Editorial

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The History Educators International Network [HEIRNET] conference held at Ambleside in July 2004 becomes increasingly relevant with every passing day. The nature and role of identity have been at the forefront of the political debate in the United Kingdom since the ghastly events of 7/7 when four British suicide bombers blew themselves up and over fifty other people in London. The seething cauldron of ethnicity, religion and national identity has spilled over from its Baghdad-Jerusalem baseline into Western Europe, firstly in Madrid and now in London. The key questions of why terrorists / freedom fighters / jihadis / crusaders / missionaries / liberal democrats / nationalists / internationalists develop and act upon their individual and collective identities is at the heart of the national and international debate about the global struggle between Al Queda et al and alternative political systems. Central to the educational debate is the educational processes which can result in four young men born and raised in an English city becoming jihadis and bomb London, the capital city of the country of which they are citizens.

These were issues that provided a thread to one of the Ambleside conference's themes: History and Identity. Four of the papers, those of Phillipe Audigier, Nadine Fink and Phillipe Haeberli from Geneva and Peter Lee from London reported upon research into the nature of history and its educational role from the perspective of the pupils. The Swiss research revealed multiple pupil perspectives upon the past and the nature and role of history education. The implications of the Swiss findings have profound curricular implications: a polity needs to clarify the role of history in the education of its young citizens. Key findings are that pupils relate to school history that was relevant to their world and teaching which excited and interested them. Peter Lee reflects the arguments of the first three papers: History Education linked to historical consciousness needs to be set into the wider theoretical framework that Jans Rasmussen provides. The solution that he suggests needs treating with caution: the idea of incremental, developing frameworks is attractive but not necessarily realistic in the transitory world of short-term and imperfect memories that consigns relatively quickly detailed learning to the dustbin of oblivion. All four papers strongly suggest that History Education needs to be part of a much wider pattern of socialisation into the norms and values of contemporary society. As such, History Education has two clearly complementary dimensions: the skills, processes, concepts and related values and attitudes involved in 'doing history' and the substantive dimension: the content of both the school and life curricula that can help frame the orientation and beliefs of young citizens.

The final set of papers address the issue of the role, function and value of history in education to real world conflicts where the school curriculum has a crucial role in the development of new nations emerging from the crucible of history. Keith Barton and Alan McCully address the challenge that faces History Education in historically the most politically divided society in the United Kingdom: Northern Ireland. Their analysis of the factors that influence the emergence of pupils' historical identity as citizens makes sobering reading: it again stresses the importance of the word relevance, not as a cheap panacea, a glib cliché, but relevance through a curriculum that is grounded in the knowledge, understanding and social circumstances that pupils bring to the classroom. The Northern Ireland study neatly complements Abilio González's research into history and identity in the Gran Canaria islands. The conclusion reached is that in order to deepen a sense of identity within Gran Canaria there needs to be a wholesale revision of the curriculum. The issues that Abilio raises are reflected more fully in two papers from South Africa. Rob Sieborger looks at pupil reflection upon ten years of democratic government in South Africa. The findings of his pilot study reflect both the Swiss and Northern Irish research – there is evidence to suggest that History Education as an element in a much wider and co-ordinated pattern of socialisation could play a significant

role. That role is as much concerned with developing patterns of thinking, understanding and related values and attitudes as with the content of the curriculum. Gail Weldon directly addresses the importance of values in her paper on the shape of the evolving curriculum in South Africa. The final contribution to this volume is from Orhan Akinoglu. His focus is upon the education of the educators, i.e. the teachers of history in Turkey. Again there is a call for a reconceptualisation of the role and importance of content in the curriculum. Changing attitudes, values and beliefs have to relate to what is being studied: of equal importance is how the past is learned. Without a pedagogy that is grounded in a constructivist approach the best of curricular intentions are vitiated,

Overall, this volume reflects a shift in History Education towards the bigger picture of the role that it can play in the personal development of young citizens in plural societies. The History Education perspective has to be set against a wider political agenda that often reflects deeply entrenched interests and attitudes. Hopefully the role of History Educators is to civilise their masters, and through that process collectively to bring about education for a better future.

History in the Curriculum: the Pupils' Perspective

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Abstract *For pupils and for any person who went to school, history is a school subject which combines studies about historical themes, methods and teaching devices. In a questionnaire to pupils in lower secondary school in Geneva, we asked some open questions about what they think of those elements. We ask what they prefer, what they don't like, what is useful. The same questions were asked of students in educational sciences. This paper analyses answers from these two groups and compares them. Some themes and methods are endorsed by a large number of persons; other ones are liked by one group and rejected by the other. The memory of school experiences amends opinion. Does the memory of school amend opinions? This contribution is linked with those from Nadine Fink and Philippe Haeberli.*

Introduction

This paper introduces a second aspect of the survey *Les élèves du cycle d'orientation et l'histoire* conducted in Geneva in 2002-3. It concerns answers given by pupils on activities and exercises during history class. Relation to history, as reconstruction of the past of mankind, deeply depends on the forms of reception or construction of history. We only know history throughout the many and diverse histories we have been told or we have constructed ourselves. Among these histories, history at school has an important place. It is the only history with which all the population of a state has had contact in a given moment. Its form is particular. One of its legitimacies comes from its relation with academic history; another arises from its contribution to a collective memory, to a common culture. One of its essential components includes specific activities and exercises. To describe and understand the relationship pupils have with history, it is therefore necessary to know and analyse its activities and exercises.

Firstly, I will draw the theoretical frame; then, I will introduce and comment upon some results of a survey by questionnaire. Last, I will compare results of the survey with answers on experiences at school to very similar questions given by students in education. Note that the pupils are directly in contact with history at school; students have left secondary schooling for at least one year. For the presentation of the survey and the questionnaire, one should refer to Philippe Haeberli's paper *Relation to history: an empirical typology*. The qualitative aspect of the survey (interviews with pupils) is presented by Nadine Fink's paper *Pupils' conceptions of history and history teaching.*

History at school and school subject

History is a word with many meanings. The use of it can be problematic. Without being exhaustive, let us distinguish different meanings of the term. History with a capital letter refers to History of mankind, i.e. the sum of experiences lived by generations of human beings for centuries. This History will never entirely be known. We have only access to it through pieces of it, bits of it. Some are transmitted through oral tradition that modifies narratives at each transmission. Others bits are results of millions of amateurs who compile documents and traces of the past without always mastering the rules of historical critique. Some others parts mix reality and fiction in an inextricable tracery, i.e. novels, theatre plays history, etc. Last, some traces are constructed by professional

historians according to rigorous procedures that enable one to qualify those narratives as 'scientific'.

All these histories are vehicles for our knowledge of History. Each of us knows History throughout what we have been told, we have read, heard, seen, reconstructed, etc. Among those histories, history at school occupies an eminent place. For more than a century, history teaching as a school subject is present in the primary and secondary school. Every generation of pupils encounters history at school. Situations are still diverse. Some educational systems are centralised and have a common compulsory curriculum for all pupils. Other systems are more decentralised and give local authorities, school directors, even teachers a large autonomy in choice of content and teaching methods. However, pupils everywhere get acquainted with a certain kind of history during nine or ten years of compulsory school. By this acquaintance pupils acquire knowledge of the past of their country and of other countries. They also construct a certain conception of history, as a means of knowing the past, to know different pasts. History at school is at the same time form and content. Pupils associate history with certain periods, with certain themes that have been taught, worked on, that they like or not. They also associate history with certain practices, with certain exercises, with certain activities, with certain methods encountered at school.

To study particularities of history at school like those of other school subjects researchers use the concept of school subject. De facto, western schooling is organised around school subjects, most of the time independent from each other. André Chervel (1988), an historian of education, formalised the concept in a general form; Audigier (1995) specified it for history teaching. A school subject is first characterised by its goals, the goals attributed by society. It is then defined by four characteristics:

1. a body of shared knowledge;
2. motivation procedures meant for persuading social actors, pupils, parents, more broadly whole society that its presence in curriculum is unavoidable to get a good education;
3. evaluation;
4. types of exercises, activities appropriate for history as a subject.

This means that pupils encounter history via these four features. The meaning that they give to taught history is related to meanings they give to these features. Meaning is also related to interest or boredom pupils feel, pleasure or displeasure they have in relation to this historical theme or that activity. Teaching methods and activities have been debated for more than a century.

Schematically, these methods take place on a continuum. Transmission of historical text, as established text, giving truth about the past is situated at one extremity; at the other, is the implementation of situations where pupils construct an historical text. On one side, history is already constructed; it is constituted of propositions pupils have to appropriate; on the other side, history is to be produced from documents, traces from the past that pupils search themselves or that teachers bring to them. In between, we can imagine a lot of different intermediate situations and combinations of diverse activities and practices. The first tendency reminds us that academic history, the one that in principle inspires history at school, accumulated much knowledge resulting from long and difficult work by historians for decades. It also reminds us that knowledge about the past is necessarily knowledge of a text. This text is a corpus of knowledge already constituted, proof of scientificity and accuracy. No one will ever support the idea of letting pupils interpret an experience in physics as they understand it. If there is discussion, it is always compared with what the scientific community admits as valid. Even though it has different forms, history at school is also submitted to this demand if not of truth, at least of accuracy.

The second tendency reminds us that history is a construction. It is essential that pupils be introduced to this idea so that they become conscious of the plurality of its constructions, of its uses and of the functions it fills in our societies. The principle here is that the best way to encourage this consciousness is to put pupils in the situation of constructing history, considering evidence, and themselves leading the historical research. I won't discuss here these two tendencies, presented in an extreme, even opposed way. My aim is to underline a strong difference not only in practice but that is also observable in pupils' and teachers' discourses. I will look at pupils and students' answers starting from this difference; the objectives being to analyse the way they construct their relation to history at school, and more broadly their relation to history as an introduction to History.

Pupils of the cycle and exercises

In the survey's questionnaire, addressed to pupils of low secondary, a group of open questions concerned activities they encountered or still encounter during history class. We wanted to know more about relative frequencies of the diverse activities, pupils' attitudes towards these activities and pupils' appreciation of their utility. Frequency should enable us to approach how important are activities where pupils have some initiative, as this is a privileged orientation according to the official curriculum (for more information see Nadine Fink's paper in this volume). Attitude is an important dimension that each person develops with the subjects of knowledge, more broadly within a domain of knowledge. As written previously, history at school is presented to pupils as a mixture of themes, contents, means of working and of engaging with these themes and contents. Lastly, utility is for pupils firstly related to success at school. Taking into account what we already know about the more frequent activities and from pupils' aspirations we formed the hypothesis that more autonomous activities were both least frequent and the most appreciated by pupils and that structured activities, more lecturing activities were both the most frequent and the least appreciated. Regarding utility, the objective of succeeding at school should lead pupils to pick up the most effective activities to succeed in their assessments.

Questioning was organised in four parts:
1. what are the three tasks or activities that you most often perform during history class ? ;
2. what are the three tasks or activities that you enjoy the most during history class ? ;
3. what are the three tasks or activities that you enjoy the least during history class ? ;
4. what do you find the most useful to do during history class ?

In a first categorisation, pupils' answers were organised in eleven categories:
- *ordinary activities* such as 'to listen', 'to watch', 'to write', 'to read', that form *four* categories;
- *structured activities*, like answering questions, filling files;
- *autonomous activities*, like documentary research or file constitution;
- *group activities*;
- *cognitive activities* which include utterances of pupils using verbs such as 'to understand', 'to think';
- a group relative to 'content' because a lot of pupils answered in terms of content;
- a group on 'chronology' and all activities related to time;
- and an *other* including activities designated as open, original such as museum or outdoors visit, simulation game, etc.

These categories are naturally not totally exclusive and the researcher is well aware that the same utterance sometimes expresses rather different practices. So 'to write' can be

related either to making notes during a lecturing class or to the shaping of a research project. For differentiating categories, we paid attention to precision added by pupils and comparisons they suggested between their answers. For example, utterance 'to write' (with or without precision) mentioned as one of the most enjoyed task is often associated with research or group work. On the contrary, it is associated with 'to listen' in the least enjoyed tasks.

Once these precautions were taken, the results showed strong tendencies. Before presenting them, it is important to note the wide diversity in pupils' answers and judgements. Table 1 puts together all pupils' answers according to the different categories described above. As pupils had three possible choices, the total of each column exceeds 100%. Table 1 has to be read in this way: 38% of pupils placed activity 'to read' among the most frequent, 19 % of pupils place activity 'to read' among the least appreciated. Note that these are answers from the pupils themselves. Even if surveys show that they are relevant when pupils are asked to describe teaching practices, we can't mechanically deduce from this effective practices. Lastly, the questionnaire was completed at the end of the first semester: practices that are closer to the moment of the survey are often the ones who are more easily remembered.

	Types of activities…					
	the most frequent		*the most appreciated*		*the least appreciated*	
1	To read	38	To watch	38	Structured activities	54
2	Structured activities	33	Simulation, discussion, visits	36	Content	32
3	To listen	31	Content	35	To write	29
4	To write	25	Autonomous activities	22	To listen	23
5	Simulation, discussion, visits	22	Group activities	21	To read	19
6	Autonomous activities	21	To listen	15	Autonomous activities	11
7	Content	16	To write	12	Chronology	8
8	To watch	16	To read	10	Cognitive activities	6
9	Group activities	14	Structured activities	8	Simulation, discussion, visits	5
10	Chronology	10	Cognitive activities	6	To watch	3
11	Cognitive activities	10	Chronology	3	Group activities	1

Table 1. Activities frequency and pupils' preferences (in %)

The first column shows how important are the most usual activities practised in history teaching. These activities are all related to a strong presence of the teacher: to read, to listen, to write, to do structured activities. Listening to the teacher, reading documents, answering his questions, writing an abstract or taking down notes constitute the core teaching practices as pupils see them. What is associated with a greater pupil autonomy and with a wider, informal, teaching is less frequently cited. More than one pupil out of five cites simulation activities and visits. A similar proportion cites autonomous activities.

The second column offers an inverted image of the first. Activities related to autonomy or informal, open teaching are very much appreciated. Inversely, the normal ones are not appreciated at all. They are even depreciated as indicated in the third column. However, it is not an autonomous activity that takes the first position but 'to watch'. Pupils most often accompany this verb with words such as documentary, video, etc. They also

underline how important and attractive is image. Everyone knows that watching a movie does not necessarily imply an intense activity. Few pupils, but it is worth noticing, appreciate usual, formal classroom activities. What we particularly noticed in the interviews is that this appreciation has to be related to how 'good' the teacher is judged. Last, contents are very differently appreciated. It probably means that one of the criteria used by pupils is related to the studied themes and that it is relatively independent from effective means of teaching. This has also to be interpreted in comparison with the attraction of films. Apart from some reconstructions, most films showed to pupils concern the XXth century, a very much appreciated century by pupils according to other surveys.

Pupils responded less positively to the question of utility. The most frequent answers, almost a quarter of the pupils, concern content. The most useful is content because to learn content is what matters to succeed in history. This interpretation is confirmed by answers to a further question where we asked pupils how they prepared themselves for recorded assessment. More than three pupils out of four declared 'to repeat' the lesson and less than a quarter that it requires comprehension. Content is what matters. After that, among utilities comes more open activities and cognitive activities. Even if these activities are mentioned only by 13% of pupils, it is interesting to observe that it is twice more than among the most and the least appreciated activities. A meaningful proportion of the pupils attach importance to activities that enable them to develop their intelligence. Structured activities are far behind. They are far from winning everyone's approval as they are not very much appreciated and cause little interest. They were not very useful because they left only few traces in the pupils' minds.

Comparisons and further remarks

These results are put in perspective through comparing them with answers obtained in another context on quite similar themes. For several years I administered a questionnaire to students during the first lesson in the social sciences' didactics (history, geography, citizenship) course that I give at the University of Geneva. This questionnaire aims to collect data that will be then used to work with students during the year. Among questions asked some concern experiences of history teaching during the students' primary and secondary schooling and memories of it. They were asked 'to mention three themes or historical objects the study of which particularly interested them', 'to mention three themes or historical objects the study of which particularly bothered them'; then 'to mention three methods, devices or way of doing things of the teacher that particularly interested them'. The same last question was asked for what '… bothered them', lastly, ' …that were particularly useful'. Questions asked were not strictly the same as the ones that were asked of pupils of the *cycle*. However questions related to methods are similar enough to invite us to do some comparisons. Questions on content also indicate valuable information about what stays in the mind of students after having left compulsory schooling.

We gathered together the results from 2001, 2002 and 2003 for 111 students. The great majority are women. More than 50% of the students intend to go into primary teaching. They will teach all school subjects defined by the curriculum and are specialists of none. To classify answers, we constructed categories that underline the most chosen themes both positively and negatively. For methods and teaching devices, we used categories already used in the questionnaire submitted to pupils of the *cycle*. These categories have correctly functioned with a slightly different question. Lastly, as we will see, the students' precision enabled them to give a different meaning to certain practices according to the interest or boredom they caused.

Students mentioned twice as often objects and historical themes that have interested them as objects and themes that have not interested them (295 for the former, 153 for the latter). Some written remarks suggest an explanation for this difference. They forgot what did not interest them. The question was then very difficult to answer. Among the

most appreciated, the 20th century is well ahead (115 mentions). In the 20th century, it is the two World Wars and especially the second that are mentioned. Inversely, only 20 negative mentions concern 20th century. At the other end of historical time, Egypt arouses a lot of positives votes (29). Globally, Antiquity is the other 'winner' with 49 positives mentions against only 6 negatives. In-between periods cause more seldom and contrasted appreciations. The Medieval period is positively mentioned 15 times, negatively 18. Prehistory is not better regarded with 14 positive mentions and 8 negatives. Modern times don't cause more enthusiasm. Two other objects cause common opinions. French Revolution with 18 positive appreciations, 20 negatives and Swiss history with respectively 24 and 20.

Students' opinions are rather similar to what other surveys report. Directly related or not with their world, our world is nourished with drama that causes interest and passion and events from the 20th century are largely endorsed. Note that the few negative opinions mainly concern the history of the USSR and WW1. Is there here the effect of being some distance away? Distance in time from events that are not any more in the collective memory, that seem to have no direct link with the actual world? Distance from an historical experience, the USSR, that is very often negatively 'judged' ? Egypt is a constant infatuation that largely survives history at school. What about the French revolution and Swiss history? A lot of students who negatively mentioned the former say it's because they studied it too often. Repetition does not develop interest. This is not the place to comment on the relationship that the Swiss people in general, Geneva people in particular, have with their collective history. Simply note that this object is not considered as a good medium for whatever collective identity.

Last, note also that it is not possible to connect these choices with the curriculum that students followed during their schooling. We don't then know what produced the few choices, in particular on the Medieval period and modern times: are they periods that are not much taught? Or if they are taught, they maybe don't excite any interest? However I suggest that students' support for this or that historical subject is first related to relationships they see between this subject and their world. This seems obvious with 20th century. For Egypt, it stems from a certain attraction at strangeness. There are two different ways to give sense to history at school. Examining methods and teaching devices bring us some more elements of interpretation.

 The most appreciated methods and teaching devices are the ones where students remember being interested. The worst memories are the ones that caused boredom. The most useful are ones judged most interesting, with, however, some nuances. Again, what is judged positively is more often mentioned than what is judged negatively. This difference is often discussed in student's statements. They refer to the teacher's personality. So 'to listen in class' is massively rejected by almost two thirds of the students, but almost 20% express their interest for this teaching form as long as the teacher is 'good'. Listening to a course, taking notes, etc. is appreciated, provided the teacher knows how to interest pupils. A long way ahead in methods and teaching devices used by teachers are films, videos and all that relates to 'to watch'. Two thirds of the students state that these are interesting. If we compare this endorsement for image and film with the success of the 20th century, the question remains to ask what is being liked the most, taught subjects or the used medium? Maybe this question is not the right one!

There is a double proximity at stake here: proximity of events of this century with our actual history and proximity with the media used that are most familiar to us. This very positive judgement is tempered by the fact that only about a third of the students place this activity as being one of the most useful. Attraction for a medium does not necessarily make it a recognised vehicle of knowledge. Slightly less than half of the students value autonomous methods, research and construction of presentations, etc. Just fewer say that these methods are the more useful. Regarding reading, more contrasted

appreciations appear: 29% interested, 35% reject, 25% for utility. According to commentaries and proximities of choices, it's not the reading itself that is rejected but its mode of presence. 'To read documents', even school textbooks, yes when it's related to a research project, even yes if it's in an interesting course. Other methods are mentioned by 12-14% of the students: 'debates', 'visits', 'to listen to the teacher'. A small tendency, not meaningful on a statistical level, but that has to be related to a previous remark: methods described by students as mobilizing intellectual activities are not very present, but are more often seen as useful activities. A small part of our students have understood how important are activities of reflection, of distance, etc.

Conclusion

These data enable us to approach some aspects of how pupils and students understand history at school when they are asked to express their immediate or more ancient memories. We observe parallels in opinions expressed by pupils and students on methods they liked or disliked. However, in their memories from school, students give a great deal of importance to the personality of the teacher, to boredom or interest he or she generated. This appreciation is mixed with the one on historical subjects without possible separation between the two factors. Beyond these opinions, and the question of meaning that accompanies their expression, lies the question of choice of taught subjects. These choices determine the real curriculum. If pupils' and students' interest in recent history and all that enables one to 'imagine' these moments, events and actors, etc. is asserted, it remains to know what to do with more ancient periods and the role of memory and loss that constitutes history at school as well as social memories. The fact also remains that historical work, as all work in social sciences, is rigorous and requires patience. The spectacle of the world, emotionally received, could not be perceived as an intellectual and critical construct.

