this period, but only the Jews were marked for complete and utter annihilation.[xx]

This 'Manual' definition is subject to revisions in the course of the dialogue and indicates the plural and localised character of Holocaust memory.[xxi] Lagrange*'s definition of Holocaust can be read as a revision of the Centre's definition of the historical Holocaust to be able to fulfil the second part of the Centre's mission, namely the teaching 'about the consequences of prejudice, racism and discrimination' and the promotion of 'an understanding of the dangers of indifference, apathy and silence.'[xxii] By dissociating its 'original' periodisation (1933-1945) and victims (European Jews), possible –not necessarily Jewish- victims of a future 'Holocaust' are included.

The main argument in the interviewees' narratives seems to be: To avoid that the historical 'Final Solution' happens to other people in the future, you need to acknowledge and learn from the Jewish experience. This argument is strongly embedded in the present positioning of the Centre as a place of learning in regard to South Africa's 'own' history. Its message is that both ideologies of Nazism and apartheid are based on policies of prejudice, racism, exclusion of 'others' and when these policies remain unquestioned, unchallenged, extreme practices such as the historical Holocaust might happen.

Pedagogical justification of remembrance

This encounter between Memory and Postmemory is clearly not without challenges. Even though facilitators are fully aware that the myth of 'full understanding' does not hold, they make use of the pedagogical justification of remembrance. Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert define this as the idea that young generations should listen to survivors of traumatic events, have knowledge of and learn from these traumatic events, so that these events will not be repeated in the future. While this justification is rightly used and defended by many (including myself) it embodies an assumption about the moral vigilance of the listener which is not unproblematic. In the words of Simon, Rosenberg and Eppert:

> While the promise of remembrance is that of a moral vigilance that stands over and against indifference, the continuation of local and global violence suggests that such a pedagogy rarely serves as an effective safeguard.[xxiii]

The facilitators do reflect on the tensions that inhabit this assumption by indicating 'the gap' between the actual and desired roles of primary and secondary witnesses. Maria Dubois* for example stressed that the Holocaust survivors only talk to adult groups (and to Jewish learners) because it is too painful to talk to young children. Well informed teachers should speak, she asserted:

> We find that for us to speak to young children is not necessary. Teachers, who are well informed, should speak, as part of their Holocaust Education. That's why we speak only to, you know, students, people over 18 and so on. Because every time we speak it/it's a PIECE of my HEART. And it's a piece of my HEALTH. That is destroyed. You know, for the young people, 60 years, 50 years, [is] long time ago! For them it is part of history! For me it's my youth that was brutally taken away from me! And even after my miraculous survival it was not given back to me! I never got my youth back! I never got my home, my parents, my, my, my relatives, my teachers, my school![xxiv]

Anne Hartmann*, a secondary witness facilitator, pointed at the fragile construction of *an understanding* within the museum by mentioning the sensitive question 'how could the survivors have faced coming to an apartheid state' that listeners ask and that she finds only the survivors can answer.[xxv] Eric Williams*, another facilitator, pointed at the different positions amongst Jewish and non-Jewish people on whether or not one can compare the Holocaust with apartheid.[xxvi] Facilitators also regularly mentioned questions relating to the factuality of the Holocaust (Holocaust denial) and the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These sensitive questions point to the possible 'uncanniness' within the interaction between memory and postmemory.

The uncanniness evolves around the accountability of one's agency in different historical and social contexts. Secondary witnesses encode the Holocaust according to their own present needs and their imaginative possibilities and this easily collides with the 'psychic and political imperatives of survivor memory.'[xxvii] The memory work of both primary and secondary witnesses is informed not only by an (idealised) understanding of the past (which does not necessarily mean the same for both parties) but also by the respective present positions.[xxviii] One could say that survivors of atrocities experience an uncanniness that 'occurs when the boundaries between *imagination* and *reality* are erased.'[xxix] This uncanniness is also experienced by the listener. Human beings universally have the tendency not to think about or to build an emotional wall against painful experiences, also when these experiences are not theirs.[xxx]

While uncanniness and 'misunderstandings' might be experienced as restraining and even threatening, they also open a door to what LaCapra calls 'empathic unsettlement' 'in which emotional response comes with respect for the other and the

realisation that the experience of the other is not one's own.'[xxxi] Empathic unsettlement provides a 'remembrance as a difficult return' instead of the redemptive myth that the future will be better if one remembers.[xxxii] Marian Spielberg*, one of the Cape Town Holocaust Centre facilitators for example did not experience the suffering of the Holocaust but directly witnessed the humiliation inflicted upon blacks during apartheid. Her reflection on the suffering of the Holocaust indicates that she will never fully understand it, despite her attempts to imagine how 'it must be like'.