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Pupils' Conceptions of History and History Teaching

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Abstract *We present the results from a qualitative analysis of eight interviews with 15 years old pupils about their conceptions of history and history teaching. These interviews have been undertaken as part of a survey conducted by the social sciences' didactics team from the University of Geneva under Prof. Audigier's direction (see Philippe Haeberli's paper in this volume). We first analyse what pupils think about the utility of history and definitions that they give about what is important in history (social science and teaching). We then examine how they think that we get to know history. These questions address the function of history and its relation to identity, of its relation to evidence and truth, and finally of how history teaching is perceived by these pupils. The main purpose of this paper is to draw out patterns of pupils' understanding based on the nature of their relationship towards history and history teaching. This paper is linked to those of François Audigier and Philippe Haeberli.*

A qualitative survey

This paper presents the third part of the research undertaken in Geneva "Les élèves du cycle d'orientation et l'histoire" (see François Audigier's paper, *History in the curriculum: the pupils' perspective* and Philippe Haeberli's, *Relation to history: an empirical typology*). Following the quantitative results of the survey, a more exploratory phase consisted in undertaking interviews with some of the pupils who filled the survey's questionnaire. 8 interviews took place with pupils from the last grade of lower secondary school (14-15 years old). 4 pupils of level A (strong) and 4 of level B (weak) were asked about their relation to history and its teaching. The aim was to gather qualitative material in order to complete quantitative analyses about pupils' conceptions of history (social science and teaching), the relationship they establish towards history and what it is about history that seems useful and important to them, particularly for their personal lives.

We interviewed 2 girls from level A (Al. and Z.), 3 girls from level B (Ar., F. and Sh.), 2 boys from level A (L. and Sé.) and 1 boy from level B (E.). Interviews were semi-directive: questions were linked to pupils' assertions, while conducting a conversation about the themes of our survey. These pupils belong to two different classes, with two different teachers. Both of them put into practice teaching objectives defined by a new history curriculum that was progressively introduced between 1999 and 2001. Pupils' answers therefore refer considerably to these new objectives, particularly pupils from level A, who were looking at their history file while being interviewed. These objectives are meant to develop pupil's historical thinking and avoid a linear approach to the teaching of history:

1. *You will be capable of understanding an historical document (source) and its utility for historians. You will know how to situate it in time and place. You will be able to analyse it, but you will also know its limits.*
2. *You will be capable of better understanding our time and the world in which we live by asking yourself questions about the past (link between past and present)*
3. *You will have the curiosity to meet other peoples from different cultures or time. By your interest in how they think and live, you will perceive the originality of the past.*
4. *You will be sensitive to the fact that the past of humanity happens with variable durations (rough changes, but also more stable realities with long term evolution). You will notice that there are several ways to understand time and chronology.*

5. *You will see that memory is not equivalent to history and that only certain historical events are called back to our memory. You will try to understand the reasons for this.*
6. *You will realize that history is present in culture (books, films, pictures) and media. You will learn to appreciate these works, and also historical documentaries, by asking you how they contribute to our historical knowledge.*
7. *Bit by bit, you will construct landmarks in the history of humanity, which will allow you to forge links between events, times or civilizations.*

An exploratory treatment of this material was performed with Alceste, textual data analysis software that identifies the most characteristic words. The grouped analysis of 8 interviews has been crossed with three variables: individual, sex and level (A or B). Treatment by Alceste of these interviews has been completed – in a more traditional way – by a manual qualitative analysis. We will present results from these analyses.

Results from Alceste

Alceste arbitrarily cuts the text to analyse it, thus creating 'elementary context unities' (e.c.u.). Within the material we submitted to the software, Alceste classified 81% of these e.c.u. and distributed them among three different patterns of discourses. The first pattern grouped 15 % of the classified e.c.u.; the second, 30% and the most important, the third, 55%. Alceste distinguishes two categories of words: 'full-words' and 'tool-words'. 'Tool-words' are those necessary to syntax (when, then, because, etc.). 'Full-words' are those part of vocabulary strictly speaking (names, verbs, adjectives, certain adverbs). Analysis of contextual worlds is mainly based on 'full-words', but examining 'tool-words' may sometimes complete it.

The following tables summarize these results. The Khi2 indicates the degree of association of the words to the pattern of discourses: the higher the Khi2, the stronger the degree of association. The number of e.c.u. indicates how many e.c.u. contain the words. The frequency indicates how many times a word appears (as it can appear several times within the same e.c.u.).

Khi2	Nb. of e.c.u.	Full-words	Frequency
33	14	Make use of	16
29	14	Photography (-ies)	21
27	27	Document(s)	37
23	25	Watch	32
20	10	Tape(s)	12
19	11	Picture(s)	15
17	9	Chronology (-ical)	9
14	6	Analysis	8

TABLE 1. Pattern of discourses Nb. 1
Concerns pupils of level A, and more particularly two pupils

Khi2	Nb. of e.c.u.	Full-words	Frequency
67	18	Question(s)	19
47	30	Do	39
43	10	Need	13
42	12	Answer	16
37	15	Understand	19
29	6	Prepare	7
29	6	Listen	9
28	17	Text(s)	26
26	12	Test(s)	14
24	6	Search	6
24	4	Exercise(s)	9
20	11	Ask	12

TABLE 2. Pattern of discourses Nb. 2
Concerns pupils of level B, and more particularly two pupils

Khi2	Nb. of e.c.u.	Full-words	Frequency
31	118	History	170
25	61	Past	82
22	42	Know ("savoir")	49
20	40	Important	56
18	22	Interest	23
17	23	Event	21
15	36	Like ("aimer")	55
14	25	Be useful	30
13	25	Know ("connaître")	16
13	16	Switzerland	19
12	14	Like ("plaire")	17
11	19	People	22
10	21	School	22
10	32	Find	36

TABLE 3. Pattern of discourses Nb. 3
Concerns pupils of levels A and B, and more particularly three pupils

As indicated before, the pattern of discourses 3 concerns more than half of the discourse of pupils of level A and B. It is relevant that 'history', 'past' and 'know' are strongly associated to this pattern. The association between 'history' and 'past – content' on one hand, and 'knowledge' on the other hand is one of the relevant results from the quantitative survey. Words like 'important' and 'useful' also show that history matters for pupils and their attitude towards history is rather positive ('interest', 'like'). Moreover there's an association between pupils' positive attitude and asserted contribution of history to personal or collective life. They value knowledge and are conscious that it is of some use. Still, they have difficulties in defining what it is useful for. Utility is rather defined in a circular, tautological way.

The pattern of discourses 2 is rather associated with pupils of level B. Speaking about history, they mainly refer to activities linked to classroom: 'listen', 'ask', 'answer', 'do',

'prepare', 'questions', 'tests', 'exercises'. A situation of mutual expectations – questioning and answering – prevails and shows a clear consciousness of their 'metier d'élève' (Perrenoud, 1984). Still, words like 'understand' and 'search' refer to more complex activities and therefore indicate presence of a cognitive dimension of history.

Finally, the pattern of discourses 1 is strongly associated with pupils of level A and can therefore be seen as a dominant discourse among the four pupils of this level. They not only refer to activities like those of pattern 2, but also to sources and methods belonging to teaching history: 'document', 'photography', 'tape', 'picture'. The link between 'history' and 'past – content' dominant in pattern 3 has to be shaded concerning pupils of level A: when questioned about their relation to history and taught history, they mainly refer to verbs like 'look at' and 'analyse'.

Results from qualitative analysis

To organize a more qualitative analysis, we picked out pupils' assertions about three themes linked to our interview questions:

- What is the utility of history? What is important in history?
- How do we get to know history?
- What relation does it have to taught history?

What is the utility of history? What is important in history?
This category of questions concerns the function of teaching history. Three themes are relevant: the utility of history, the importance of dates and the relation between history and identity.

All pupils perceive history as being important for general knowledge or general education, even though some of them hesitated before attributing such a function to this discipline. For most of them, it was difficult to find a concrete utility of history: 'it can be interesting to know about the past', 'if you want to become a history teacher', 'to tell your children', 'to know why and how', 'to explain'. Only one of them refers to critical attitude.

Speaking about utility of history leads to questions about temporalities: which periods are the concern of history? Some pupils think that history is not only about past events, but also deals with present times or even with the future. L. suggests this: '*Je pense qu'on pourrait étudier l'histoire sur les événements futurs. Il y a des spécialistes qui ont fait des prévisions, justement on pourrait en parler en histoire*'. His point of view, which seems to indicate a rather critical conception of history, is shared by two other pupils of level A. They consider history as enabling a comprehension of present times through knowledge of the past: '*Savoir ce qui s'est passé avant qu'on soit là et pourquoi c'est comme ça maintenant*' (Sé.). Historical knowledge which can evolve and even be modified in function of results from new investigations: '*On peut très bien croire un truc et puis dans quelques années se rendre compte que finalement c'était pas ça*' (Al.).

Functions and practices of taught history are related to a projection of common culture, shared but not always explicitly expressed. And yet pupils hardly refer to questions of identity. When they do, it is mainly about parts of history always linked with their personal history or origins and which aren't taken up in class. Z. Says: '*Mon identité et l'histoire, ce n'est pas vraiment ça. Ça touche pas forcément mon origine personnelle*'. Al. appreciates the worldwide dimension of taught history, even though she thinks that Swiss history isn't present enough. She's the only one who defines identity as enabling her to place herself in relation to the past and to notice "our" evolution. The other pupils aren't concerned about Swiss history.

All pupils acknowledge the importance of dates. But neither can they argue about it: 'it's to understand', 'not to get all mixed up'; nor do they understand the interest or complexity of chronological information: '*Parce que si on connaît un événement mais qu'on sait pas quand il s'est passé, ça sert pas à grand-chose. Faut situer*' (Al.). Dates don't appear to

have a central function in their history classes. So that the necessity of knowing dates is asserted but without making much sense: '*Ça s'apprend par cœur. C'est un peu obligé quoi. [c'est important] parce qu'on nous demandera un jour de les savoir, tout simplement. A l'école ou ailleurs*' (S.) Still two pupils note the importance of dates not to mix up different periods, as an event can't be understood out of its context. This induces a more complex thinking and understanding of temporalities and periodisation.

How do we get to know history?

This category of questions refers to how pupils understand the historical process, how they think we collect knowledge about the past and how they conceive relation to evidence and truth. Pupils hesitate a great deal in answering these kinds of questions, probably because they fear to be missing the point. They recall words like 'research' (most standard usage), 'investigations', and 'excavations', generally assimilating historians' work to that of archaeologists. According to them, historians look for evidence, read and decipher texts, determine age of objects, analyse. They also interview people and read books. Two pupils emphasize the necessity to collate different sources in order to assert reliability and one refers to the function of witnesses.

Z. thinks it is easier to investigate about the recent past, as we can get information from witnesses, even though she emphasizes the difference between individual and collective history: '*Il y a des choses qui sont plus importantes pour [les témoins] que ce qui est vraiment vrai*'. A testimony implies a point of view. That's probably the reason why L., taking the example of war, insists on the necessity of having a point of view from 'each side'. But he can't answer the question whether there could be several points of view among the same side.

Does the question of the point of view lead pupils to doubt the validity of substantive knowledge, content, in history? Sh. thinks that teachers only teach what they think is true. Still, they might not always know the truth about past: '*Peut-être des trucs que même eux, ils ne savent pas, qu'ils disent que c'est vrai, mais que c'est faux*'. Ar. is more suspicious: historians don't always tell the truth; they even want to hide information, for example about religion. Al., who showed an ability to relativise the question of truth concerning historical knowledge, emphasizes the possibility of finding new documents that invalidate existent discourses.

Finally, do pupils learn about the past in every day life, outside of the classroom? Pupils mainly refer to television, either traces of history in fictions, or historical documentaries which they hardly watch (about wars or about monkey Lucy). Ar. refers to the film *Titanic*: after hesitating, she finally has doubts about a relationship between the film and history. History is also to be found in libraries, books, texts, that pupils don't read, and while travelling (monuments, statues of famous people).

What relation to taught history?

This category of questions is about how pupils conceive their relationship towards history, the 'métier d'élève': their representations of expectations both from teachers and the school system on one hand, and their perception of ordinary school practice on the other hand. Answers are of course much influenced by the context of class and teacher and by the fact that pupils of level A could look at their history file during the interviews. Moreover pupils react to a new way of teaching history, which they aren't used to as it was recently introduced in Geneva.

Generally speaking, results in history classes don't seem to be a problem to the pupils interviewed. L. even thinks he has a gift for history, as he doesn't need to work much: '*Un clic comme quoi j'arrive à enchaîner plusieurs événements peut-être chronologiques ou des choses comme ça et puis je croche tout de suite*'. All eight interviews show that each pupil builds up a personal relationship towards history, which greatly depends on his own experience of life. Lets try to summarise these relationships.

Z. describes taught history as using many documents. She refers to different types of activities: watching films, filling in questionnaires, making interviews. She's more interested in recent periods and has some difficulties with certain activities, for example when asked to think in the place of historical personages. She likes new methods of teaching history that invite pupils to think. However, she sometimes finds it tiresome and tends to regret the absence of a more traditional and lecturing teacher.

L. thinks that the necessity to 'instruct' them leads to too many purposes. They often work with different types of documents, which they observe, situate and comment. He much appreciates to be invited to develop arguments instead of learning by heart.

Al. has good results, but difficulties with dates. She disliked the course about the Industrial Revolution that was centred on reading documents. Other subjects gave rise to more original activities: imagining an ideal city, interviewing witnesses, etc. When studying a document, she reads it at least twice and underlines what seems to be important. She never revises before tests, except learning a few dates. When she doesn't understand something, she asks someone in her family circle or a friend, never the teacher.

Sé. would rather watch a movie than read a book. He always liked history. He studies in classroom, hardly at home. With new methods of teaching history, dates no longer need to be learned by heart: pupils learn to develop thinking and exchanging information. He likes to be asked about what he thinks. Describing history class, he refers to texts, documents, group-activities, pictures, films, interviews, etc.

Sh. thinks that history should be discussing rather than learning a subject and she's only interested in recent periods (20th Century). Teaching is based on documents: they do much reading, investigation and watching tapes. Being a good pupil means reading, listening, understanding, answering questions and finally learning. The teacher's explanations are therefore important. She revises before tests and sometimes asks questions of a friend, never the teacher. How does she revise? Learning by heart answers to questions or summaries of texts.

Ar. has a specific point of view: she speaks with nostalgia about her experience in French school, which she describes as being completely different from the Swiss system. She would rather learn history with traditional methods, using a textbook, as she experienced it in France. When revising, she reads her notes and asks questions about documents, trying to point out what is important to learn and to understand. She sometimes asks her brothers or her mother for help. She regrets not having an exercise book as she was used to in France.

E. compares history class to physical education: it's entertaining and interesting. They discuss a great deal, exchange ideas and try to find the true reasons about what happened in the past. They are asked to point out and underline what is relevant about a document. He learns while listening and discussing in class, but never studies at home, which satisfies him very much.

F. is also more interested in recent periods of history. It's important to her that a teacher knows how to speak to pupils, meaning that the teacher does not use complicated language. She listens to the teacher, answers his questions when she understands them, remembers more or less what has been said in class and gets good results. She watches films but dislikes texts. To be able to understand, one has to listen to the teacher.

Generally speaking, interviewed pupils conceive their 'métier d'élève' in a traditional way, centred on faculties of reproduction of elementary knowledge. One has to acknowledge documents, point out what seems to be most relevant, learn and reproduce it. One also has to communicate with the teacher in order to define his conception of a document and

what is relevant about it. Regarding pedagogical practices, pupils seem to appreciate the diversification of activities proposed, except reading activities, which cause difficulties for level B pupils. Regarding recent reform of taught history, pupils have different points of view. Being more implicated and active in class and having to voice their opinion doesn't seem to satisfy all of them.

Provisional conclusions

The number and duration of interviews, the variety of questions and discussion of them implies the need to be careful about any conclusion. We therefore propose hypotheses inspired by this short analysis. These should of course be tested by undertaking a systematic inquiry with a more representative and larger sample of pupils. It is also probably too early to evaluate the contribution of the introduction of new teaching objectives and how far they allow developing pupil's historical thinking. But still, qualitative analysis complements and extends findings from the quantitative survey.

Generally speaking, pupils seem to be attached to their 'métier d'élève' and know precisely what is expected from them in order to get good results (listen, ask and answer questions, read and resume documents, etc.). The meaning of historical knowledge doesn't go much beyond the classroom, which induces a rather external relation to history (history as a school subject, separated from personal life), rather than an intimate relation, which would refer not only to a better understanding of the world, but would go further with a consciousness of the possibility to act upon it. This observation could question results from the quantitative analysis, which show a small majority of pupils with an intimate relationship with history (see paragraph about relation to historical knowledge in Philippe Haeberli's paper). Still, at least three of the interviewed pupils' interests in history seem to depend on links they can make with their personal origins. This genealogical thinking and their ability to think of their own existence in the course of history shows an intimate relation to history.

Pupils also clearly associate taught history to general knowledge, which corresponds to the dominant pattern of the quantitative survey. History is an element of culture, useful to move towards involvement in the actual world, an element of curiosity or of searching about individual or collective origins. Pupils are less concerned by critical functions of history; civic consciousness and historical thinking – comparison, periodisation, social use of history, etc. Even though some pupils don't believe everything asserted by documents or by historians, their conception of history is rather realist (history tells the truth about the past) than constructivist (attention paid to points of view and conditions of historical knowledge's construction).

Regarding utility of history, even if some pupils think history enables a better understanding of the actual world and how society functions, they hardly ever imply or refer to any critical attitude. But finally, history seems to be of some personal benefit to them, at least to help them situate themselves in relation to the past and their origins.

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Relating to History: an Empirical Typology

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Abstract *We introduce results from a survey on pupils' conceptions about history conducted in 2003 by the social sciences' didactics team from the University of Geneva under Prof. Audigier's direction. The survey took place in several secondary schools in Geneva. In this survey, our main interest was to know what teenagers from 12 to 15 think about history and about history teaching. The questionnaire which 276 pupils answered concerns: the definition of history, the personal and collective contribution of history, its utility and activities during history lessons. The typology we constructed rests on five different aspects of the responses given by the pupils. Conception of history (realism versus constructivism), relation to historical knowledge (internal relation versus external relation), personal benefit of history teaching, social and collective function of history, subjective attitude toward history. Out of a 'cluster' analysis, we found out five different contrasted and intelligible types of pupils. The main object of this paper is to describe these five types and relationship to variables used in the survey (degrees, socio-cultural environment, levels, marks, activities, etc.). The purpose of this is an attempt to draw a general pattern of types of relation pupils construct towards history and history teaching.*

Keywords History, Conceptions, Typology, History teaching, Pupils

Introduction

How do pupils understand history? What kind of relation do they establish with history as a school subject? To what extent does history taught at school contribute to their personal life? Do they think teaching history is useful for 'living together'? What kind of attitude do pupils develop towards history? These questions are the main concerns that oriented the survey L*es élèves du cycle et l'histoire* carried out in 2002-3 with pupils from lower secondary school (12-15 years old) in Geneva. The questionnaire, filled out by 276 individuals, addresses three main objects: the conception of history, the benefits and utility of history, and the teaching of history. More precisely, the questionnaire begins with an open question asking pupils with what words or expressions (5 maximum) they associate history; further, pupils have to say if they agree or disagree with 32 propositions related to the nature of historical knowledge. They also should say if they agree with a group of propositions about the personal benefit of studying history and choose, among ten propositions on the utility of history, the two with which they agree the most and the two with which they agree the least. Two multiple-choice questions concern what is really going on during history class and one last open question asked about frequency, pleasure and utility of activities during history class.

The results of this last question are presented in the contribution of François Audigier. The sample was equally distributed between three different grades (7th, 8th, 9th); two thirds of the pupils belonged to stronger classes (level A), one third to weaker classes (level B). Males and females were also equally represented in the sample. Other independent variables, socio-cultural environment and performance will be presented later in the text. We used the software SPSS for the statistic treatment of the data. Progressively introduced between 1999 and 2001, the history curriculum for the lower secondary school in Geneva enunciates teaching objectives; it is meant to develop pupils' historical thinking in studying, for example, links between past and present, paying attention to historical documents and so on, and tends to avoid a linear approach to the teaching of history (see Nadine Fink's paper, *Pupils' conceptions of history and history teaching*). Besides questionnaires, interviews with pupils were also carried out. You will find an analysis of them in Nadine Fink's paper.

Regarding the theoretical frame, the reader is kindly invited to refer to François Audigier's paper *History in the curriculum: the pupils' perspective* that analyses another aspect of the survey *Les élèves du cycle et l'histoire* by questionnaire. The aim of this paper is to explain and describe types of relations towards history. A typological analysis gathers different dimensions of one concept in a global measure. It enables one to find out inductively contrasted profiles or types of a given phenomena. The dimensions chosen to construct the typology are the following: conception of history, relation to historical knowledge, personal benefit of history teaching, social or collective function of history, subjective attitude towards history. I will introduce each dimension of the typology, describe the five types of pupils, and, finally, present some crossings with independent variables.

Dimensions of the typology

Conception of History

To construct this dimension we rely on the classical opposition between the realist and the constructivist view of history. By realist, we mean a perception essentially objective, linear and deterministic that could be illustrated by the famous expression of Ranke; history must show '*wie es eigentlich gewesen*'. Knowing the past means to establish facts. It is a matter of truth that the historian must discover and not invent or interpret. The realist also understands history in a linear manner, characterised by precise temporal limits. The realist conception has so far been the logic of teaching history in our schools. '*L'histoire scolaire dit la vérité du monde d'hier, faisant croyance que cette réalité est directement appréhendable et compréhensible, effaçant les langages, les points de vue, les conditions de construction des textes historiques ; elle transmet ce qui est acquis. Ce que l'on sait et que l'on tient pour vrai. Elle éloigne à la marge ce qui met en doute ou interroge les savoirs ; elle construit un monde qui est accepté par tous, gommant les débats, les oppositions qui sont ceux des hommes et des sociétés lorsqu'ils parlent d'eux-mêmes'* (Audigier, 1995, p.161).

The constructivist view pays more attention to points of view and conditions of historical knowledge's construction (context and position of the historian). There is not one truth about the past, but diverse possible interpretations. To measure this dimension, we submitted ten propositions differently posing the opposition. The pupils were asked to declare their degree of agreement or disagreement with each proposition and to pronounce themselves on a five-position scale, which was for the sake of the analysis reduced to a three-position scale. The global tendency is toward a constructivist view of history. 51% of the pupils gave a constructivist answer (grey boxes) to at least 6 of the ten assertions. Only 14% of pupils adopted a realist position.

Relation to historical knowledge
The second dimension we considered for the typology concerns relation to historical knowledge. Lautier 2001 opposes a '*relation personnalisée, intime, au savoir historique'* et un *'rapport d'externalité à l'histoire'.* In a personalised, intimate relation, value is given to history and the past enables the person to better understand and appreciate the world he is living in and to develop consciousness of the fact that we can act upon it. The meaning of historical knowledge goes well beyond the classroom. An external relation to history, on the contrary, means a strong separation between history and personal life or its environment. The past is perceived as something that is completely over, historical knowledge is considered as totally foreign to the actual world. The same kind of distinction was pointed by Audigier (1995) about pupils' representation of history. Audigier opposes open representation to closed representations. In the former, pupils express the idea that history serves to understand the world, that it is useful and interesting outside the classroom; in the latter, pupils consider that history serves first to learn dates, to know facts. These learnings are qualified as closed in the sense that their

	I totally agree	I agree	I neither agree, nor disagree	I disagree	I totally disagree
1. History is based on documents that can contradict each other	32	33	27	4	4
2. Perception of past events is not the same throughout the world	46	32	15	5	2
3. All knowledge about the past lies in the documents of the time	16	30	29	13	11
4. Just one truth about the past exists	20	15	26	21	17
5. History reconstitutes events just the way they happened	13	20	37	22	8
6. The Middle Ages begin and end at precise dates	27	21	21	19	12
7. An historical document is evidence that always tells the truth	11	16	28	26	20
8. Our calendar has always existed	7	13	21	18	41
9. There's no link between past and present	9	11	25	23	33
10. In the course of history, all societies evolve the same way	4	11	22	29	33

TABLE 1. History conception : answers distribution (in %)

meaning is limited to the space and time of the classroom. The questionnaire includes a series of eight assertions around the opposition intimate or open relation versus external or closed relation to history (cf. Table 3). Results show that pupils have a relationship to historical knowledge that is full of nuances, and even controversial. There is no strong trend; but a summary measure shows that 38% of the pupils gave 'intimate or open' answers on at least 5 of the 8 assertions; only 23% of the pupils have a closed or external relationship to history. Notice that the two dimensions *history conception* and *relation to historical knowledge* are statistically independent. In other words, answers given on one aspect do not condition answers given on the other.

Personal benefit of history
The third dimension reveals that, for a strong proportion of pupils, historical knowledge contributes in one way or another to their understanding of the present, how society functions and their life. The praxeological conscience measures a more practical aspect of the dimension. The pupils are quite undecided on this aspect. The last aspect concerns the contribution of history to civic life. Globally, pupils see benefits to the study of history that go beyond the classroom and the sphere of evaluation. To complete the index and after statistical relevance tests, we add a question about citizenship. Pupils were asked to say they agree with the following assertion: for me, studying history

prepares for my future role of citizen. Global results on this question were quite controversial as 1/3 of the pupils agreed, 1/3 disagreed and 1/3 stayed neutral.

	I totally agree	I agree	I neither agree, nor disagree	I disagree	I totally disagree
1. History helps us understand people very different from us	32	36	22	4	6
2. History enables me to understand present time	13	35	26	15	11
3. History enables me to better understand certain movies and books	15	29	23	15	18
4. History is necessary to the construction of collective identity	12	23	40	15	10
5. What happened in the past has nothing to do with my actual life	26	15	25	21	13
6. Questions that we ask about the past depend on what we live in the present	12	28	38	11	11
7. What I observe around me is explained by studying history	6	20	38	21	16
8. History enables one to be more tolerant	6	20	35	20	19

TABLE 2. Relation to history: answers distribution (en %)

For the collective function of history, we constructed a summary index. Out of the question on the utility of history we selected four items giving history a collective function (performative or linked with identity): "History enables to…": 1) "not repeat the mistakes made in the past"; 2) "better act in the future"; 3) "transmit shared values"; and 4) "create a national identity".

Attitude towards history

Three indicators measure the attitude towards history and emotional relation to it. The first is constituted by the index 'pleasure' (Table 4). It measures the interest in the study of history and the personal curiosity that pupils develop towards knowledge of the past and discovery of other cultures. The two other indicators correspond to a single direct question. First, pupils indicated to what extent "to study history, it's studying a subject like another, no more" on a five-position scale. 48% of the pupils answered by the affirmative ('I totally agree' and 'I agree'). Secondly we use the single question 'do you like history?'; to that question 49% of the pupils answered that they like history a lot.

To me, history…	I totally agree	I agree	I neither agree, nor disagree	I disagree	I totally disagree
Comprehension of the present					
1. enables me to better understand what happens nowadays	30	35	19	9	6
2. enables to better understand how the society I am living in works	28	37	20	8	8
3. doesn't help a lot to understand my actual life	14	13	26	27	21
Praxeological conscience					
1. makes me understand that what I do about my life can have an influence on the world	14	28	28	16	14
2. helps me to better understand, to tolerate and respect others	11	18	36	15	20

TABLE 3. Dimensions of personal benefit of history: answers distribution (in %)

To me studying history…	I totally agree	I agree	I neither agree, nor disagree	I disagree	I totally disagree
1. gives me the desire to know more about the way people lived once	43	40	14	2	2
2. develops the pleasure to discover other way of living	26	30	22	12	11
3. makes me discover famous figures, examples to follow, models	19	29	26	14	12
4. generates emotions and stimulates my imagination	8	23	27	21	21

TABLE 4. Pleasure : answers distribution (in %)

Typology

Classification analysis enables us to generate a homogeneous class of individuals from a database made up of n lines and p columns. Lines correspond to pupils (n=276) and columns to dimensions that characterise them (see above). The method of classification used is inductive; classes obtained are *a priori* not known. For this reason, the method of classification is an exploratory method. We combine two techniques of classification (on SPSS). The first form – called hierarchical classification – consists of aggregating the nearest individuals two per two as many times as needed to produce the number of types desired. The notion of proximity is based on Euclidean distance. The second form – called classification by aggregation around mobile centres – directly divides all data in a determinate number of classes. The two techniques have in common the creation of classes of individuals as homogeneous as possible in content and as different as possible from each other. In more technical terms, we are trying to minimise the internal variance of the groups and to maximise variations between the groups.

The final typological solution that we chose enables the identification of five contrasted and intelligible profiles of pupils regarding their relation to history (see table 5). One should read the table this way: on each line is indicated the proportion for each type. For example, type I is characterised by a maximum score on the constructivist conception dimension. The scores have to be compared with the average score in the seventh column. Conversely, type V is constituted of a strong majority of pupils having a realist conception of history. Dimensions that have only weak variations with average scores do not contribute to identify of each type. To ease reading, we coloured in grey the boxes with the maximum scores.

A compelled relationship (type IV)
The most important type quantitatively speaking (30 %) in our sample is characterized by a clearly external relation to history and by very low scores – even very low on the personal benefit index as well as on the collective function of history index (only the praxeological conscience is not a minimal score). Pleasure taken during history class is very low; history is not liked very much and considered rather like any other school subject. In other words, pupils from this type have essentially a compelled relation to history and this relation is entirely represented by history as a school subject. History is then quarantined within 'school' as building and institution. The personal relationship aspects and social stakes are absent from their preoccupations. Historical knowledge seems to have no echo beyond learning it. This type could be the negative expression of the "métier d'élève" (Perrenoud 1984): we don't like what we do in history class and we don't see other possible dimensions to history.

A blooming relationship (type III)
The second type in importance (28%) is diametrically opposed to type IV. The intimate relationship to history is quite strong here. The scores are maximal on the three entries of the personal benefit. Historical knowledge is recognized as an intellectual tool that enables better understanding of the actual world and personal life. There is also a certain civic consciousness. The collective function of history receives an average score. Attitude towards history is quite positive; these pupils take in particular a lot of pleasure following history classes. History is very far from being an ordinary subject. On the contrary, it represents a source of blooming outside the walls of school and away from school constraints.

An intellectual relationship (type I)
Type I concerns less than one pupil out of five (17%). It has some common points with type IV. The relation to history is clearly external, citizenship is also very distant, the praxeological consciousness is very low and the collective function is weakly recognized.

Types	I	II	III	IV	V	Average scores	Cramer
Importance in the sample	17%	12%	28%	30%	13%	-	-
Constructivist conception (i)	73	62	45	54	19	51%	.32***
Intimate relation (i)	19	53	88	10	5	38%	.70***
Personal benefit (index)							
- present comprehension (i)	60	76	68	1	29	43%	.60***
- praxeological conscience	7	22	93	34	15	42%	.67***
- citizenship (q)	15	59	61	17	23	35%	.44***
Collective function (i)	25	18	36	32	60	34%	.25**
Attitude towards history (index)							
- pleasure (index)	34	10	82	1	88	42%	.74***
- another school subject (q)	6	94	25	61	86	48%	.62***
- I like history a lot (q)	84	3	69	18	73	49%	.61***

TABLE 5. Relation to history: an empirical typology (in%)
The types are described in decreasing order of quantitative importance

Some striking differences with type IV are to be noticed. First, for these pupils there are quite strong personal benefits: to better understand the present, our actual world, and contemporary events even if this dimension does not give pupils a strong awareness of being a subject that can act upon the world. The accent put on the intellectual benefits of history is probably not independent from the strong constructivist conception of historical knowledge. The other major difference with type IV lies in the attitude towards history. Even if the enthusiasm for learning history is quite low (see pleasure score), history is not at all considered as a school subject like another and is very much liked. Type I brings us to distinguish pupils' attitude towards what happens in the classroom and towards history as general knowledge on past events and, to a certain extent, present time. We can indeed suppose that the history that 'I like a lot' refers to the intellectual interest towards a knowledge related to present time even if *ego* is only related to this knowledge in a very loose way.

A school-oriented relationship (type V)
Type V (13%) can be compared to type IV regarding external relationship and the quasi absence of personal benefit. The collective function of history obtains the highest score. But the major difference lies in the attitude towards history. Although pupils that have a compelled relationship to history clearly do not enjoy history, pupils from this type take a lot pleasure studying history and like history a lot. Strangely, they consider history as an ordinary school subject, like any other school subject. Their relationship to history is then not as enthusiastic and blooming as in type III. The very low scores for the personal benefit part illustrate this. With a clearly realist conception of history, we could suppose

these pupils enjoy activities practiced during history class. History is here reduced to its school-related dimension far from concerns about citizenship or link between past and present. But this does not prevent these pupils from greatly enjoying history in the classroom. (contrary to type IV). Note that a realist conception and an external relation to history do not induce an inevitable dislike towards history courses. This type expresses the positive side of the 'métier d'élève' (Perrenoud, 1984). History doesn't bring the pupil on a personal level or beyond school institution; but he enjoys the 'game' played in the classroom during history courses.

A tense relationship (type II)
Like type V, type II only concerns a bit more than one pupil out of ten (12%). It is to be compared with type III. These pupils are characterised by an intimate relationship to history and by a constructivist conception of history (even if the proportions are not the same for the two profiles). If the personal benefit is less obvious than for the type III, this benefit is still very present on the intellectual level as well as on the more acting level. The specificity of type II is to combine a constructivist conception with a dislike of history. We interpret this constellation of traits as an expression of a third aspect of the 'métier d'élève' characterised by strong tensions regarding the relationship with history. It is the place to distinguish history as school subject, as a teaching subject enclosed in its institutional and compelled identity on the one hand, and, on the other hand, history as knowledge, as a way to understand past as well as present time, the two being related. Pupils seems to have here a strong relationship to historical knowledge, an intimate relationship in which history taught at school does not have a grasp or does not relate. Curious and interested regarding history, the pupils have a very strong dislike for the school subject, a subject that does not at all differentiate from others and for which there's no joy or pleasure at all. We imagine a pupil in the last row dreaming about a history that tells stories about the life of people that lived in the past.

Crossings

Two groups of variables that have statistical influences on the typology will be examined in this section: socio-cultural environment, marks and perceived difficulties. Note that there are no statistically meaningful links between the typology and on one hand, grades and levels and, on the other hand, the gender variable.

Socio-cultural environment
Three indices enable us to approach the socio-cultural environment: language spoken at home, formation or professional plans of the pupil, and estimation of the number of books at home. Regarding the language spoken at home we distinguish the ones who speak French only (46%), the ones who speak French and one foreign language (40%) and the ones who speak one or more foreign languages at home without mentioning French (14%). Regarding the formation plan: 18% of the pupils wish to follow a professional formation, 11% a commercial school, 50% college and university (11% make another choice). Estimation of the number of books at home enables to estimate the socio-cultural level of the parents (pupils from this age have difficulties in telling what their parents do as a profession). After regrouping certain answers, we obtain three groups more or less the same: less than 50 books (30%), between 50 and 200 (34%) and more than 200 (36%). The results can be summarised this way. Type II, *the tense relationship to history* is under-represented among pupils speaking only French at home. Type III, *the blooming relationship* is under-represented among pupils speaking another language than French at home and over-represented among pupils speaking French and another language at home. Pupils that have a *school-oriented relationship to history* (type V) are over-represented in the group of pupils speaking another language than French at home. While the formation plan is not statistically correlated to the typology, certain variations are interesting to mention. The *intellectual relationship to history* (type I) is under-represented among the pupils who want to complete professional training.

Type IV, *the compelled relationship*, tends to decrease as the years of projected formation increase. The index estimation of books at home is independent of the typology.

Marks and perceived difficulties

Does the type of relationship to history have an influence on success at school? Two indices enable us to give some answers. Do the average marks pupils get in history vary according to types (see table 6)? It is a self-evaluation done by the pupil. The question was: "Usually in which category of marks are your results in history?".. Table 6 shows that there is a quite strong relation between the two variables. First, the highest marks are associated to two types: *intellectual relationship* (type I) and *blooming relationship* to history (type III). Both of the types are characterised by a positive attitude towards history. Average marks (between 4 and 5) are rather associated with three other types: a *tense relationship* (type I), a *compelled relationship* (type IV) and a *school-oriented relationship to history* (type V). Bad marks (under 4) are more associated with the compelled relationship type.

| Average marks (6=max. 1=min.) | Types of relationship to history | | | | | Total |
	Intellectual relationship	Tense relationship	Blooming relationship	Compelled relationship	School-oriented relationship	
>5	68	37	58	31	39	47
4-5	25	47	33	46	51	40
<4	7	16	8	23	10	13
	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 6. Average marks according to types of relation to history (in %)

| Appreciation by the pupils | Types of relation to history | | | | | Total |
	Intellectual rel'ship	Tense rel'ship	Blooming rel'ship	Compelled rel'ship	School-oriented rel'ship	
Easy	61	42	59	34	61	50
Neutral or difficult	39	58	41	66	39	50
	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 7. Difficulties with history according to types (in %)

Appreciation by pupils of the difficulties they encounter with history confirm the preceding results. On the proposition 'in general, do you find history…', pupils had the choice between five different answers : 'very easy', 'quite easy', 'neither easy', 'neither difficult', 'rather difficult', 'very difficult'. Table 7 shows that history as 'very easy ' or 'quite easy' ('easy' in the table) subject is more frequent in the types of pupils declaring marks superior to 5, i.e. type I and III. This perception is also dominant among pupils of type V. The two types that encounter the most problems with history evaluation, the *tense*

relationship and the *compelled relationship*, are the two types for whom appreciation on history course is neutral or difficult.

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Historical Literacy: Theory and Research

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Abstract *This paper will attempt to sketch out an initial and very provisional account of a workable notion of historical literacy. It will draw briefly on some philosophical considerations suggested by ¾ among others ¾ the work of Bevir, Collingwood, Lorenz, Oakeshott and Rüsen in order to decide what might be usefully included in such a notion. More substantially, it will employ recent empirical research to suggest what an account of historical literacy might need to address. At the very least any useful account ought to pay attention both to students' ideas about the discipline of history and to their orientation towards the past (the kind of past they can access, and its relationship to the present and future). Research connecting these two components of historical literacy has only recently begun, although Rüsen's theoretical approach to historical consciousness has inspired investigation of the second component for some time in parts of Europe. It will be argued that a major project for history education must be the development of usable historical frameworks of the past that are not 'party histories', but allow students to assimilate new events and processes, whether in the past or the future, and are themselves adaptable in the face of recalcitrant new material. Key tools here will be adequately sophisticated ideas about historical accounts, together with closely related concepts such as significance, interpretation and change.*

Keywords Orientation, Framework, Second-order concepts, Understanding

Knowing and understanding history

Public figures and the press usually have no difficulty with what it is to know history. Sam Wineburg (2000) has tellingly ridiculed complaints over the past century that poor teaching or 'modern' methods mean students do not know 'the simplest and most obvious facts'. He points out that the lament has remained the same despite the fact that educational theory and practice, along with the societies that support them, have changed beyond recognition. An equally strange feature of 'modern methods' has been that at whatever point in the past century they occurred and however badly they were taught, they produced a generation confident enough of the superiority of its own historical knowledge to bewail its absence in the succeeding generation.

Everyone who knows anything about history education agrees that there is more to history than knowledge of token past events, but there is not always agreement as to what this 'more' should be, and in the hurly-burly of school life practice can vary enormously, even in a single national system. In the UK over the past four decades the importance of teaching students about the discipline of history has been widely recognized. This remains a huge achievement, increasingly noticed in other countries and studied as a possible way forward. Perhaps it has been undermined recently: the tradition of curriculum development in which teachers took the lead role in devising new courses and examinations (especially SHP, but also CHP and ETHOS) has given way to the centralized wisdom of the National Curriculum where QCA algorithms replace professional development and understanding. However, there is evidence that even without any regress, there is more to history education than we have recognized. It is not so much that someone has suddenly revealed a new problem as that after the experience of the past 30 years we are better able to pin down what that problem is. Despite all the achievements, we have not managed to teach historical literacy.

Towards a concept of historical literacy

Over the last three decades UK history education has displayed a tension between two different concerns. Among many professionals (teachers, examiners and researchers) interest has focused on what is meant by and how to develop students' understanding of the discipline of history. Meanwhile some teachers, many historians and the lay public have been much more interested in what students are supposed to know about the past by the end of their school courses. Clearly there is no necessary conflict between these different concerns, but we should nevertheless remind ourselves that dealing with one of them is not necessarily to make any headway with the other.

It is easier at the beginning of the 21st Century than it was even twenty years ago to see why we should emphasize the connections between the two sets of concerns. Research has given us a detailed picture of the kinds of ideas about history that students are likely to hold, and it is increasingly plain that some of these ideas not merely get in the way of learning history, but actually make it seem a dubious and futile activity. Hence when we talk about what students 'know' about history, we can make better guesses as to what must be understood if the 'facts' that the public want our students to recall are to count as knowledge at all. Moreover, in the context of the past three decades of philosophy of history it should scarcely be necessary to point out that historical knowledge does not consist of discrete items, and history cannot be treated as an accumulation of events.

And yet, and yet… If we consider the simplistic squabbles over the content of the National Curriculum, and the hopelessly inept version of what students should know enshrined in the current version of that Curriculum, we can hardly claim that much progress has been made in the second of the two concerns. We may know more about the ideas students bring to history, but we have not even begun to think clearly about the shape of the substantive knowledge we hope they may have acquired by the time they finish their school history. The public and professional historians are not wrong to worry about what students know, although they may well misunderstand the nature of the problem. Indeed we had better be careful of talking about 'the problem' until we have a clearer picture of what we want. We need a workable notion of historical literacy. Jörn Rüsen's work on historical consciousness, and particularly his 'disciplinary matrix' (Fig. 1), may be a helpful starting point, although there is space here only for inadequately brief remarks. Rüsen's diagram (1993, p.162) connects history and everyday practical life. Our interests drive our historical understanding, which in turn enables us to orientate ourselves in time. It is tempting to treat the diagram as suggesting that practical life 'informs' history just as much as history informs practical life. But academic history does not simply respond to demands from everyday life to support — say — national identity. Academic history 'produces a theoretical surplus beyond the need for identity of acting subjects' and 'this theoretical surplus must be seen as the distinctive rational achievement of research-oriented historical narrative.' Thus history 'transcends the particularity of the "commonsensical" orientation of action within the life-world' and is itself a historical achievement, with its own methodological rules and practices, guided by theory. It can therefore take a critical stance toward the interests and demands of practical life (Megill, 1994).