> I can imagine, but it wasn't me, so the best I can do is try *in limited LANGUAGE* I have, because I don't have a vocabulary to describe that suffering. And I wasn't even there! But the more I read, the more I know, the more I can give examples, and explain and engage and interact, *the closer one can get to imagining what it must be like*. I don't think one needs to have gone through it to be able to say *we/we can now relate to it, we can relate in SOME ways*, because we do have an imagination and with/with more knowledge, we can *BEGIN to understand* without actually experiencing the same emotion.' (author's emphasis)[xxxiii]

Marian Spielberg*'s reflection points out that 'learning' through 'empathetic unsettlement' happens on two 'levels': on the one hand, one learns about what happened to others, in another time and space. On the other hand, one learns 'within the disturbances and disruptions inherent in comprehending these events.'[xxxiv] According to Schlender 'estrangement' plays a crucial role in this context: One willingly and unwillingly estranges the experiences of oneself or another human being.[xxxv]

'Estrangement' and the tension between 'wanting to know' and 'not wanting to know' amongst secondary witnesses are often overlooked. Too often people working in education and heritage sites, make an unquestioned, explicit link between 'knowing about atrocities' and 'not enacting atrocities in the future' while implicitly assuming that the listener bears certain moral values which ensure this link.[xxxvi] Isabelle Lagrange* and Magda Goldberg* however point at the possible hope-giving role of time in constructing *an understanding*:

> I, I often wonder what happens when some of these children go home and […] they come with these new ideas, how the parents react you know. […] It's probably hard to go home and say, 'well how was it at the Holocaust Centre today?' I mean teaching X Y Z and we're teaching them Z Y X, you know how, 'I don't want to be disrespectful to my parents but' (silence) it's HARD, it's very hard but maybe even if it doesn't happen then, it happens at another point in time but they, ja, might just remember what happened.[xxxvii]

> It is VERY interesting to know WHAT they come up with. So HOPEfully, even if maybe at the moment it is not the most important thing in their lives, later on, you know, they won't forget about it. Cause I think once you have seen it, you can't forget about it. So it is very important they've seen. Especially if they are living in a country like South Africa. (SG: yes) So it is very important. And if I didn't feel it is important, I wouldn't be doing it, you know. Because it is not a pleasure (SG: no). You know, it is not a pleasure to talk about all these things.[xxxviii]

'Understanding' is not a clear-cut fact or wish. Another option is to acknowledge its meandering and shades, and the subjectivity and humanity of both primary and secondary witnesses of the Holocaust.[xxxix] Seemingly paradoxically, this lens offers a hopeful alternative for the illusion of total(-itarian) understanding, exactly that illusion which Holocaust education aims to challenge.[xl]

Conclusion

This paper described facilitators' perceptions of the 'generational' dialogue that is taking place in the Cape Town Holocaust Centre. In the field of education and heritage industry this kind of dialogue is often situated within the pedagogical myth that full understanding and change is possible if primary narratives are conveyed to the next generation. The facilitators' perceptions however indicate that while they might expect (or desire) a full understanding and change, their own and learners' responses to the traumatic character of the event might impede these very expectations. A pedagogy informed by *a (self-) reflective understanding* of the uncanniness and misunderstandings in the interactions between 'memory' and 'postmemory' however can open up a dialogue in which different positions and identities are starting points for a hopeful future.

Notes

[i] In this paper, I use pseudonyms for all the museum facilitators. While it is important and valuable to study the perceptions of the younger generations, being born 'post-apartheid' and 'post-Holocaust', this article focuses only on the perceptions of the museum facilitators. A study of the reactions and perceptions of grade nine learners on these museum interactions will be part of future research.

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Acknowledgments

Correspondence

Sofie M.M.A. Geschier
University of Cape Town
Department of Historical Studies
Centre for Popular Memory