Rüsen stresses that historical learning cannot just be a process of acquiring history as 'objective' facts; it must also involve historical knowledge beginning to 'play a role in the mental household of a subject' (Rüsen, 1993, p.87). In other words, such knowledge must not be inert, but must play a part in the learner's life. Through its role in orientating us in time 'historical consciousness has a practical function' (Rüsen, 1993, p.67). History cannot, in Rüsen's view, be content with a 'lazy pluralism' proliferating multiple perspectives with 'no possibility of deciding between perspectives in an 'objective', i.e. intersubjectively obligatory way' (Rüsen, 1993, p.53). Hence the task of history is to give us 'a sense of our own identity', but
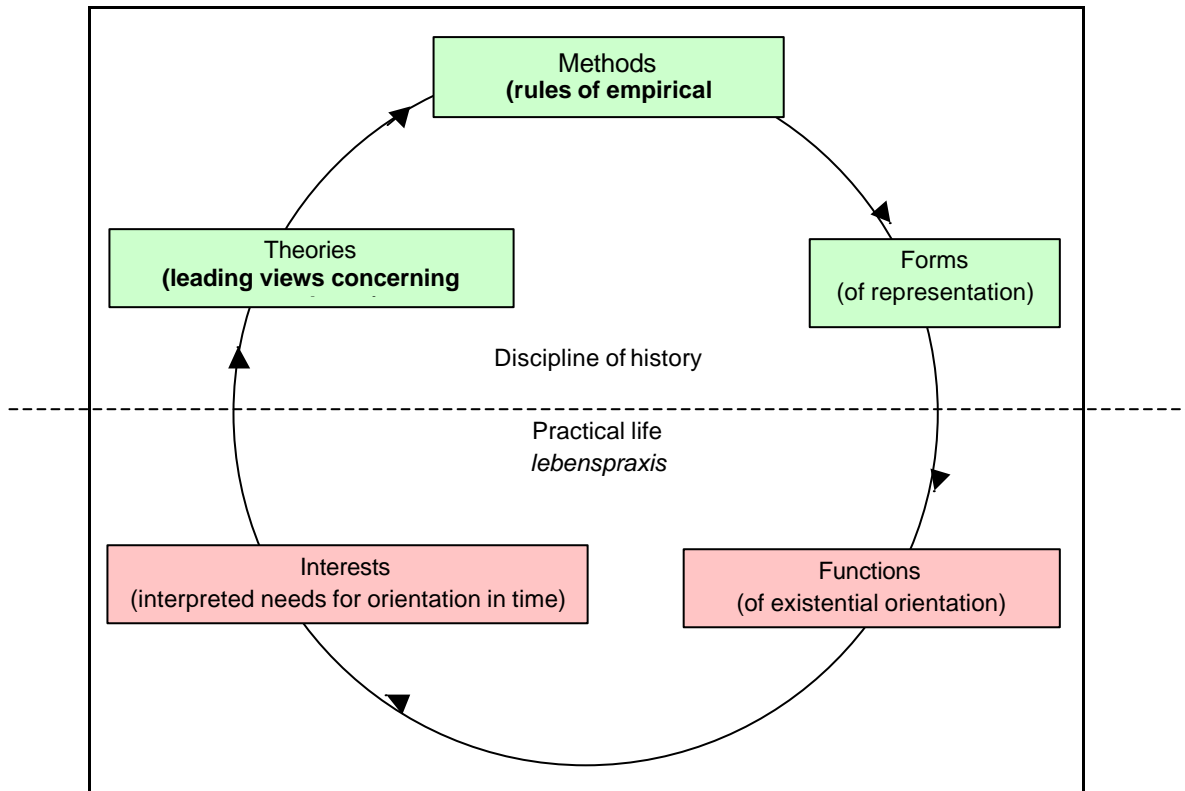
Fig 1. Jörn Rüsen's Disciplinary Matrix

in such a way as to stimulate and facilitate our co-operation with other people, other nations, and other cultures. Since humanity in the largest sense of the word is the stage on which interhuman relations are enacted, humanity ought to be the background against which all history is written. (Ankersmit, 1998:88.)

By recognizing history as something that transcends 'commonsensical' orientation, but still linking it in complex ways with action in the everyday world, Rüsen's account of historical consciousness suggests some principles for constructing a concept of historical literacy. A first requirement of historical literacy is that students understand something of what history is, as 'an engagement of enquiry' with its own 'identifying marks, some characteristic organizing ideas and a vocabulary of expressions to which it has given specialized meanings: 'past', 'happening', 'situation', 'event', 'cause', 'change' and so on.' (Oakeshott, 1983, p.6)

This might suggest that students should understand, for example: how historical knowledge is possible, which entails a concept of evidence; that historical explanations may be contingent or conditional, and that explanation of action requires the reconstruction of the agent's beliefs about the situation, values, and relevant intentions (Bevir, 1999, 2002; Collingwood, 1993, 1999; Dray, 1995; Nielsen, 1981; Van der Dussen, 1981) that historical accounts are not copies of the past, but may nevertheless be evaluated as answers to questions in terms of (at least) the range of evidence they explain, their explanatory power and their congruence with other knowledge (Lorenz, 1994, 1998; Bevir, 1994).

It might be thought that the National Curriculum provides for just this kind of understanding, but unfortunately centralized curriculum planning has reduced some of the gains made in the eighties to incoherent official systems like the history attainment targets. Even discussion of practice seems sometimes to forget that talk of methods cannot be divorced from purposes, so that (for example) claims are made about the value of using long or short sources independently of what understanding is targeted.

Exciting classroom activities are useless if they hand on low-level ideas, and are simply doomed to failure if they do not address the preconceptions that students bring to their history classes. Here research has something to say.

History as counter-intuitive: the apparatus of understanding

Numerous generic accounts of learning ('learning styles', 'critical skills' and so on) circulate round schools without managing to say anything about how students learn history. Unlike these, the US National Research Council's *How People Learn* project both summarizes key principles of learning, and recognizes that they operate in very different subject areas, one of which is history (Bransford, Brown & Cocking, 1999). The first key HPL principle, derived from the past 30 years of research, is central to the concerns of this paper.

> Students come to the classroom with preconceptions about how the world works. If their initial understanding is not engaged, they may fail to grasp the new concepts and information that are taught, or they may learn them for purposes of a test but revert to their preconceptions outside the classroom. (Donovan, Bransford & Pellegrino, 1999)

What ideas do students bring to history? People often assume that history is a 'common-sense' subject with none of the abstractions to be found in science or maths. This may be a profoundly mistaken view. If we look at students' responses to a wide variety of research questions in a considerable range of circumstances, we find a number of basic ideas.

First, many students see the past as fixed. For some, this is because the question 'How do we know?' simply does not arise: there is only one story 'because it says one way in the book.' (Kimberley, year six. Unless otherwise stated all examples are from project CHATA: Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches.) The idea that the past occurred in whatever way it did is a perfectly workable common-sense view. 'Something in history can only happen one way. I got up this morning. I wouldn't be right if I wrote I slept in. Things only happen one way and nobody can change that.' (Sarah, year seven.) But this conception runs into trouble when it is treated as equivalent to the idea that there is only one true description of the past: 'Real life only happens once so therefore there is only one story.' (Christopher, year seven.) For students thinking in this way the past is like a landscape stretched out behind us, just out of reach, fixed and eternal. But it is also like a film, somehow still 'running', repeating the same script over and over, and if we could parachute in on it we would find things going on in the exact way they did, forever enacting the stories that 'really happened'. Moreover it is not surprising that students think like this, given that they learn what it means to 'tell the truth' in situations where the truth is known and the test is whether or not you tell it like it was. Mum's challenge 'Did you smash the window?' can treat the past as a fixed touchstone for 'the truth' because the conventions as to what counts as the true story are taken for granted. History is not like that.

The second idea is that we know things for certain only if we see (or do) them directly, and anything less than certainty is not real knowledge, and is therefore suspect. Knowledge by acquaintance is thus the model for all knowledge. It follows that the only way we could really know the past would be if we had been there when it happened and had witnessed it, so, as students never tire of explaining, 'It is impossible to tell what really happened because we were not there.' (Betty, year six.) Some students are prepared to compromise: 'There could be a book which has someone who wrote about when it happened', or maybe 'If you found an old diary or something it might help.' (Emily and Sally, both year six.) We can't be certain if we weren't there, but if someone who was there to see it reports truthfully, all is not completely lost. Unfortunately this does not solve the problem, as adolescents soon realize. If we depend for our knowledge of the past on reports, we are dependent on people telling us truthfully 'what happened', and

students know that even if no-one actually lies, they may distort the truth for their own purposes — usually because they take sides. In the end, if we want safe knowledge, only 'being there' will do.

Third, history tells us 'what happened'. Since 'what happened' is construed as events or actions very specifically located in space and time, this becomes equivalent to 'what could have been witnessed'. Students tend to think of 'what happened' in terms of particular events, and shrink large-scale history to fit (Barton, 1996). Again, this is perfectly reasonable: everyday life is experienced in personal-event sized chunks. Hence processes, states of affairs and changes are subject to 'eventification' (a term coined by Lis Cercadillo, 1998 and 2001.)

Finally, claims about the past are reduced to fit this impoverished ontology. Everything historians say is assumed to be testable by witness statements. Of course in reality much of what historians are interested in (for example large-scale processes and slow changes, not to mention explanations) logically could not have been witnessed, although elements of them and evidence for them may have been.

Many students, then, operate with sets of ideas that work well in everyday life, but between them render history impossible (Fig. 2). Because there is a fixed past, only one true account may be given of it. The past consists of witnessable events, so historians' claims about 'what happened' are like second hand witness statements. (Hence the well-known student view that primary sources are 'more reliable' than secondary sources.) Since we were not there to see the past, and only direct acquaintance gives us reliable knowledge, we cannot really know what happened. (Lee & Ashby, 2000; Lee, 2004 forthcoming.)
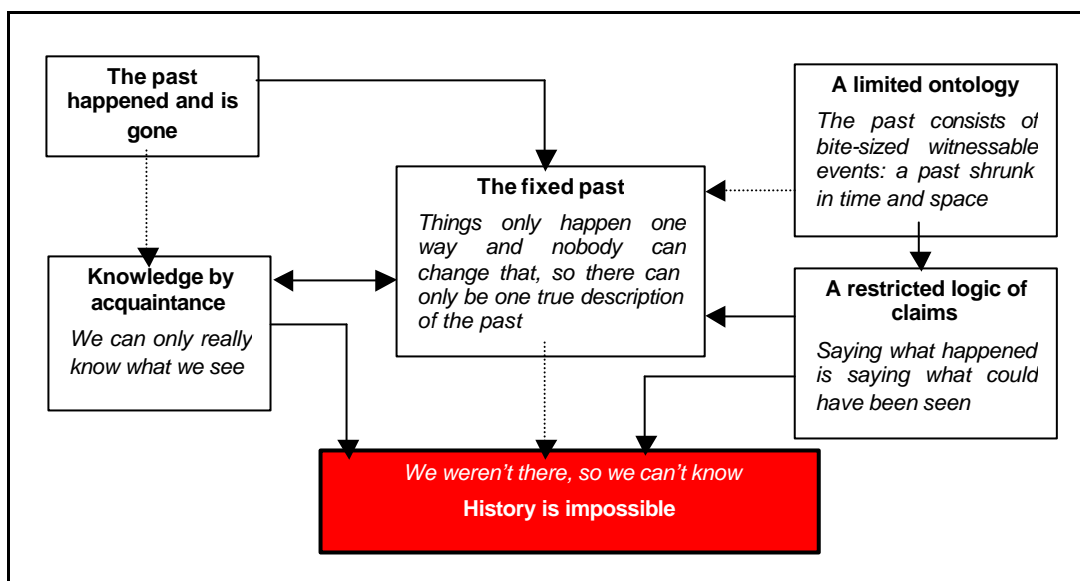

Fig 2. Some everyday ideas that make history counter-intuitive

If we move from the level of singular statements to the level of stories we find that these ideas lead students to treat historical accounts as copies of a fixed past, ideally giving the 'complete' picture. In everyday life, the notion of the 'whole truth' is intelligible where the practical context provides clear conventions for relevance (as in a murder trial), but for history a complete account of the past makes no sense. Students who think there can be one are like Danto's 'ideal chronicler' who watches as the river of time bears events from the future into the present and records everything as it pours over the cliff into the past (Danto, 1965). But the past in history can never be like that, first because it may be described in an indefinite number of ways, and second because it is also dynamic,

changing with subsequent events. In 1920 we could not — logically could not — say 'The Treaty of Versailles sowed the seeds for Nazi rule in Germany', whereas in 1940 such a description was at least a possible one. The war in Iraq cannot now be described as the opening of a long period of stability in the Middle East or the beginning of the decline of the US as a world power, but either may be a valid description in 100 years time. The range of valid descriptions applicable to the past changes as new events and processes occur. Historical accounts are constructions, *not* copies of the past.

Understanding how historical claims can be made, and the different ways in which they may be supported or challenged, is a necessary condition for historical literacy, but not a sufficient one. If students leaving school are to be able to use the past to help them make sense of the present and future, they must take with them some substantive history. While there may be too much emphasis on certain notorious passages of the past (Hitler and Stalin), the UK problem does not seem to lie with students' depth knowledge, but with their ability to see the big picture.

Students' pasts: the tools of orientation

When students are asked to think about the present and future, to what extent do they draw on their study of the past? If they refer to the past, is it a coherent framework? Research in the UK has scarcely begun to address these questions. However, a small-scale pilot, while 'demonstrating' nothing whatsoever, does allow us some informed speculations. Ten interviews with 30 students from years nine, twelve and thirteen, in groups of three, were conducted in two schools (one comprehensive and one selective) in Essex, both with very successful history departments. Analysis is incomplete, but the data suggest some issues for discussion.

It was clear that in this opportunity sample students had difficulty even in remembering what they studied in school history. Roger, an able 18 year-old who abandoned history at 14 for science, was not untypical of older students.

> Int: What do you remember doing?
> Roger: Doing? Mainly things like the Romans and that sort of history.
> Int: Can you remember anything other than the Romans? What after the Romans?
> Roger: Second or First World War.
> Int: So it's kind of the Romans and then the Second and First World Wars?
> Roger: I'm trying to think. Obviously, it was quite a few years ago, over four years ago.
> Int: Anything happen between the Romans and the Second World War, apart from the First World War?
> Roger: No, that was about it. [Laughs]

While fourteen year-olds could remember a little more of what they had studied, it tended to be a disjointed list, often produced after considerable effort. The World Wars were accessed first (not surprisingly, given that the second was still being studied), but sometimes primary school topics like Ancient Egypt seemed almost as salient. The Romans were invariably mentioned, with less frequent allusion to the battle of Hastings (rather than the Norman Conquest as such), the Tudors, the Civil War and occasionally the Industrial Revolution.

When students were asked 'If you had to sum up the story of British history so far — from what you've done at school or from home, including TV, movies, books, or anything else — what kind of story would you say it was?' there was little sign of a coherent framework. The question is difficult even with prompts like 'What title would sum it up? What was the plot (or plots)? What are the themes?' Nonetheless, responses were congruent with those to other questions in the interview.

All three fourteen year-olds in the following example could mention events, but only Obi could offer an organizing conception. (The excerpts are taken from lengthy discussion.)

Fay: *There were invasions, Vikings and such, Industrial Revolution. We had the largest empire, the best navy. We had the plague…*

Int: *But not in that order!*

Fay: *No, not in that order, of course, and ages ago we were considered to be barbarians because we were so harsh on people, and we were very warlike…*

Int: *Right.*

Obi: *Independence from, like, invasions and things. Countries have started accepting what is theirs and what's not and, like, would be the introduction of women's rights and the voting system in Britain. People have been able to make decisions affecting the country and as a whole society has become more independent.*

Three 17 year-olds (at the same school) who had achieved high grades at GCSE and were studying history at A level gave a not entirely dissimilar account. Paul and Grace edged painfully towards an organized account.

Paul: I think it's more self-defence really, against people who are trying to invade the island. Germany in the Second World War, you've got raids from Vikings previous to that, I'm not sure how well that was defended, but… then only recently I think people have started to go out to other people, over the other side of the water really…

Grace: Yeah, I think it's definitely war and stuff…

Int.: So the history of Britain is mainly the history of war?

Grace: Well, not like war and fighting and that, but like, kind of like, we've been on guard, from other countries and stuff, and we've been involved in the First World War and the Second World War and previous things to that.

Paul: I was just going to say we've got to look after our own self-interests [inaudible] with the islands. Joining Europe might, sort of, guarantee more safety, but people, well they were looking to add us to their collection, like Germany trying to invade us, so they had the sort of complete set of Europe.

The theme of 'self defence against invasion' is extended to include later expansion, 'people have started to go … over the other side of the water', but it remains virtually single-track and preoccupied with safety. After listening to the others, Eddie gave a more multi-track account of change.

Eddie: … the monarchy always used to have the power, and then obviously Parliament came in and then things like the Civil War and stuff, and eventually this led to the democratic system now. We're just one of the forefront, sort of leaders of democracy, and I'd say that seems like the sort of goal we've been leading to; and I wouldn't say that's going to involve any more, apart from maybe, I mean the royal family has already lost a great deal of its power, and I suppose that could disappear, that would be about the only change, I'd say. And then, industrially, there was the Industrial Revolution, we've been continually at the forefront of that, and I'd say now, although I don't think there can ever be a steady point industrially, because obviously technology's always changing stuff, I'd say we were fairly steady…

The only connection between the growth of democracy, which is 'the goal we've been leading to' and the Industrial Revolution seems to be the idea of 'being at the forefront'. The notion of Britain reaching a 'steady point' suggests that changes have petered out, but since technology always changes the 'steadiness' there is qualified. The idea that change has halted because an end point has been reached is fraught with difficulties, but

it may point to an interesting notion of what democracy can be, perhaps itself derived from a tacitly past-referenced conception. Technological change is commonly seen as continuous, linked as it is to a commonsense idea of 'progress' (Barton 1996), but even here some students were inclined to think that the main impact of computers, for example, was now over.

The stories in most responses are fragmented and skeletal, and call on very limited specific references; favourites include World War Two, the Vikings, the Civil War, the Industrial Revolution, and joining Europe. Most responses deal with events, not states of affairs or processes, and although change is clearly present, it often seems to be treated as itself event-like, and this restricted ontology may be a crucial factor in preventing students from developing a more organized and usable 'big picture' of the past. There is little sense of themes relating to one another, or of different directions of change in different themes.

Some of those who gave up history at 14 repeatedly offered national characteristics rather than any coherent diachronic framework. Igor (aged 17), for example, suggested 'How Britons are always willing to put themselves forward to fight other people's battles, I suppose, and doing their own at the same time.' He quoted World Wars One and Two and the support for America's war on terrorism. Helen (also 17) added

> I suppose we are quite a selfish nation like that because we are only helping America to benefit ourselves because they protected us, didn't they, in the Second World War? And, you know, when we started the Second World War with Germany that was mainly to stop ourselves being taken over, really.

Both students admitted they had virtually no memory of history before year nine, although Helen said that in year nine she 'didn't really have a teacher'. A final attempt to elicit a wider picture persuaded Helen to volunteer 'Just a strong country which has always had a king or a queen and, you know, got involved in quite a lot of wars and stuff, has been quite an influence on the world.' The point is not that these students do not know any history — they plainly *do* know something about some events — but that they are unaccustomed to thinking in terms of a big picture, and find it extremely difficult to go beyond fragmentary extrapolation from the very recent past. It is even possible that they are projecting the present back into the past, and then forward again.

It must be emphasized once more that by all usual measures the history departments from which the students came were very successful ones, but responses in this sample to a wide range of questions about the future, present and past indicate that whatever knowledge of the past students can call upon does not appear to be organized as a powerful or flexible tool for orientation. A few of the eighteen year-olds appealed to rather more complex versions of the past. But the interviews taken as a whole (not just the direct question about the themes of British history) are consistent in suggesting that access to a usable historical framework cannot be assumed to be common even among students specializing in history until age 18. We cannot generalize from this kind of sample, but it does suggest that there may be something here that deserves investigation on a wider scale (Lee, 2002). This possibility will perhaps be no surprise to many thoughtful teachers preoccupied with the problem of how to make Key Stage Three worthwhile.

In addition to the interviews, written responses were obtained from 60 students to questions about how they would decide which political party to support, whether jobs would be harder or easier to get in the next five years, and how to deal with race relations in Britain. The questions were asked first with no mention of the past, but once students had responded they were asked 'Would history help ?' (for each problem). About half the responses said history would not help, and about a third said it would (some students felt they could not say). The interesting feature of the responses however is that both those who thought history *would* help decide, and those who

thought it *wouldn't*, gave the same reason: things change. The responses suggest that there are two views of change at work here, one regarding it as random and unpredictable, and the other as to some degree intelligible. The latter position, of course, means that understanding trends and time-extended, backward-referenced features of human behaviour (for example plans and policies) is crucial to making decisions in the present. (Some of the issues underlying this are discussed in Olafson, 1979; see also Lee 1984; Shemilt 1983; Rogers, 1984.) If the findings in this pilot are not misleading, we are taken back here to the key relationship between orientation issues (a past that helps us in everyday life) and disciplinary understandings. Rüsen's matrix therefore seems an appropriate map for thinking about the core issues for any genuine conception of historical literacy.

Historical literacy: understanding and historical frameworks

If students are to be able to orientate themselves in time, seeing the present and future in the context of the past, they must be equipped with two kinds of tools: an understanding of the discipline of history, and a usable framework of the past. Students who never get beyond common-sense conceptions of history will find it easy to accept ready-made versions of the past, or alternatively to reject the whole enterprise as inherently fraudulent. But a sense that historical knowledge is possible, together with some understanding of how historians organize and explain the past, do not in themselves give students the substantive framework they need for orientation. Of course, if they are equipped with an intellectual toolkit for coping with historians' disagreements, and do not expect historical accounts to mirror the past, they will have some chance of developing a 'big picture' as they confront the multiplicity of competing accounts offered by the world outside school. They may be quite good at recognizing 'practical' pasts, designed to prove this or that point about who we (or others) are, and what we (or they) should do next (Oakeshott, 1962). But there is little evidence to suggest that this will automatically be the outcome even of this kind of history education if nothing is done to develop a usable historical framework.

To adapt a metaphor of Ros Ashby's, it is as if students in UK schools are buffeted by the weather, but no-one bothers to tell them about the climate. They may even be aware of snippets of meteorology as arcane activities, knowing for example that cyclones often bring wind and rain, but remain baffled as to why we get the seasonal patterns we do, while the idea that such patterns are part of a wider world is entirely absent. They understand enough to come in out of the rain, but wonder why it keeps raining, or even more puzzling, why it gets cold in January here, but not in Australia.

This problem of fragmentation and parochialism applies at the level of both disciplinary understanding and frameworks of the past. In disciplinary understanding 'activities' are often substituted for the concepts they are supposed to teach (for example students sort causes without understanding how explanations work, still thinking 'causes' are simply a particular kind of event). In learning about the past students are taught about Hastings, Henry VIII's wives and Hitler, but nothing of the way human social organization has developed, let alone what it depends on. (Ask children — again borrowing from Ros Ashby — why they are in school and not out growing cabbages and it becomes clear that even the basic notion of a surplus is simply not part of their mental furniture.)

So how can we teach a usable historical framework (UHF) that goes beyond 'eventified' fragments or national characteristics, but is not reduced to 'the story', or what the Russians used to call Party history? There is space here only to sketch some key features of a UHF. (See Shemilt, 2000 and Lee, 2002 for further discussion.)

A framework must be an overview of long-term patterns of change, not a mere outline story skimming a few peaks of the past. It must be taught rapidly and often revisited, so that students can assimilate new history to the existing framework or adapt the

framework itself. Following Rüsen, its subject should be human history, not some privileged sub-set of it. A UHF will initially follow broad developments in human societies, asking about patterns of change in human subsistence, and political and social organization. Students can ask their own questions about the significance of changes like the switch from hunting and gathering to farming, or the mechanization of agriculture. Does the significance remain the same when we ask different questions? What is the effect of asking how many people could be supported in a given area, as opposed to asking what impact these changes had on the environment, or what variety of food was available to ordinary people? Students can suggest their own criteria for assessing change, and see the ways in which the 'story' (however simplified) changes as a result, making their own interpretations, not on juvenile whim, but in assessing the significance of change and patterning themes. A framework will allow students to elaborate and differentiate it in encounters with new passages of history, strengthening its internal coherence, making more complex linkages between themes, and subdividing and recombining themes for different purposes. We are *not* talking here of a standard narrative like the 'quest for freedom' that plays such a large role in US history (Penuel & Wertsch, 1998). A UHF must be an open structure, capable of being modified, tested, improved and even abandoned in favour of something else, so that students are encouraged to think reflexively about the assumptions they make in testing and developing their framework.

At present we have no demonstrator for this kind of UHF. The nearest we can get is the kind of development studies pioneered by SHP and CHP (not the 100 year periods that pass for development studies now). We need to make progress on two fronts. Research is required to allow us to understand the ideas that structure students' relationship to the past and the kinds of pasts to which they have access. Simultaneously we must try to develop practical approaches that build on our knowledge of students' ideas and their existing access to the past. It used to be a strength of UK history that research and practice went hand in hand with curriculum and assessment development driven by teachers. Perhaps some room for this kind of initiative might be found even in the present centralized curriculum.

History is beset by rivals claiming to produce good citizens and critical thinkers. A valid concept of historical literacy could draw together the different elements in a history education and perform the functions these partial substitutes usurp but — precisely because they are partial — cannot achieve. It offers a research agenda that unites past work with new enquiries, rather than simply starting off on a different track. It is almost a truism that the polarity between history education as disciplinary understanding and as substantive history is false. A concept of historical literacy demands that we go beyond this by beginning to think seriously about what *kind* of substance orientation requires, and what disciplinary understandings must underpin that orientation.

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Learning History and Inheriting the Past: The Interaction of School and Community Perspectives in Northern Ireland

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Abstract *This paper reports findings from a study of secondary students' ideas about history and history education. This is a crucial topic for investigation in Northern Ireland, where history plays a contentious role in popular discussion and community conflict, and where one purpose of the school curriculum is to provide alternatives to the sectarian historical perspectives students may encounter elsewhere. This study involved open-ended, semi-structured interviews with 253 students from a variety of social backgrounds. The study is grounded in a constructivist and socio-cultural perspective on human learning, which assumes that students do not passively absorb the knowledge or ideas of those around them but develop their own perspectives based on a variety of influences both in school and out; these perspectives, meanwhile, are fundamentally guided by constructions of a sense of purpose for learning. Data from this study demonstrated the strong impact of community influences—particularly family members—on students' ideas about history, but interviews also revealed that students consciously and explicitly expected school to provide alternatives to those influences. These findings suggest that school history might benefit from more directly engaging students' prior ideas about history and the purposes for learning it.*

Keywords Northern Ireland, Student ideas, Community history

Introduction

Northern Ireland is widely recognized as an area in which popular perspectives on the past have significant contemporary relevance. Marches, demonstrations, memorials, public artwork, political rhetoric, and even graffiti make frequent use of past events to justify contemporary positions or to bolster a sense of identity, usually defined in sectarian terms. Such historical identifications and grievances often are credited with maintaining community divisions in the region. At the same time, history in Northern Ireland, as elsewhere, can be a non-controversial arena for hobbies, family traditions, and recreation and leisure pursuits.

School history in Northern Ireland—at least since the introduction of the national curriculum over a decade ago—aims to provide an alternative to both these approaches to the past. The subject is required during each of the first three years of secondary school, and the curriculum is meant to expose students to a more systematic and comprehensive treatment of the region's history than they are likely to encounter through family stories or local traditions. Each year features a core module focusing on a period deemed essential for understanding Irish history, but these are contextualized within a wider British and European framework. In the first year, students study the impact of the Normans on the medieval world, including the Norman invasion of Ireland. In the second year, English conquest and colonization of Ireland is placed in the context of change and conflict in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Third-year students study the growth of Irish nationalism and unionism from the Act of Union to Partition, including links with British politics, the influence of European nationalist movements and the impact of World War One (Department of Education, Northern Ireland 1996). (At the time of this writing, however, the curriculum is undergoing a process of revision, which may result in a curriculum framed more by learning outcomes than prescribed historical content.)

But history at the secondary level in Northern Ireland aims to do more than provide students with content knowledge. As in the rest of the United Kingdom, history teachers encourage students to approach the subject from a standpoint of inquiry, to look at events from the perspective of those alive at the time, to recognize differing interpretations, and to base their conclusions on the consideration of primary and secondary evidence. There is a tacit recognition that by the end of the final year of compulsory study, history—through its knowledge and skills—should contribute to greater understanding of a variety of cultural and political backgrounds amongst young people in Northern Ireland, and that it should therefore provide an alternative to the presumably partisan and sectarian histories students encounter outside school. It should be noted, however, that teachers usually do not address historical aspects of contemporary or controversial issues directly during required coursework, nor is this an explicit part of the syllabus for those years. Indeed, many teacher disavow the attempt to make history directly relevant to contemporary concerns, either because of perceived community pressure or because of their own belief that academic subjects should be removed from current societal concerns (Barton, McCully, and Conway, 2003). School history's challenge to popular historical perspectives in Northern Ireland, then, remains almost entirely tacit.

But what of students' perspectives? Research consistently has shown that by early adolescence, students have begun to construct their own ideas about the reasons for knowing history, whether in school or out (Barton, 2001; Seixas, 1993; VanSledright, 1997), and current socio-cultural perspectives on learning emphasize the central role of purpose in directing the acquisition of new knowledge and skills (Cole, 1998; Wertsch, 1998). People do not learn isolated and decontextualized information—at least, they do not do so very effectively—but instead direct their efforts toward learning that serves specific goals. If students fail to take away from their studies what educators had hoped for, the problem may lie in a failure to design instruction that accords with students' understanding of the subject's purpose. If we hope to understand what sense students are making out of the Northern Ireland history curriculum, then, we need to explore their perspectives on the reasons for studying the topic. Do they transfer their understanding of community history to the school? Or do they have alternative goals—and if so, what are they? These are the questions this study set out to explore.

The Study

This was a cross-sectional study of students in the first three years of the secondary history curriculum. The research relied on 121 open-ended interviews combined with a picture sorting task, in which pairs of students (or occasionally groups of 3) created groupings of historical images and chose those with which they most identified. These procedures were designed to elicit information on the ways in which students connected history to their own identities as well as their ideas about the uses of history both in school and out. (For more detailed information on the methodology of the study, see Barton and McCully, in press).

Participants
Participants constituted a cross-sectional population of 253 students, ranging in age from 11 to 14, selected through a process of stratified, convenient, cluster sampling. Approximately equal numbers of students had studied each of the first three years of the secondary history curriculum, and the sample included students from Controlled (Protestant), Maintained (Catholic), and Integrated schools, as well as selective, nonselective, and comprehensive schools, and schools in areas that had experienced high levels of sectarian conflict or tension in recent years and those that had not. (All comprehensive schools were integrated schools.) Slightly more than half the sample (54%) consisted of boys.

Instruments

The picture sorting task involved a set of 28 images (some of which were accompanied by brief captions), chosen so that students could respond to a wide range of people and events in the history of Ireland and Britain. After being presented with the images, students were asked to arrange them into groups, to explain why they had put each group together, and to choose those that had 'the most to do with you or who you are'. They were then asked which pictures they considered most important in historical terms (whether or not they were related to their own identity), which they had learned about in school and which out of school, how learning history had changed their ideas about various topics (if at all), why they thought history was important to people in Northern Ireland, why it was a topic they studied at school, and whether and why people had differing ideas about history. Students were interviewed in pairs and encouraged to discuss their answers with each other and to respond to each others' comments; their responses often were probed for elaboration or clarification.

Data analysis

Interview transcripts were analyzed inductively to identify recurring patterns in students' historical identifications, their perspectives on the use of history in their communities, and the reasons they perceived for studying history in school. (Findings related to students' identifications have been reported in Barton and McCully, in press, and are not repeated here.) Transcripts were then coded for occurrence of each type of response, including negative or discrepant evidence. The results relating to history learnt outside school and the perceptions of how history is used outside school are reported as general trends. Responses related to reasons for school history fell into discrete categories, and as a result, the frequency of each type of response was calculated, along with differences among segments of the participants (by gender, year, region, school type, and school selectivity). The following section reports preliminary results related to overall trends in students' responses.

Main Results

Community history

Under this heading two aspects are reported; what history students indicated they had learnt outside school and how history is used outside school. A question on the former was asked directly in the interviews but there were also opportunities within interviews to probe learning in the community when students made references to specific historical events. Data for how history is used emerged during the course of interviews as students responded to questions generated by the stimulus material. For example, interviewees were probed as to why they thought historical images were included in wall murals or how they felt family members or others in the community related to historical events. The findings below identify broad trends that emerged.

How history is learnt outside school

The responses can be categorised into those relating to popular culture generally, including heritage sites, the media and printed sources, and those with a more direct local community influence, including family and peers.

An aspect of the 'peace dividend' in Northern Ireland has seen an emphasis placed on the development of folk parks, museums and heritage centres as vehicles both to encourage tourism and to foster a common understanding of the past (usually related to shared experiences of everyday social life). Several such centres were mentioned by students as sources of their knowledge of the past and most regarded visits to these as interesting and informative. Often these sites were visited as part of formal education but many students also alluded to visits made with families. None of the learning associated with the larger sites, unsurprisingly given the non-controversial nature of most exhibits, might be regarded as partisan in tone. The one exception were comments made in the

context of a small local community museum in the heart of loyalist North Belfast. Two students recognised Edward Carson's picture ' 'cause he's up in one of the museums, up in Glencairn as well and there's a table that's….' (Student 1) '...there's a big Union Jack, there's a table that they had to give back to City Hall'. (Student 2)

Learning history from media sources, and to a much lesser extent books, featured significantly in student responses. Many young people identified the movie *Titanic,* for instance, as a popular source of information, though occasionally this was accorded added significance by the ship's associations with Belfast, and by family ties. The figure most frequently identified by name in the pictures shown was Nelson Mandela and in the great majority of cases this was attributed to references to him on television news. Students from all backgrounds recognised him as a very positive force for social justice, though one young man from a school in a Republican area of Belfast identified with him because of 'civil rights, Nelson Mandela fought for his freedom the same way as the Irish are here.'

Television was acknowledged as an important, informal way of acquiring historical information. Occasional references were made to watching programmes featuring archaeology, kkings and queens' (including Blackadder) and war. As reported in the identification study (Barton & McCully, in press) the world wars featured significantly in what many students felt was important to them from the past, and several students considered television documentaries and drama as sources of information for this. Students, also, referred to programmes relating to the 'troubles' as useful in broadening their knowledge and understanding of the Northern Ireland conflict. However, there were also indications that television, and books too, were being used as a way of following up on historical interests generated from within communities. In one maintained school in Belfast several students made reference to a particular documentary on the hunger striker, Bobby Sands, and another to possessing a CD-rom on the hunger strike. A third student, a girl from a rural interface town, used the internet 'for loads of projects and all on him at home.' Similarly, two controlled school students had read up on Edward Carson prior to studying him in school 'cause I was interested in that' and another admitted to referencing home rule in the following year's textbook.

When students attributed their informal learning to family, peer and community sources it was much more likely to reflect the religio-cultural differences in society, although a few were apolitical and personal in nature. A couple of students associated their general curiosity in history to the enthusiasm of parents. In all three years there were some whose interest in the Titanic or world wars was fostered by parental engagement, including several who made reference to grandfathers and great grandfathers who had worked on the ship or been combatants in war. However, the great majority of responses indicated that political and cultural values were having an impact. This could take a variety of forms. For example, two students disclosed themselves to be children of history teachers and articulated a reconciliatory dimension to their learning. Another referred to his mother's commitment to human rights issues and proceeded to display his understanding of Mandela's fight for social justice and suffragette politics. However, most students who drew on family and community sources of learning did so in a way that mapped on to the dominant division within Northern Irish society. One student knew of Bobby Sands because 'near my area they always draw things, and where my mum lived years ago, they used to draw, you know, big pictures on the walls, and she lived around the time of the hunger strikers and all, and I knew friends who knew them.'

In the case of those from controlled schools the two events most frequently cited were King William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the Siege of Derry in 1688. In addition to the influence of family members, wall murals and organisations and events associated with Orange marches were cited as sources of (partial) information ('You learned why, like, at Twelfth of July, you see all these pictures of King William, you know, on his horse, didn't really understand that before.'). Strikingly, students prior to covering

these events in school had only a hazy knowledge of their historical significance, associating the murals largely with expressions of contemporary political positions. Those from maintained schools who mentioned family and community as significant factors in their learning were most likely to refer to Bobby Sands and the Hunger strike as the key event. Again, stories, murals and commemorations were cited as the sources of their knowledge. ('cause it's the 25 year jubilee of Bobby Sands and the Hunger Strike'. However, in contrast to the controlled school's students view of the Siege and the Boyne, these students usually provided a detailed, if restricted, view of Sands as a figure who was prepared to suffer to uphold the rights of people in his community. ('He died, and he was an MP, when he was there.')

How history is used outside school

No direct question was asked on how history is used. Rather, data was drawn from answers to questions at various stages of the interviews. As such it was sometimes difficult to distinquish between how students felt others used history and what they, themselves, considered was its importance.

Again, students sometimes responded in ways unconnected with the context of a divided society. A number of respondents recognised the leisure dimension of history, for example referring to its value in enriching holiday experiences or in answering quiz questions. There was a strong sense across interviews that history has an important function for people in locating them in time – tracing their ancestry, 'what we are' and 'where we came from', as family members and, collectively, as communities, recording past achievements and hardships and ensuring that the past is not forgotten. Remembrance of past sacrifices featured frequently. This sometimes referred to past economic hardships or, of course, relatives and members of the wider community who died in the wars.

Heritage, remembrance and a sense of identity then were all perceived as ways in which people incorporated history into their everyday lives. However, in a divided society these concepts have a particular resonance and, not surprisingly, many students interpreted them in this context, especially when asked to explain why they thought history was depicted on wall murals. The responses to this question generally displayed a sophisticated understanding of the way history can be used to instil 'pride' and 'strength', and convey messages which portray past events as justification for present actions. Many students were also very aware that the murals and their messages were aggressive and designed to 'annoy'. As one boy put it, 'They fought against the Catholics and they won and they're proud of it cause they won and they want to, like, annoy the Catholics.' Again, there was a significant difference in emphasis in the way students from controlled and maintained school backgrounds interpreted the messages from within their own communities. In the case of those in loyalist areas the stress was often on 'showing how we won' and 'why we are here', whereas nationalist murals were seen more as illustrating past injustices and the importance of maintaining the struggle. The Bobby Sands mural for one lad was 'to show people that they're strong, to show the other side that we're not defeated, look what happened to us, we had one of our best leaders killed, we had millions of people killed in the famine, but we've come back.' It was clear that while some students used the third person to articulate how history was being manipulated, others provided evidence for their argument by using 'we' and identifying directly with the messages of the murals.

From the perspective of teaching history then there is both encouragement and caution to be taken from these preliminary findings. It is valid to take encouragement in that even the students holding the most partisan of positions were aware that the views they were receiving about the past were travelling through the filter of the present and at best were partial and mono-perspective; caution because it was widely recognised that past events were heavily vested contemporary justifications.

School history

When asked why history was a subject important enough to be studied at school, students' responses fell into three broad categories: societal relevance (history's contribution to understanding contemporary issues in Northern Ireland); academic relevance (history's role in helping them learn about events of the past, without regard to contemporary issues); and personal relevance (history's contribution to individual fulfilment or advancement). Notably, though, in nearly half of the interviews in which students identified specific reasons for studying history at school, they offered responses that fell into more than one category. The findings below express the relative frequency of each type of response, then, but it must be recognized that many students noted multiple purposes that could be served by school history.

Societal relevance

Fifty-four percent of students' responses identified some form of societal relevance as the reason for studying history at school. The most common such reason (about half of the total in this category) was that history helped students understand the origins of contemporary Northern Ireland, particularly the origin of the Troubles or of community division more generally. One student, for example, noted that studying history 'just gives like some background information and stuff, like how Northern Ireland was formed' and 'the Protestant/Catholic thing in Northern Ireland.' Another explained that it's good to know 'why people are fighting and what it's over and stuff', and still another explained that after studying history, 'We knew then why they marched and everything.'

A large portion of responses (almost a third of the total in this category) suggested that history was useful in exposing students to multiple perspectives on Northern Ireland, or to the experiences of the other community. One student, for example, explained that before studying topics like the Battle of the Boyne and the Siege of Londonderry at school, she had a 'one-sided view on it all'; her interview partner agreed that 'it's nice to hear both sides of the story'. Another student noted that 'you might be totally Loyalist or totally Catholic, but now [after studying history at school], you've seen both sides of it, so you wouldn't be as sectarian'. Another explained that 'you learn more about the other side, and you learn what their past is like, and you see that there's nothing bad about them'.

The remainder of responses noted that studying history could provide lessons for the present ('It tells you what has happened earlier, so you can learn from it and help to avoid the same thing from happening over again'), provide a sense of heritage ('It's sort of important to learn what your ancestors achieved ages ago'), or alert contemporary society to the contributions of people in the past ('It's important to appreciate what the people who fought in the war did for you.')

Academic relevance

Thirty-four percent of students' responses pointed to the role of school history in helping them learn about the past, with no direct connection to current issues or societal concerns. Half of these responses indicated that the purpose of studying history at school was simply so that they could learn about historic events and trends. One student, for example, explained that 'you know how things have changed and how humans have progressed'. Another noted that history is studied at school 'to know what life was like in past years', and still another pointed out, 'It's good to know about your past and what happened before you were born and what kind of things on in the world'.

A smaller portion of students' responses (one-seventh of the total in this category) related to learning about the origin of the modern world, but without any specific reference to contemporary Northern Ireland. By knowing what happened in the past, one student explained, 'you know how the world [came to be]'. Another noted that 'it teaches you what happened in the past, and why things are happening now', and another

explained that history is important 'to let us know what has changed our lives and how we're here'.

A further one-seventh of the responses in this category identified the role of history in helping students learn about their own region but without any connection to current social issues: 'You're learning about the history of your country', 'You can find out more about the country where you live', 'You need to find out about where're you've living'.

The remainder of responses indicated that history taught students about things they did not already know ('It's like to do with your general knowledge') , taught them about other places ('a wee bit about other countries and what happened around the world'), or enabled them to pass exams ('You need to do it on your GCSEs and your exams').

Personal relevance
The smallest category—12% of all responses—pointed to the role of school history in providing personal fulfilment or advancement. About half the responses in this category suggested that knowing history could lead to jobs (such as an archaeologist, history teacher, solicitor, or museum worker), whereas another half suggested simply that study of the topic was 'interesting'. A very small portion noted that studying at history might help one better appreciate the present ('We're quite lucky to live in this age') or would enable learning about oneself ('You actually learn more about yourself when you learn what happened to other people.')

	Societal	Academic	Personal
Total	.54	.34	.12
School type			
Maintained	.43	.46	.11
Controlled	.54	.33	.13
Integrated	.71	.17	.12
Year			
1st year	.38	.49	.13
2nd year	.49	.32	.13
3rd year	.66	.25	.09
Selectivity			
Grammar	.52	.38	.10
Secondary	.48	.38	.13
Gender			
Male	.56	.32	.11
Female	.51	.36	.13
Region			
High conflict	.54	.36	.10
Low conflict	.55	.32	.14

TABLE 1. Portion of responses among groups of participants

Differences among groups of participants

Table 1 breaks down the portion of students' responses by school type, year, selectivity, gender, and region. The largest differences are those related to year and school type. The portion of responses in the societal category increased steadily across the three years of study, from 38% after the first year, to 49% after the second year, and 66% after the third year; the portion of responses related to academic relevance showed a corresponding decrease. (Responses related to personal relevance also decreased in the third year.) In addition, at integrated schools, 71% of responses fell into the category of societal relevance, compared to 54% in Controlled schools and 43% in Maintained schools; conversely, only 17% of responses at Integrated schools noted academic reasons, compared to 33% at Controlled schools and 46% at Maintained schools. (Personal relevance remained largely constant across the three school types.) Differences associated with gender, selectivity, and region are relatively slight.

Conclusions

This initial study of the data confirms that young people's historical perspective in Northern Ireland is considerably influenced by what they see and hear in their families and communities and that this history is often partisan and politically motivated. It also demonstrates that they recognise that school history has a different, more objective, function, providing them with a multi-perspective view of past events. What is less clear is how these informal and formal aspects of their learning play out in practice. Our previous work indicates that some students as their school careers progress become adapt at selecting aspects of their school learning in Irish history to support their growing political assimilation to the values of their communities. However, this study suggests that students are conscious of the uses and abuses to which history is put and, whatever their backgrounds, are keen to study history formally in a way that sheds light on the contemporary situation. Perhaps, what is required are initiatives to enable them to confront the interface between past and present and to clarify for them why they, too, are likely to see the past through the lens of their own background. (For examples of students engaged in such pursuits, see McCully and Pilgrim, 2004; McCully, Pilgrim, Sutherland, & McMinn, 2002.)

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Gáldar Archaeological Heritage: An Element in the Cultural Identity of the Gran Canaria Island

Abilio Daniel García González

Abstract *Because of its cultural heritage the municipality of Gáldar plays a central element in the historical evolution of Gran Canaria Island, both in the pre-Hispanic stage and subsequently. Nevertheless, that cultural heritage is little valued by the educative community and society in general. In our investigation our premises are:*

1. *The educational curriculum relating to the pre-Hispanic era is almost non-existent. The material that does exist shows serious academic and educational deficiencies.*
2. *The use of the Archaeological Heritage of Gran Canaria as a teachers' educational resource is absent. The interest in and training of teachers in this area is also inadequate.*
3. *This stage of the History of the Canary Islands is hardly known and little valued.*

To remedy these deficiencies, we have designed teaching materials has for use in Primary and Secondary school teacher training. Our goal is to raise awareness and promote the search for a cultural identity, given the excellent opportunity that the cultural heritage of Gáldar offers us to partially reconstruct the history of our island.

Keywords*: Cultural Identity, Geography and History teachers' training*

The pre-Hispanic stage of the history of the Canary Islands

The pre-Hispanic history of the Canary Islands is characterized by a population of Neolithic societies that arrived from North Africa, evidence for which is typological in relation to funeral rites, the use of a specific alphabet and anthropological data. Political and social organization was sustained on the basis of agricultural production, in which the storage and redistribution of the harvests was in the hands of an elite of related noble families, the Guanarteme. This tribal society, with its social hierarchical structure and complex organization, was able to accommodate the physical contact with the Castilian expeditions that arrived in the Canary Islands at the end of the XIVth century. There already existed a proto-urbanism, visible mainly in Gáldar, that enabled it to become the capital of the island and its political and economic centre.

At the end of the XVth century, the Castilian Kingdom embarked upon the military conquest of Gran Canaria Island. Castilian conquest and control occurred primarily through diplomatic and not military means: a pact between the native social elite and the invaders for the division of economic and political power. Through marriage, the old pre-Hispanic elite conserved its existing privileges; in return the conquerors obtained the most fertile land near the coast for colonization and settlement. The bulk of the native population was forced to migrate into Gáldar's interior to survive. Through the pact with the native elite, the conquerors ensured that there were no rebellions since the elite conserved its own power through political, social and economic control of the populace. Also, in the island a process of "aculturación" began, the native urban and rural communities were evangelized, i.e. they were subjected to ideological change in the guise of Catholicism.

Current interpretation of the history of the Canary Islands

Through our investigations we corroborated that the pre-Hispanic stage of Gran Canaria's history is hardly known by the society of Gran Canaria and its educative community, in which we include teachers and pupils. For that reason, we focused our research programme upon teachers of Social Sciences in the island's secondary phase

of education. In our research, we used open-ended interviews. A crucial problem we identified was the limited transformation of academic knowledge of the History of Gran Canaria Island into teaching subject knowledge. There has been little or no adaptation of different archaeological publications for teaching purposes. Accordingly, we confirmed that pupils have little knowledge of the pre-Hispanic stage of Gran Canaria Island's history:

1. Teachers (73%) indicated that such knowledge was non-existent.

2. The pupils of the town, Gáldar (locality of the island with a greater concentration of Archaeological Heritage of this time) have not visited the archaeological sights or deposits.

3. A mythical vision predominates of the pre-historic population as being 'Noble Savages' whose physical appearance is tall, blond, strong and handsome.

4. There is little notion of Archaeology; what exists is connected to myths (present in films, for example Indiana Jones).

Also, in our study we corroborated that the majority of teachers do not consider that the archaeological record is an aspect of Gran Canaria's cultural heritage. They were asked

1. We have two definitions of Historical Heritage; with which do you agree?

A) The archaeological ruins are an expression of the past, behaviours and social actions of the communities. Therefore, the remains constitute fragmented material which is commonly denominated Archaeological Heritage.

B) The Historical Heritage is the set of monumental goods that are located in their original place. They are a part of our History and they shape its cultural identity (Historical Heritage-Artistic).

Consideration of the concept Historical Heritage	
Definition A	15.3%
Definition B	77%
Neither definition	7.7%

TABLE 1. Teachers' consideration of the concept of cultural heritage

77% of the teachers justified their choice of definition B because of the relation between physical remains and history. In this sense, the Archaeological Heritage of Gran Canaria Island is not considered as an element of cultural identity. This affirms that the society does not know its historical roots. Nevertheless, the Historical Heritage (including the archaeological) constitutes an element in collective identity; there is a sense of valuing their symbolic importance (Estepa, Domínguez y Cuenca, 1998).

In addition, the archaeological heritage of our island is barely used as a didactic resource and is little considered as an element in the school curriculum. The role of pre-history in relation to the cultural roots of society has been destroyed due to the process of 'aculturación' of the conquest. Ideologically, each culture has always tried to find and to legitimise its distant origins, with the objective to locate themselves and to find a datum point to fortify a collective personality (Santacana y Hernández, 1999). The current interpretation of pre-conquest history provides mythological explanations of the origin of the towns (the myth of the Lucky Islands like the rest of the continent of Atlantis). In addition, historiography is euro-centric, relying upon the chronicles and

histories of the Castilians. This generates a vision of our History that is little related to the archaeological record.

Conception of the present society of Gran Canaria Island of the pre-Hispanic stage of our history

There are few publications on this period. Films made of it are relatively nonexistent (only the Italian production 'Tirma'). The main books are the 'Natura and Cultura of the Canary Islands' (produced over three decades ago) and a 'History of the Canary Islands for young people'. Also, the folk memory of pre-Hispanic time is unrelated to historical reality, since it is associated exclusively to certain dietary habits ('gofio'). Knowledge of pre-conquest urban society has also disappeared from the collective public memory. However, in certain areas in the municipality of Gáldar cultural elements of the pre-Hispanic stage have survived. Linguistically, large elements of pre XVth century culture survive 'casa-cave trogloditas' (López, 2000).

However, the geographical proximity of our islands to the African continent influences interpretations of pre-conquest period. It has become a sensitive current political and social issue. The North African origin of Gran Canaria's towns is problematic in relation to contemporary ideological and nationalistic feelings. Recent trends in migration have accentuated these concerns, since the islands have become a focus for immigrants from the Magreb. The arrival of these immigrants has caused in the Canary Islands a movement for the control of foreign immigration, that advocates the application of a Law of Residence. The concept that Gran Canaria is African in origin has major political implications.

Globalisation and Gran Canaria identity

Due to globalización, socially there is a move within Gran Canaria to recover the Canary Islands' cultural identity. In Gáldar, the religious image of Santiago has become a referral point: one of identity of the 'galdenses' (Lopez, 1984). Currently, this popular Canary Island identity is linked to celebrations in honor of the local Saints, pop music and in the use of indigenous expressions that are grammatically incorrect: language that has preserved through the oracy of the illiterate peasant society. This process is a consequence of social uprooting in Gran Canaria society from the end of the 1960s. During this period Gran Canaria has witnessed the passage from an agricultural traditional society to one dependent upon tourism. Accordingly, this caused large-scale migration from the countryside to the towns.

Conclusions

Education must support the acquisition on the part of the student of the 'values of respect', the interest to create an affective bond between the student and his or her archaeological heritage (González, 2000). To this end we are piloting an educational programme to incorporate an understanding of Gran Canaria's pre-history and its significance for heritage, culture and identity.

Above all, Gáldar, because of its historical and cultural heritage is a municipality that has didactic potential as it contains an archaeological record to illustrate the historical evolution of the Gran Canaria islands.

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'What Do They Make of 10 Years of Democracy?' Researching the Identity and Skills of Grade 9 History Pupils in Cape Town Schools

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Abstract *Ten years of democracy was marked in South Africa by the third parliamentary election in April. Despite the foregone conclusion that the African National Congress would increase its already substantial majority, the election was keenly fought by the government and opposition parties, and for a month lamp posts in Cape Town were covered with thousands of election posters. This election environment prompted the question that is the title of the paper: How do fourteen year-olds identify with their country and what do they understand of the election messages around them? The results of a pilot questionnaire survey of middle – upper class teenagers in a sample of Cape Town high schools are presented. The survey was in two parts. The first sought to distinguish discernable patterns of how the students identified with South Africa at present. These results introduce a discussion on what is and isn't learned from such a survey, and the question is posed whether the pilot study should be taken to scale or not. The second part analyses what sense the students made of the information contained in the posters as historical sources. A new curriculum to be introduced in 2006 expects that Grade 9s will be able to 'analyse the information in the sources', yet there has been no study made of to what extent this (and other of its Assessment Statements) can be considered realistic or not. This is discussed in the light of the results of the survey.*

Foreword

This paper takes me away from my usual research interests. I've not often done quantitative research and would normally never use a quantitative method without complementary qualitative research. The paucity of information about many aspects of South African schooling post-1994 has, however, made many realise that survey data is necessary and useful. If this research is taken beyond the present pilot stage it will include interviews. The intention, therefore, is not to report findings, but to create the opportunity to discuss the value of them in this forum.

Background to the research

The celebration of ten years of democracy in South Africa and the election of the third parliament coincides this year with what is for history educators an event of as great importance. After it had seemed as though history could be relegated to a footnote in the school curriculum (see Sieörger, 2000), a new curriculum that gives history a significant place and is constructed on the notion of the skills and concepts of the discipline has now been introduced, to be phased in over three years, Grade 9 in 2006 (Department of Education, 2002). Grade 9 is the exit year for this curriculum, the last year in which all subjects are compulsory for all. For many it will be the last year of history.

The new curriculum has as one of its emphases human rights and citizenship education:

- *an understanding of our diverse past and a mutual grasp of how that informs our present reality;*

- *the ability to become critically responsible citizens within a context where human and environmental rights are fostered;* (Department of Education 2000:4)

and the Knowledge Focus of the curriculum refers to 'building a new identity in South Africa'.

The stress is similar to that in the existing curriculum, and the national election and celebrations surrounding it presented an obvious chance for history teachers to work toward these or similar objectives. But, what do we really know about how fourteen year olds now identify with South Africa and with the election? This was one of the questions that the research sought to answer.

Finding out about what the Grade 9s understood of the election also presented an opportunity to test their ability to read and understand the election posters displayed so prolifically on lamp posts throughout the country. For the first time in South Africa the new history curriculum has Learning Outcomes (read Attainment Targets or Standards) derived from the discipline, yet there has been no research to provide baseline knowledge about the appropriateness of the outcomes and the Assessment Standards derived from them. Learning Outcome 1 for Grade 9 specifies that learning will be evident when a pupil 'Analyses the information in the sources'.

The questionnaire survey

I constructed a questionnaire in two parts to test (a) the discernable patterns amongst Grade 9s in terms of how they identify with South Africa in general and the 2004 elections in particular, and (b) the extent to which pupils were able to analyse the information contained in the election posters as historical sources, and I requested my PGCE students each to administer the questionnaires to a class during their school experience in May.

Questions about yourself
Pupils were asked for information about gender, age, race, religion, interest in current events and news, interest in political parties and politics, interest in history, and 'Where would you like to live after you have left home?'

Questions about South Africa over the past 10 years
This section contained eight questions to be answered by four possible responses (*Yes; I think so; Not sure; No*) The questions were:

Is South Africa a better country than it was ten years ago?
Do you think Apartheid has now disappeared in South Africa?
Is it important for South Africans to support their national sports teams?
Do people get on well with each other in South Africa?
Do you feel proud of South Africa and what South Africans have done in the last ten years?
Do most South Africans have the same feelings about what has happened in South Africa?
Do people of different races mix much in South Africa?
Do most South Africans support the flag and national anthem of the country?

Pupils were then asked to place the following important events in the previous ten years in order of their importance to them:

SA received a new constitution
SA hosted the Cricket World Cup
SA won the Rugby world cup
Thabo Mbeki became president
Charlize Theron won an Oscar

Truth and Reconciliation Commission
Nelson Mandela elected president
SA won the Africa Cup of Nations soccer

This was followed by three open response questions:

What is the best thing about South Africa for you?
Apart from Nelson Mandela, who is the South African you most admire, and why?
If you could send a short message to President Mbeki about the country,
what would you say?

Questions about the 2004 elections

Pupils were presented the wording of eight posters in the shape and format of each poster and asked the following questions, the first of which were designed to familiarise them with the posters and make them work with them.
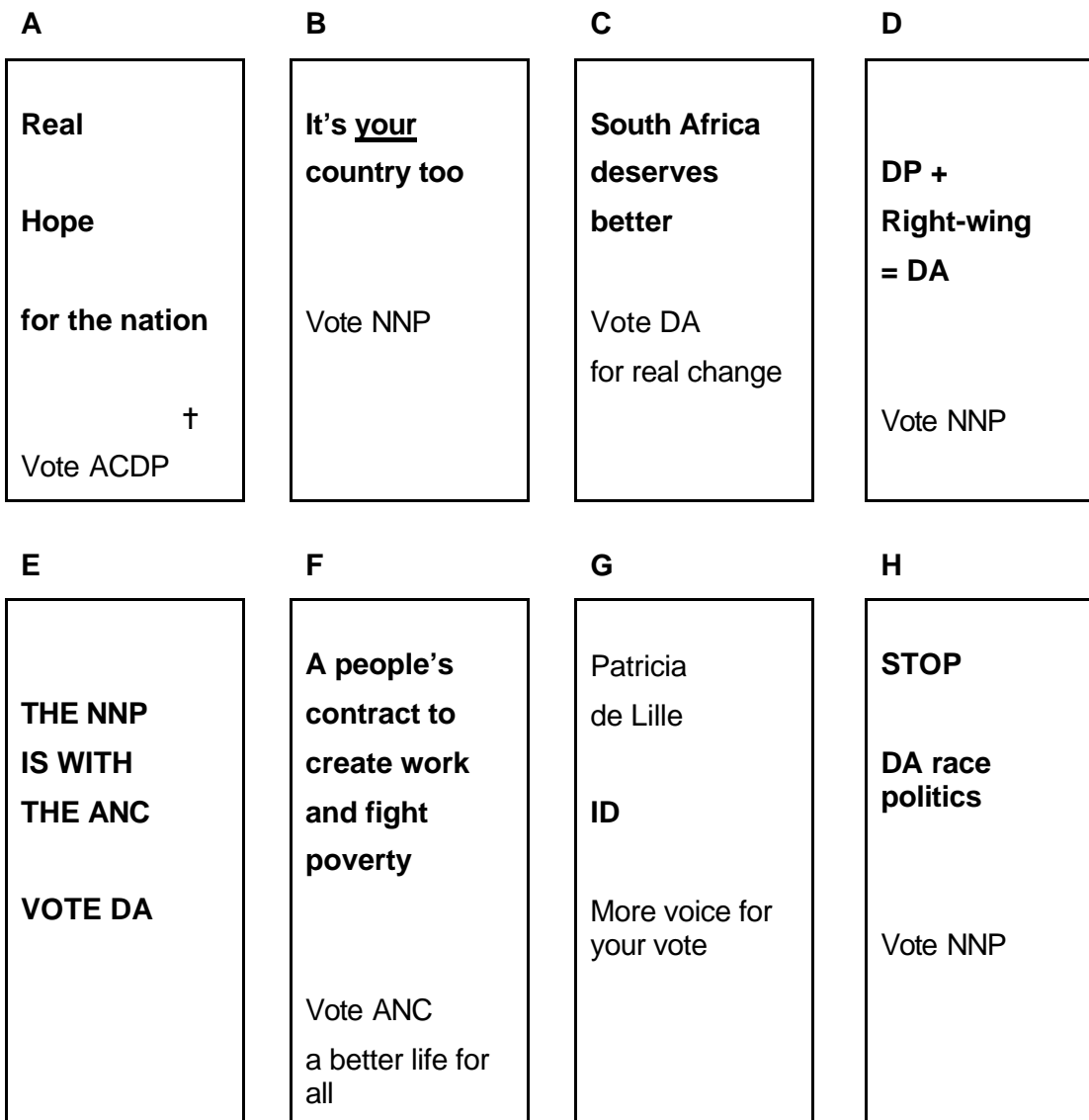
A	**B**	**C**	**D**
Real **Hope** **for the nation** † Vote ACDP	**It's your** **country too** Vote NNP	**South Africa** **deserves** **better** Vote DA for real change	**DP +** **Right-wing** **= DA** Vote NNP

E	**F**	**G**	**H**
THE NNP **IS WITH** **THE ANC** **VOTE DA**	**A people's** **contract to** **create work** **and fight** **poverty** Vote ANC a better life for all	Patricia de Lille **ID** More voice for your vote	**STOP** **DA race** **politics** Vote NNP

Fig 1.The posters

- *What do the party initials stand for?*
- Choose which is the best (most effective) and which is the worst (least effective) poster and give your reason.

- Group the posters. Put them into 2, or 3, or 4 groups. Write a description, or name for each group that you make that shows why they belong together.
- What is the best explanation of the words on posters A, B. C, and D? Read all the answers and then ✓ the correct box.
- *What is the message of each of the posters E, F, G, H? Explain what the words on the poster refer to and why you think the party has chosen these words.* [Open response]

Age	Gender	*Race*		
14: 146 62%	Female: 102 43%	African:	17	7%
15: 78 33%	Male: 133 56%	Coloured:	62	26%
		Indian:	4	2%
		White:	108	46%
		Don't use race labels:	38	16%

TABLE 1. Key information

School	*n*	*% of sample*	*Type*	*Fees*	*Gender*	*% African*	*% Coloured*	*% White*	*% No labels*
1	61	26	State	Mid/High	Co-ed	5	26	49	16
2	25	11	Private	Very high	Boys	4	12	80	4
3	15	6	Private	Very high	Co-ed	7	27	13	40
4	24	10	Private	Very high	Girls	4	4	63	17
5	17	7	Private	High	Co-ed	6	29	24	35
6	34	14	State	Mid	Co-ed	26	68	0	6
7	29	12	State	High	Boys	3	17	55	17
8	31	13	State	High	Co-ed	0	16	68	13

TABLE 2. Schools[1]

The schools

The sample was self-selecting, determined by the location of the history PGCE students. The schools in which they had been placed were all in Cape Town's southern suburbs, in close proximity to the university and within a belt of what are perceived to be desirable schools. As such they were all 'formerly white' schools, so the sample is atypical. It has interest, however, as it provides an indication of the integration process. Table 1 gives the key statistics of the 237 pupils who completed the questionnaire. Table 2 contains information about the eight schools involved.

Identity

There was a very strong identification with South Africa evident in the answers to all the questions in the first section of the questionnaire – far stronger than I or colleagues with whom I've discussed it might have expected, with little variation at all in gender, race or school[2] and a very high level of consistency in the paired questions. 62% said 'Yes', South Africa was a better country with an additional 18% agreeing that they thought so. In this case the African response was unanimously positive. There were very similar or

more positive responses to the questions on support for national sports teams; whether they felt proud of South Africa and whether South Africans supported their flag and national anthem.

The issue of whether Apartheid had ended or not was much more contested, with almost exactly half the pupils agreeing and half disagreeing. The 'Yes' response was, however, 18%, while the 'No' response was 36 %. The only variation on this was that Coloured pupils were marginally more negative than the others, a sentiment that would accord with the oft quoted dictum 'too black before, too white now'. Half-half is probably what many South Africans would say, as privilege based on race has disappeared but privilege based on class and wealth is still very apparent. The nature of the response to the ending of Apartheid was elaborated by the questions on whether South Africans got on well with each other and whether people of different races mixed much. Although only 26% said 'Yes' to getting on well, 52% agreed that they thought so. These figures were exactly reversed on the question of whether races mixed much, a finding that it would be interesting to test in townships and less cosmopolitan areas. Whether most South Africans have the same feelings about what has happened revealed an awareness that although people might mix with each other and get on fairly well, they have not had, and do not have, common experiences. 65% felt that they did not share similar feelings about what has happened in South Africa.

There were very few differences between schools on these measures. School 1 was somewhat more guarded than the others about whether South Africa was a better county, though still very positive, while Schools 5, 6 and 8, which are among the more integrated schools, were more positive than others that people in South Africa mixed much.

The question on the most important events in South Africa during the last ten years was designed to see the extent to which pupils would place sporting and other events above the constitutional and political ones. Here again the response was surprisingly strong and consistent. 78% placed the transformational events at the top of their lists, with slightly more than half of these choosing to put Mandela as president as 1, while the rest chose the new constitution. Whites were less likely to choose the constitution and more likely to pick Nelson Mandela.

There was a wide range in the quality of answers to the open response questions, from very brief comments to long and multi-faceted paragraph. What was surprising about the answers to the 'What is the best thing about South Africa for you?' question was the extent to which they clustered around two responses: 35% writing predominantly about the natural beauty, climate, and nature and 42% of the equality between people, human rights and the way the country had transformed. The answers were overwhelmingly positive. Only 1% (3) did not answer and 2% (6) wrote negatively. This question was one of the few where there was a significant gender difference, girls choosing natural beauty more frequently than boys, and boys choosing sport more often.

The most popular South African apart from Nelson Mandela was the Oscar winning actress Charlize Theron (20%), a choice of more girls than boys and also of more whites, but, as with almost every popular name mentioned, there was some support for her across all races. The preference was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that her achievement had been previously listed among the ten significant events of the decade, but most pupils did provide a reason for selecting her. Next most popular was Mark Shuttleworth (10%), the 'first African in space' who has done much recently to popularise science education in schools. He was particularly admired among boys. The president, Thabo Mbeki, and ex-president F.W. de Klerk were the only other individuals who stood out (6% and 4%). As a group, sportspeople were as popular as Shuttleworth, also supported by more whites, while African leaders were almost as popular, and were named most frequently by Africans and Coloureds. Musicians were scarcely represented

at all, a pattern that would be bound to change with a different demographic sample. Reasons given for selection overwhelmingly reflected the inspirational nature of the person, possibly conveyed by the association of the question with Mandela. 18% declined to name a South African they most admired, some explaining that that they could not think of one, and one declared that 'All South Africans suck!'

The messages to President Mbeki were on the whole as conscientiously completed (7% no response) as the previous sections. While most wrote one or two lines, there were often full paragraphs. The range covered was extremely wide, from issues that one would expect in any country to key issues that were specifically South African. Again, there were very few significant differences in gender, race and schools. The most common message was of encouragement to the president, suggesting that he was doing a good job (22%, marginally fewer of whom were white). The rest of the messages drew attention to what he should be doing better and 10% stated specifically that he should be keeping his promises and wasn't doing enough. Amongst those that could easily be categorised, 20% mentioned poverty and housing as urgent needs and 5% each pointed to the importance of action on HIV/Aids and crime. 6% (all white and coloured) asked that reverse Apartheid and affirmative action be ended. Despite the very high unemployment rate in the country, only 2% devoted their messages to job creation.

The background to these results was that the Grade 9s were more interested in current event and news (56% positive) than in politics and political parties (24% positive), and history was of more interest than either (64% positive, marginally more so for girls). The only variations on these interests are in schools, where Schools 5 and 8 are markedly more positive about history and School 1 more negative. Despite the evidence of a strong identification with the country and what it represents at present, 51% of the pupils would like to live overseas after they have left home, a result that clearly deserves more research. Apart from Africans, the rest (39%) would like to remain in Cape Town rather than live elsewhere in South Africa. An exception to this pattern was School 8, where 61% would choose to stay in Cape Town.

Skills

The third section of the questionnaire was less well completed than the others. This must in part have been influenced by the relative lack of interest recorded in politics and political parties, but other contributory factors were that it was 'harder' and that, in almost all cases, there was not enough time for pupils to complete it at their own pace. (If the exercise were to be repeated I would split it, and do the last section separately).

The question on the initials of the political parties (ACDP, DA, ID, ANC, DP, NNP) revealed a fairly high level of political literacy, given that acronyms are very commonly used in South Africa and some of the party names are relatively seldom used. 47% provided the full names of all six correctly, while a further 18% had one error. Boys were significantly better at this than girls. A commentary on this result is, however, that the questionnaire was completed by Grade 7s[3] at two feeder primary schools, whose equivalent results for the question were 56% and 20%, with their boys' performance even better than their girls'.

The two exercises on working with the posters were not well done, and as they were not central to the enquiry they have not been analysed in detail. It was not easy to code the answers, so the results are not as reliable as they are for other questions. 25% gave good or very good reasons for their choices of the best and worst posters and 31% gave acceptable reasons. Girls were more successful and School 8 was significantly better than the others, while Schools 1 and 5 were worse. Here the Grade 7s answered less well than the Grade 9s.

Grouping the posters into meaningful clusters was clearly not interesting enough, or not properly understood by many pupils and 11% did not attempt the question. Here only

15% of those who answered described the groups well or very well and 28% adequately. The Grade 7 performance was again weaker than the Grade 9s'.

The last two questions of the questionnaire were intended to provide a measure of the extent to which the pupils were able to interpret the meanings of the posters and to "analyse the information" on them. The understanding of first four posters was investigated by multiple-choice questions (four possible answers, one correct, one half right and two completely incorrect). 10% did not attempt an answer. 39%, 20%, 54% and 29% were correct of those who answered each of the questions. There were no significant differences between race, schools and gender, except that the Grade 7 girls' school performed best of all schools on these four questions.

The final question was more poorly completed. It expected too much, by asking for an explanation of the meaning of the words of the second four posters and why they had been chosen but providing a single space for the answer. 23% did not attempt to answer the questions. 42% of those who did, on average, successfully provided only a meaning for the wording, though in some cases this just represented re-phrasing. For the four posters, 6,%, 4%, 5% and 3% respectively of responses were judged well expressed in meaning and reasoning and 11%, 11%, 9% and 9% were regarded as acceptable in meaning and reasoning. To the extent that these results can be considered reliable (as some classes might not have had enough time to complete the questions, there were considerable differences between schools. Schools 2 and 8 (which are the schools I would probably have backed in this exercise) were conspicuously more successful and the two primary schools were better than any of the other six schools. The other variable found in this question was that those who indicated a positive interest in history were significantly more likely to have succeeded in answering it well.

Quo vadis?

The pilot study has revealed the advantages and disadvantages of surveys of this nature. It provides a sounding across a range of schools and pupils of their attitudes towards their country and its process of transformation, and of what their abilities seem to be at translating the wording of election posters, but it lacks sensitivity to context.

I ask whether there is value in taking this research beyond the pilot stage and would appreciate comment. The following occur to me to be questions worth discussing on the basis of the questionnaire survey:

1. Is there role for history educators in establishing the background attitudes and values held by school pupils in terms of citizenship, political education, democracy and human rights? This is the question which prompted the study – wondering what Grade 9s who are intended to cover such issues in their last year of history made of it all.

2. How ought results such as those on identity above be used to shape the work of history educators in their teaching and materials writing? I would argue that this has helped me to sharpen focus and provided a keener insight into the dispositions of the pupils.

3. Can a baseline be established for 'skills' in a history curriculum? And, is there a way in which the there can be regular system-wide probes to find how well teachers and pupils are coping with set curriculum standards? This is a crucial moment when it is possible to determine something of what Grade 9s can and cannot do in history, before the introduction of the Revised National Curriculum Statements, and such baseline information could be of value in monitoring the progress of the curriculum.

4. Can the results of a survey such as this be used to acquaint teachers with what a history curriculum expects of them? I have a notion that professional feedback

such as this might be more useful to teachers than the results of standardised testing.

Notes

1. School 1 had two history PGCE students, hence two classes. School 6 is an example of a formerly white school where there are now extremely few whites. The high fees of all of these schools militate against large numbers of African students. Race labels are still widely used in South Africa for equity purposes and are not regarded as pejorative when used in this way. Pupils and students are required to state their race when registering at an institution. I did not wish to compel this, as I was also interested to find how many would prefer the 'Don't use race labels' option.

2. Religion was not analysed as a variable, as the number of pupils who identified their religion and were not Christian was regarded as too small for analysis (10% – the same percentage as those who were not religious). 74% were Christian.

3. A girls' and a boys' school. Grade 7 (12 years +) is the top of the primary school in South Africa (Scottish pattern).

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'Thinking Each Other's History' Can Facing the Past Contribute to Education for Human Rights and Democracy?

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Abstract At the core of curriculum reform in post-apartheid South Africa has been the desire to transform both education and society. In the introduction to the Revised National Curriculum Statements adopted in 2002, the stated aim is to ensure that 'a national South African identity is built on values very different from those that underpinned apartheid education.' It is hoped that learners will be inspired by these values and will 'act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity and social justice'. The overall aim is for schools to be transformed into sites where learners live out the negotiated values of the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights. History has been identified as a particularly appropriate carrier subject for fulfilling these aims.

However, little attention has been paid to the attitudes and values of teachers which will impact on implementation. All South Africans who lived under apartheid have been conditioned in varying degrees to the attitudes and the prejudices of the apartheid society. If we are to embrace this values-driven curriculum and develop in learners a respect for human dignity, equality and social justice, then teachers need to develop these same values first and use them to transform their classrooms and teaching. This paper discusses a pilot project, Facing the Past – Transforming the Future *which aims to support teachers and learners in education for human rights and democracy through history, with Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa as case studies. Grade 9 teachers from 12 diverse schools in Cape Town are participating in the project.*

Since 1994 South Africa has been on a virtual roller coaster of curriculum reform. With the demise of apartheid, the development of a new curriculum received high priority. The apartheid education system, based on Christian National ideology and fundamental pedagogics, created enormous inequalities in education for South Africans. Teacher education stressed Christian National values and many white Afrikaner classrooms became virtual mission fields as white South African children were groomed to become members of the ruling elite and black South African children educated to the level of labour. The challenge for any new curriculum in this context would be to redress the inequalities of the past while at the same time, delivering quality education for all.

Late in 1996 a number of working groups made up largely of stakeholder representatives, began work on a new curriculum for the General Education and Training (Grades R-9) Band. The resultant Curriculum 2005 (the target date for final implementation) introduced a 'transformational' outcome-based curriculum, which dissolved all subject boundaries, creating 8 Learning Areas. History all but disappeared within the Learning Area Human and Social Sciences Learning.

The impact on teaching and learning was profound. In the desire to move away from what Foucault terms the 'regime of truth' that apartheid education forced on South Africans, the curriculum pendulum swung too far the other way. Teachers, who had just emerged from Christian National Education, fundamental pedagogics and a highly authoritarian and structured educational framework, were left with a constructivist curriculum and no guiding framework at all. Teachers were expected to write their own learning programmes, create their own resources and become facilitators of learning.

The use of textbooks was actively discouraged. As a result, teachers felt disempowered rather than freed from the shackles of the past system.

In 2000, the newly appointed Minister of Education, Prof. Kader Asmal, launched a process of revision of C2005. In 2002 the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) became policy. Those driving the revision of curriculum C2005 mobilised the 'language of democracy' (Apple, 2003) and all Learning Areas writing groups were required to infuse issues of human rights and social justice into the Learning Areas. Representatives from the Human Rights Commission reviewed the work in progress, making comments and recommendations. The overarching values framing the curriculum are those of our Constitution and Bill of Rights. The preamble to the South African Constitution highlights 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'. President Mandela, when he addressed the Constitutional Assembly on the occasion of the adoption of the new Constitution in Cape Town on 8 May 1996, said:

> This is our national soul, our compact with one another as citizens…Our pledge is: Never and never again shall the laws of our land rend our people apart or legalise their oppression and repression.

Within the framework of the RNCS, it is hoped that schools will become places that will help to construct democratic principles and where learners will be guided towards developing democratic values. The introduction to the Revised National Curriculum Statement (2002) states:

> The promotion of values is important not only for the sake of personal development, but also to ensure that a national South African identity is built on values very different from those that underpinned apartheid education. [We want to develop] learners who will be inspired by these values, and who will act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity, life and social justice.'

The RNCS also brought back a much stronger subject base into the learning areas, and the Social Sciences working group was given a directive to a make a clear distinction between History and Geography, and to highlight issues of social and environmental justice. From being a 'non' subject in C2005, History in the RNCS was allocated a particular role as a vehicle for education for human rights and democracy. The Report of the Working Group on Values in Education (2000) stated that 'the teaching of history is central to the promotion of all human values…History is one of the many memory systems that shape our values and morality…' History is also considered to be central to the construction of a national identity, building a collective memory based on the recognition of our past histories and to the development of a critically responsible citizenry, ready to participate in a democracy at all levels.

This raises a number of questions. Can the study of history engender in learners the democratic values and critical skills for active participation in a democracy? And can it, in the words of Mandela, ensure that 'never and never again' will the past repeat itself? Can facing a past of gross human rights abuses help us to transform? It is within this context and to try to find answers to these questions, that the pilot project, *Facing the Past - Transforming our Future* was set up.

Facing the Past was a six-month pilot project that explored strategies for education for human rights and democracy in the context of History, Visual Art and Life Orientation within the Revised National Curriculum Statement. It was a partnership between the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the Cape Town Holocaust Centre (CTHC) and *Facing History and Ourselves Organisation* in Boston (FHAO). Forty Grade 9 teachers from twelve schools representing all of the ex-Education Departments of the

Western Cape attended the launch seminar. It was of utmost importance to the project that we had a representative group of teachers.

Giroux (1988) believes that if we ask history no questions it will remain silent and that under cover of such silences, history can be revisited with the injustices and inhumanity that have, in the past, placed the world in peril. He views history as possibility, tomorrow as not necessarily something that will be a repetition of today. The histories questioned in this project were Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, and apartheid South Africa, both content areas for Grade 9 History in the RNCS. Visual Art plays an important role in that the language of art is a non-verbal text, the use of which is crucial in understanding visual sources and the critical way in which art reflects and interprets society. Powerful visual images played a key role in Nazi Germany and in resistance politics in apartheid South Africa. Life Orientation is a new Learning Area with a strong focus on human rights.

The project has two other key aspects: supporting teachers in introducing the methodological changes required by the RNCS and exploring on-line support for teaching and learning. Combining methodological changes and online support with Education for Human Rights and Democracy moves away from the technicist training for the introduction of the new curriculum that has up to now characterised INSET run by the Education Departments. Wally Morrow, in a paper delivered at a Values in Education Conference convened in Cape Town in 2001 said:

> It is fashionable to think of education in terms of the 'development of competencies', but there are limitations to this view. Nazi leaders were not in general lacking in competence…High degrees of competence are compatible with moral degeneracy. Most teacher-education programmes focus [too] sharply on the development of competence and not enough on professional commitment.

The starting point for any project exploring strategies for Education for Human Rights and Democracy in a South African context has to be educators confronting their own past. The majority of educators (teachers, advisers, policy makers) ten years into democracy, are still the generation of perpetrators and victims – we are the products of apartheid with all our prejudices, racism, hurt, anger, guilt. Bloke Modisane, author and exile, wrote in his book *Blame me on History*, in 1963:

> All of us in South Africa have been conditioned to the attitudes and the prejudices of our society. We are educated into an acceptance that racially we are different, that the white man has advanced to such a high degree of civilisation that it will take the Native 2 000 years to attain that degree. This single fact exists as a premise in the minds of people who may otherwise not themselves be necessarily prejudiced…[we] are all products – and perhaps victims – of the attitudes of our society.

As in post-Nazi Germany, the civil service, including teachers, in post-apartheid South Africa has continued uninterrupted. There is, however, a major difference – the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made it far more difficult for South Africans to ignore or to deny our past. What the TRC did not engage with was the role of CNE (Christian National Education) as the tool of white hegemony in South Africa, which was based on the denial of human rights in education to the majority of South Africans. Engaging with the legacy of CNE in professional development is just as important as engaging with the political and human rights abuses of the apartheid system as many are in denial about the extent of that legacy.

The Report of the History and Archaeology Panel to the Minister of Education (2000) stated that the study of history 'is deliberately about the crucial role of memory in society. In a country like South Africa, which has a fractured national memory, the development of common historical memories…can play an integrative role in our culture and polity'. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) played an important role in beginning the process of constructing a collective memory for South Africans. A collective memory

can be regarded an accepted version of the truth about a country's past (Gibson 2003). By establishing a collective memory, it becomes difficult for people to deny that certain activities took place, thereby 'reducing the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse' (Michael Ignatieff 1996) Though the TRC has had its critics, the uncovering of abuses committed by both sides during the TRC hearings contributed to a collective memory and through this to the process of reconciliation in South Africa.

The four-day teacher seminar held to launch *Facing the Past* became, as one participant remarked, like a mini Truth Commission. Facilitators were from Facing History and Ourselves, the Western Cape Education Department and the person appointed in a full-time capacity by the Cape Town Holocaust Centre and Facing History to run the project. For the first time, teachers from across the spectrum of schools who had never had the opportunity to really get to know one another, worked together intensively. This was a powerful experience and led to the creation of a safe space for sharing, contributing to their own collective memory. It also opened the way for the participating teachers to begin the process of reclaiming their professionalism as they discussed and negotiated with each other in the sessions. The seminar followed two important tenets: that teacher professionalism and personal development should go hand in hand to avoid professional development becoming a technicist exercise. The first sessions explored personal and group identities. The failure of democracy in Weimar Germany and key issues in Nazi Germany followed. Connections were made with South Africa if appropriate. The second half of the seminar was spent working with sources from apartheid South Africa.

There is space in this paper to discuss only two key sessions. The first was called 'Using theatre techniques to explore difficult issues'. The participants were divided into groups, and all groups were given the same text. They had to read and discuss the meaning of the text and then pick key words which they felt would best convey that meaning. The group had to negotiate and reach consensus on the words, then give a dramatic presentation of the words in a 'round-robin' situation – in the centre of a large circle made by the rest of the teachers. The presentations were accompanied by the beat of an African drum. The group discussions and presentations involved negotiation, dramatisation, emotion and a physical contact and closeness that is rare in our divided society and it contributed in a very real way to changing perceptions of one other. The presentations were diverse and imaginative. One teacher, who is also a praise-singer, made use of the opportunity to use his skills in an educational context. This was culturally significant because such teachers rarely feel free to bring personal knowledge and skills into the teaching environment.

Possibly the most powerful session was a silent comment and conversation session, using a set of extracts containing personal experiences of ordinary people from different race groups living under apartheid. The extracts were placed on sheets of newsprint and groups allocated to an extract to start the process of reading and commenting in writing on the newsprint. The groups moved around in silence, reading, writing comments and engaging in silent 'conversation' with each other's comments. The session was drawn together first by group discussions of the comments, and then in a plenary session. There was a wide variety of responses. Some comments revealed the depth of pain that many had suffered during apartheid:

> 'My father once wanted to take us to a beach 'whites only'. We got there. The police stood at the turn-off. They would allow my father to go in, but not the 'meid (domestic worker/servant) and her kids'. All of us, including my father, cried all the way home.'

Others wrote of the continuing impact of apartheid:

> 'We still feel very much inferior to whites…Sometimes when you do something perfectly they call you umlumgu (white man) as if a white man is capable of doing

only good things' or 'I get angry with <u>myself</u> when my child's invited to his 'white friend' and we feel honoured!'

From a white participant:

'I was too often a bystander. I felt powerless and afraid.'

A comment recognising currently held prejudices:

'Albino in African language is inkawu (monkey) and they are not treated the same as others. Criticised, feel isolated, will die soon.' *The impact of apartheid*: Apartheid worked effectively. Education facilitated this.

Thoughts on trying to come to grips with the influence of apartheid:

'Apartheid has affected all of us, but each from a different angle. To 'unlearn' behaviour is very difficult after so many years of [successful] indoctrination for all South Africans.'

More personal stories were shared during the plenary. One of the teachers told of her sadness when she recently found out that her family is 'coloured', not 'white' as she had thought. She felt that she had been cheated of half of her family and identity as a result of apartheid ideologies.

These sessions led to teachers questioning their own assumptions about race and roles in apartheid South Africa. The opened the way for interacting on a deeper level with each other, perhaps reflecting Foucault's later ideas of *parrhesia* or truth-telling as an educational activity. In a sense, the changes in the group also reflected the changes in the way many South Africans began to think about each other brought about by the TRC, by, in the words of James Gibson (2003), 'creating cognitive dissonance and by mitigating cognitive dogmatism'. This led to new beliefs about each other.

The diagram below, adapted from Gibson illustrates this process:
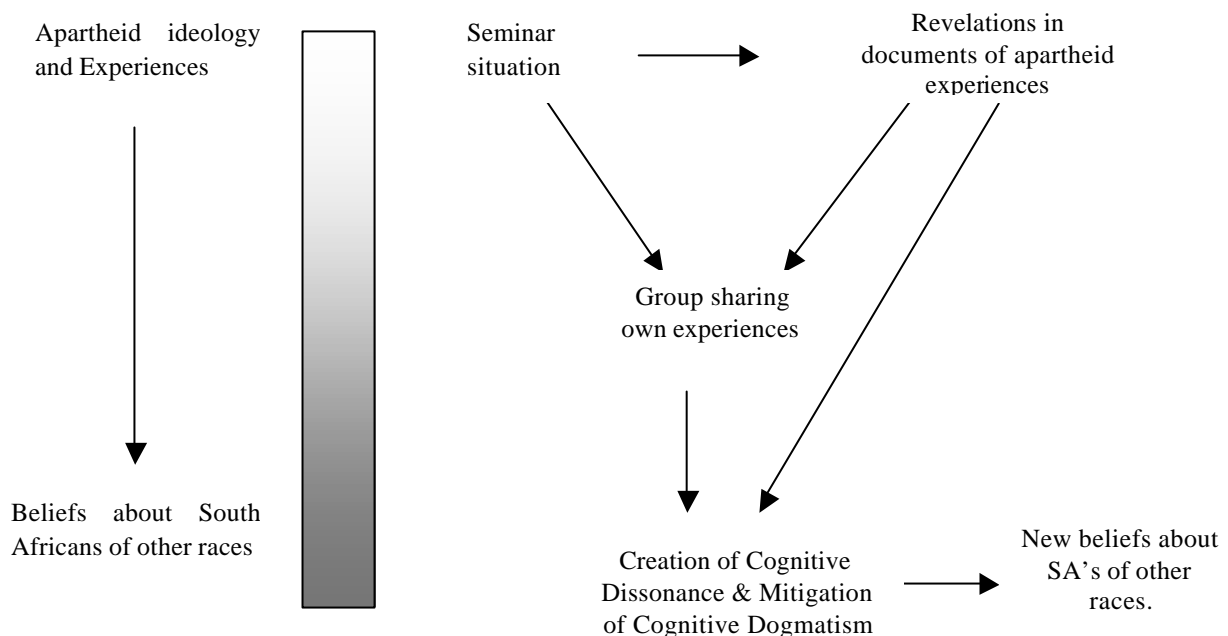
A selection of comments made on the reflection forms at the end of the four days highlights some of the changed perceptions:

> 'The seminar changed my thinking that in a sense all whites were oppressors, but now I have envisaged a change that all of us were affected by the elements of apartheid.'

> 'Personally the seminar has made me again reflect on my own prejudices and weaknesses. We need to deal with the issues at a personal level first, before we attempt to broach the subject with our learners.'

> 'The seminar challenged personal preconceptions and provoked deep thoughts and consideration of important issues. Professionally it created new opportunities/alternatives/new paradigm shift.'

> 'As a person the seminar taught me to forgive and do away with hatred of other races. Professionally it taught me not to involve my emotions that may trigger hatred of whites by my learners when dealing with the past.'

> 'Personally it made me challenge the assumptions I had about others and myself; it was wonderful to spend so much time with other educators. The experience enriched me professionally in terms of methodology and because it had helped me see myself in the context of my country more clearly.'

Classroom implementation began in January 2004. Teachers were faced with transferring their new knowledge and understanding to the classroom. This had its own challenges. According to sociologist Aslam Fataar (2003), the world of schooling in South Africa is characterised by a mismatch between the world of young peoples' identities and values, and the teachers' identities and values. Teachers are the apartheid generation and grew up with racism and abuse of human rights as fundamental organising principles of every aspect of their lives. Young peoples' identities are currently shaped by consumption. Youth consumption, choices about music, clothes and sexual activities are all influenced by images brought into our homes by television. Consumption culture is powerful in influencing choice, more so than issues of race. Race as a crude form is not visible although race continues to be an underlying influence in school culture and surfaces dramatically from time to time. Three teachers on the project were from a former 'white' Cape Town school that had just had a highly publicised racially motivated incident occur in the school playground.

Young people also have to face the fact that their parents may have been perpetrators or victims or one of the many bystanders who benefited from the apartheid system. German author Bernard Schlink (2003) has said that the

> lessons his generation drew from the past were more moral than institutional. We accused our parents, teachers, professors and politicians of blindness, cowardice, opportunism, ambition, ruthless careerism and lack of civil courage. These accusations criticised individual moral failure, and they came with a moral obligation to behave differently. To us, that was the lesson of the past. It was necessary to practice individual moral courage. It was necessary to stop things before they started, when courage had a better chance…'

According to Schlink, the past is less present for the third and fourth generation who no longer feel guilty.

In South Africa, young people, the first generation, do not want to learn about apartheid and parents tend not to discuss it. Learning about apartheid inevitably means confronting the racism that is being submerged by the consumer culture that currently prevails. Not engaging in or creating a collective memory makes it easier to 'deny' the past with much less guilt and enables many young people to avoid choices other than those of consumerism. According to Fataar, apparent ignorance about racism and apartheid may be part of their strategic decisions – a way of circumventing racialised pain. But, as Apple (2003) pointed out in a different context, race matters. Continual denial may well come back to haunt us.

There was a further consideration for the project in putting together the school programme. Annegret Ehrmann (2001), Holocaust historian in Germany, has shown that although there is a general belief that Holocaust education will immunise young people against racism, intolerance, bigotry and hate, there are no empirical surveys on the effects of Holocaust education to back up this belief. She maintains that there is nothing to support the assertion that knowledge about atrocities suffered by Holocaust victims, will bring about desirable behaviour in young people in a contemporary context. If that is the case, then it seems reasonable to suppose that the same will be true of teaching about the abuses and racism of apartheid South Africa. This had implications for the approach we followed for *Facing the Past.*

Gibson (2003) has suggested that what made the TRC influential was that the South African media focused overwhelmingly on the human-interest side of the TRC's activities. South Africans learned of the suffering of ordinary people.

> The information typically had no conspicuous ideological content; no obvious message was being sold. Consequently, reports on the TRC did not necessarily raise the sort of defensive alarms that often make new information impotent in terms of bringing about attitude changes. Much of what the TRC put before the South African people was simple and subtle; it had to do with bad guys hurting good guys.

While the 'good guy/bad guy' dichotomy was too stark for our purposes, we wanted to bring the voices of ordinary people to the teachers and learners.

When looking for classroom resources we tried to find sources with experiences that, in the words of John Fines, would 'speak' to the learners. When working with the stories the focus was on the choices people made, the significance and consequences of those choices, and also the context in which the choices were made. The aim of the project was not to create a generation of young people who, as Schlink experienced, accuse their parents and other members of society. While being quite clear about the moral implications of what happened in the past, learners need to explore the grey zones of choice and accommodation within an increasingly totalitarian context. The project was also about education for prevention, so the values and attitudes necessary for citizens prepared to actively support democracy both at community and national levels are integral to the 'lessons' we need to learn from the past.

The pilot, or first phase, of the project ended in June. At the final reflection session, apart from the formal evaluation forms, teachers wrote comments on newsprint put up around the room. Just two of the comments are quoted below:

> The whole process challenged me to rethink my practices; not just to view as information to be 'taught' but really to bring back 'humanity' into History teaching. I had to confront my own prejudices about the learners, not assume. To embrace all.'

> This approach to History teaching is more 'human' and places importance on each individual learner in the group (class). It has made me more open, more process-orientated and more creative in how I approach my subject(s). There is more of a partnership between myself and the learners since their perspective becomes what is most important to me in understanding how they think and learn.'

The last comment is significant in that in South Africa, History has been regarded as a 'swot' subject, with content to be regurgitated, often in the form of 'model answers' given to learners by teachers. It was not analysed on the human level. In fact, even with the broadening of the official curriculum in 1996 in Grade 12 to include apartheid and resistance, the emphasis is on the actions of organisations and political parties rather than on individual actions and choices. This makes it easier to distance oneself from the moral implications of human agency.

What constraints have we faced in this pilot? A major constraint has been the frightening success of the impact of CNE and fundamental pedagogics on teachers' thinking and

classroom practice, within the context of the legacy of the inequalities of apartheid teacher training. For all state teachers, the 'collective memory' of education in this country is that it was authoritarian, delivered and heavily content-based and there is a general resistance to change (though, as studies have shown, this is not just a South African phenomenon). These are the 'standards' that many teachers and parents hanker after as the rollout of outcome-based education continues. Although the majority of those who believe that 'standards' are dropping are white South Africans, there is a growing perception across the spectrum of teachers and parents, that education 'then' was better than now. Even some 1980s anti-apartheid activists are saying that 'Gutter education was better than what we have now.' This is partly a reflection of the disempowerment felt with the introduction of the original C2005, but partly the 'colonisation of the mind' by CNE. An important indicator of the positive impact of this project is that this cohort of teachers opened up not only to each other, but also to the possibilities that changing their classroom practice would bring to their teaching.

 During the mass action in the mid- to late-1980s, schools were sites of struggle against apartheid, CNE and fundamental pedagogics. Many of these schools have been unable to redirect their energies and remain dysfunctional. Within a curriculum context, the internalisation of the 'official narrative' has been thorough and many teachers struggle to deal with interpretations and alternative points of view. They often do not have the confidence to challenge that narrative. The comment quoted earlier after the silent conversation session is telling: 'We still feel very much inferior to whites…'

Schools are situated within particular contexts and we have had to be realistic about the roles that teachers can play in transforming schools and society. Although teachers can and must play a productive role, it is unrealistic to expect schools to take on the whole burden of changing society. Any education for human rights and democracy needs to forge links between schools and their surrounding communities. We have schools located in the heart of coastal poaching communities and gang-ridden communities. The highest aspirations of some of the young people in these schools are to become gangsters or poachers, or a gangster or poacher's 'girl'.

Apartheid has trapped us in a particular understanding about each other. Unless we can 'think each other's history', that is, understand and give dignity to each other's diverse histories, we will find it difficult to create a common memory that can be appropriated for a positive future. Fataar suggests that the most important pedagogical principle to counter the impact of apartheid and racism in our lives is the pedagogy of recognition, the capacity to recognise racial forms and to enter into continual dialogue. But this is difficult when learners (and many teachers) are in denial or think that learning about the apartheid past will cause further division and conflict.

The majority of schools in South Africa are not democratically run and teachers, enthused by participating in programmes such as *Facing the Past*, find it difficult to sustain the energy, enthusiasm and innovation within the school environment. A significant number of the *Facing the Past* teachers found it difficult to bring colleagues on board, often because teachers who had not participated in the seminars felt threatened and preferred to cling to their old content approach. The fact that a core cohort of 25 teachers participated fully in all aspects of *Facing the Past* is good, given the current very stressful situation of changing curriculum and the huge demands on teachers that this brings. It is so easy to revert to old methods and perceptions in this context.

As we emerge from our divided society we need to facilitate the creation of communities of teachers. It was the experience of the four-day launch seminar which created the cognitive dissonance which in turn opened the way for new perceptions and understandings. The follow-up workshops and the online support helped to develop and sustain the emerging community. What we are trying to do is the bring teachers back into the professional development equation.

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History Education and Identity

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Abstract One of the problems of contemporary history teaching is ethnocentrism. Most researchers in the field of history education believe that style and utterance of history curriculum, textbooks and of teachers should be changed in the modern world. There are a lot of interests in the world about the meanings attached to the concepts of 'us' and 'the other' and how to construct national history approach in the light of globalisation. There have been an increasing number of research studies on this subject. The main reason for this interest is the new social structure which has became a reality because of new social relations and cultural interactions that also influence traditional history teaching. However, there has been little research on the understanding of perceptions of prospective history teachers about 'us' and 'the other' in Turkey. So, the aim of this study is to investigate candidate teachers' perceptions about the above concepts and the meanings attached in the learning and teaching process of history. Then, the research question is 'What are the perceptions of prospective history teachers about the concepts of 'us' and 'the other' with which they are confronted in learning- teaching practices?' Assessment of the action part of the study was made by using qualitative research techniques. Data were collected through open-ended questionnaire questions, notes of interviews with candidate teachers, reflective field notes of the researcher and document analysis.

This study suggests that when historical consciousness is constructed there is a need for skills of critical thinking on the meanings of 'us' and 'the other'. Additionally history teachers should have skills to practice their critical thinking skills effectively in coherent and unbiased ways.

Key words History, History Curriculum, History Teaching, Teacher Education, Educational Sociology, perceptions of 'us' and 'the other'

I. Introduction

A society's identity and interests are formed through inter-societal relations and they are determined within the historical context. The rapidly changing and developing world leads to several complicated problems. The distractions resulting from the ethnic and political disparities that were experienced just before our century brought new problems into the world agenda. Ethnic identities have begun to gain great importance and nation-states have begun to be questioned. Since traditional societies have had customs, everyone living in such kind of societies has known who s/he is. Therefore, there was no identity problem in these societies. Socio-cultural changes have led to the dominance of traditions and then, brought about identity questionings. The identity became an issue and it seems that it will continue to be a problematic issue later. The contemporary identity crisis is both a result and a product of the progress (Güvenc, 1998, p.23).

European countries presume consciously that history lessons have a crucial mission while they are integrating with each other and they are emphasizing the importance of history education in the field of the formation of an " identity of European citizenship". For this reason, some important decisions which were about what the aims of history teaching should be and what its content should contain in democratic Europe of the 21st century were taken in the Ministry Committee of the Council of Europe in 2001.

History could be defined as the memories of a society and societies in general terms. Teaching of history does not mean the memorization of historical chronologies or facts. It

mainly means the act of contributing to the formation and flow of history by making re-use of the universal values, which have been formed after people examine, analyze and understand their pasts. Thus, history is learned truly and the historical knowledge and experience which are taught could be put into action. It must be mentioned that the achievement of cultural development and modernization can be provided through this way (Ata, 2002, p.51).

It is a fact that history teaching includes the basic criteria that the people from different countries need to evaluate each other. Therefore, cultural cooperation attempts must be set up by putting history teaching at the centre of such evaluations and these attempts must also be proceeded by regulatory attempts on history teaching. The fact that history is a cultural accumulation which determines international relations requires that history teaching must be regulated in terms of an 'international' understanding (Safran, 2002).

Every point of world view inevitably brings about a history understanding. The occurrences and happenings of events are explained on the basis of the points of world views. Certainly events occur in time. Therefore, every point of world view is an obvious or an implied history understanding. Our points of views have begun to include whole world history as a result of the increasingly universalisation of the events. And, increasingly realization of the fact that the events we face are the product of international relations causes the breaking up of the suspicions which are about the unity of history and it also brings spread of the idea of the unity of history (Sezer, 1993).

According to Ozbaran (1998, pp.61-69), history teaching- education in Turkey has some problems. These problems are mostly resulted from the fact that nothing more than some regulations about details and forms could be done to improve the history teaching-education in Turkey in the period when some crucial transformations occur in the field of history teaching-education, especially in the West. Then, history teaching and education become closer and more inefficient.

Jenkins concentrates on relationships of history with authority and knowledge. History is never for itself. Neither the formation nor the reading of it is innocent. History is always for someone. History is a political battleground. Either the people who revolt against authority or the people who suppress these revolutions try to get the support of history to their sides. These people think that they can get power in this way.

In the contemporary age within which some concepts like globalization, post-modernism, human rights and world citizenship are increasingly discussed and Turkey's social structure is questioned being inspired from such kind of discussions, the roles of the history teaching and historical consciousness have gained a greater impetus. This study tries to examine what kind of elements are influential in the formation of identity and historical consciousness in history teaching. It is also tries discover how much the subject matter in textbooks influences the formation of history consciousness. In addition, the influences of the official ideology and the authority towards history writing and history teaching; and also the effects of these tendencies on textbooks are taken into consideration. In the world that is made globalized in some sort of a way, the issues about how national history understandings are constructed and what 'us' and 'other' mean have become more and more important and consequently, the number of the studies related to these issues is more and more increasing. The main reason of the rise in attention to these issues is directly related to the formation of the new social structure which is formed through different social relationships. This new social structure strongly affects the traditional history teaching. Unfortunately, there are a few studies based on the perception of "us" and "other of history teachers in Turkey. For this reason, the aim of this study is to examine whether an us and other perception is formed or not in teacher candidates who continue their education in history teaching departments of faculties of education. Additionally, it is also aimed to determine what these perceptions, if they exist, consist of, and what they constitute with regard to history teaching. In relation to

these aims, a research question was prepared, which is; what are history teacher candidates' us and other perceptions that they face in history teaching- learning fields?

II. Method and the Analysis of Data

The qualitative research techniques were used in this study. In the study, open- ended questionnaire questions were asked to history teacher candidates in order to determine their views about "history education and identity", and group- focused interviews were made with these candidates. Additionally, the history textbooks and teaching programs which are used in high schools (8th, 9th and 10th grades) were examined. All these means were examined in document and interpretive analysis scope. In order to provide validity of the study, more than one data collection means was used. In order to maintain reliability of the study, the database was examined by another expert and analysis results were compared with the data by him.

III. Sample

The participants of this research were 30 persons (5 teachers and 25 teacher candidates) who studied in history teaching master programs (both with thesis and without thesis) in Marmara University during 2003-2004 school period. All participants in the sample responded to the open- ended questionnaire. Interviews were made in 6 sessions with 5 person groups (n= 5).

IV. Findings and Interpretations

In this section, the findings, which included the perceptions of the teacher candidates about history teaching and identity formation and which were accumulated by means of different data collection techniques, were presented firstly in main us and other categories and later in a thematic manner.

The answers of the open-ended questionnaire questions and the results of the group-based interviews were examined by means of classical content analysis techniques. The main categories of 'us' and 'other' differences are, in rank order:

1. Religion/ beliefs/ religious sect
2. Race/ ethnic structure
3. Ideology
4. Economic structure
5. Language/ culture/ common historical past
6. Strategic partnership/ geography
7. Science/ technology

Identity and History Teaching
We can talk about personal, individual and national identities. Cultural identities could make an individual come closer to some groups while it could make him/ her go far away from other groups. It is an unavoidable fact that the subjects who form a society have various, even opposite, identities. Naturally, there is always to some extent an identity problem in every society (Guvenc, 1998, p.24). When societies' base of existence is taken as a fact of binary oppositions, the existence of the identity problem is inevitable. Oppositions are inevitable because subjects and groups form their identities with reference to their cultures and histories and they tend to define themselves in opposition relations with others.
Definition, fact and formation of identity seem to have a multi- dimensional structure. Subjects and groups may connect themselves with various identity symbols. Subjects and societies maintain their existence in terms of an 'us/ self against the other' tendency. This tendency is the easiest way of creating the other. Then, what would balance this opposition? The solution is to strengthen diversity and democratic values, isn't it? (Güvenc, 1995, p.29).

The 'diversity in unity' slogan has been created because it is understood that societal unity and peace could be maintained only through diversity. However this slogan has served to maintain national identity (unity) rather than to protect cultural diversity (identities). The most popular means that modern states use with regard to this aim is official and national history (Güvenc, 1998, p.27).

As long as the people who make an 'us and other' difference have agreed on fundamental principles, no serious crisis occurs. The acceptance of the existence of 'the other' helps to choose and continue an identity. However if one of the identities does more things than refusing the existence of the other and this identity tries to push the other to accept another identity, then an identity crisis could happen. This is the "identity crisis" which modern nation- states face in the age of democracy and human rights (Guvenc, 1998, p.25).

In this study, the questions like 'Does history teaching contribute to identity formation?' and 'How do you feel about and perceive the use of 'us' and 'other' constructions in history?' were asked to 30 students who graduated from different Turkish universities and who continue their education in master degree program (both with thesis and without thesis) in the Department of History in the Marmara University. The answers given by these students are summarized below.

Most of the participants stated that the most important disciplines in the formation of a nation are history, religion and literature and they mentioned that the most prominent of these three is literature. They said that the identity formation could be strong or weak depending on the content of subject matter and the teaching type of these subject matters. According to the participants, the state wants to maintain an awareness of a Turkish identity by means of using history textbooks and one thirds of these students mentioned that the state can achieve this aim partially. Most of the students said that this approach of the state creates chaos and does not form an identity consciousness. One of the students suggested this strategy in the formation of the identity; 'the us must mean our identity and the other must not mean our enemy'. Some of the answers given these students to the questions which are about identity, 'us and the other', are like this.

The ones who criticize the approach of the state mentioned their thoughts like this: 'History programs, textbooks and the personal pasts and cultural backgrounds of teachers could develop or harm the meanings of us and other'; 'There are also differences within us. We behave ourselves as if it were the other. We make even ourselves the other'.

The ones who think that global threat could harm the national unity stated their thoughts in the following manner: 'If a national consciousness is established, it must be done by the history'; 'There must be a perception of us in order to set up unity and togetherness'; 'History lessons are very influential in the formation of the national consciousness'.

One of the students showed his emotional reaction in this manner: 'History teachers and textbooks consolidate and sharpen ethnical differences'.

Most of the students suggested that secularism, Ottoman heritage, religious requirements and Ataturk's principles must be harmonized in order to form a healthy identity formation in the modern Turkey. They stated that unless it is achieved, a problematic identity crisis exists.

The national consciousness begins to be formed in primary education by people. History lessons are very influential in this process. Students reflected their opinions in parallel to this issue in the following manner:

The common past, which is a very significant matter in the formation of the national consciousness, is not emphasized in primary education. Additionally, the people who are in secondary education are not very interested in the content that is related to common past because social environment is more influential on this age group than the school.

One of the most interesting comments about the concepts of 'us' and 'other' was the following one: 'Although the USA is the biggest other for all nations, it makes whole world Americanized and this process destroys us. This shows that the USA is small America and the whole world is big America'.

Furthermore the students emphasized that political and ideological history subject matters must be lessened and cultural and social matters must be considered more in order to establish a healthy us without alienating the others. Students also stated that the historical understanding that is based on good 'us' and bad 'other' must also be given up in order to achieve above- mentioned aim. As Kicir and Aksoy (2004) mentions in their study which is based on the formation of the cultural identity:

> People have different identities as a social being. These identities are formed in social groups and here, peoples' status, beliefs, sexes, and jobs are very determinant factors. Cultural identity refers to the identity which people gain by connecting voluntarily themselves to the values and living styles of the social group to which they feel belongingness. In this type of identity, there is no room for the elements resulting from race or geographical features. When people connect themselves to the social environment within which they are living, they acquire their cultural identities.

Kicir and Aksoy (2004) continue in relation to cultural identity as follows:

> There must be a harmony and continuity in history subject matters in order to establish a history consciousness. It is very arguable how a history consciousness can be established when there are contradictory statements even in the one textbook. Since history does not mean story- telling and wars, the history teaching approach which includes only story- telling and wars must be quitted and a social and cultural history approach must be set up in order to provide the establishment of a history consciousness and cultural identity. The another reason lying behind the inability to establish a history consciousness is that there is an incompatibility between the historical knowledge which is given to students in schools and the historical knowledge that they acquire in their social environments. For this reason, students tend to see history lessons as the lessons that are only necessary to continue to their education and they do not give importance the subject matters of these lessons.

The environment within which history consciousness could not be established affects the structure of the cultural identity negatively. If a nation does not have a cultural identity, the issues like social integration and harmony become questionable in this nation. Therefore, it is very important to engage deeply with this issue. In history teaching, the knowledge which is too utopian and has exaggerated values must be given up and history must be accepted in its own reality. This premise is very crucial in establishing the history consciousness and national culture (Kicir and Aksoy, 2004).

History Consciousness and History Teaching
As occurred in various states, history teaching is given with social aims in Turkey. One of the mentioned social aims is to give the subjects the past's values which are necessary for them to understand the time period they live in (Aslan, 2000, p.203). Dilek (2001, p.32) points out that history teaching is used on the basis of three main aims which are; to provide the personal developments of students; to provide the socialization of them by explaining cultural heritage to them; and to give citizenship education to them. One of the aims of the history teaching must be to develop historical thinking skills in students. However, the main aim of this teaching is seen as to give the citizenship awareness to people in Turkey. The approach which expects from students to memorize historical events can be given up and the history teaching that will provide students to act with a history consciousness can be adopted.

To have a history consciousness refers to be aware of the historical construction. History consciousness enables people to get whole knowledge of humanity. The concept which constitutes the basis of the history consciousness is the time concept. The construction which is comprised of the interpretation of the past, the perception of the today, and the expectation of the future form the history consciousness. In this construction; knowledge, historical theories, social science theories, and values and ideologies are established. A close tie between history consciousness and the identity, which is aimed at being established, comes into being. In this manner, the suitable environment for the completing of socialization process of the subject comes into existence (Dilthey, 1999).

The participants generally answered the question, 'Does history teaching form a history consciousness?' in the following way:

'Teachers do not move out from what is true for them'; 'Teachers do not allow the creation of discussion environments'; 'Teachers ignore the negative sides of our history'; 'Some historical events are given differently from the reality'; 'The number of the subject matters that will enable students to form a history consciousness is very low and wars are generally told to students in history lessons'; 'The subject matters are full of connotations to the Grand Turkish nation but there is no explanation about why our country is not a developed country'; 'Emotionality is a dominant figure in history teaching and historical events are learned without giving connections between these events'; 'History lessons are full of details and this prevents thinking'; 'The history of humanity is not considered in the history lessons'; and 'The insistence on some wrong statements is still a big problematic issue'. When these answers are evaluated, it can be stated that the history teachers in Turkey have too much 'us' concerns which are resulting from emotional reactions rather than logical ones. Obviously these teachers who are suffering from the lack of self- confidence, which is resulting from not taking place in developed countries club, are trying to compensate this feeling by making huge references to the 'grand' past.

The Role of Textbooks in the Formation of the Cultural Identity
One of the problematic features of the history textbooks is that they lack a historical perspective. The reason of this is that historical knowledge is presented as the knowledge that must be memorized. However, the price of the making of the past a taboo is very high and it takes a long time to get even with the past. This has both a personal dimension and a collective dimension. At this point, we can state the thoughts of Guvenc (1997);

> If there is the society which still searches for its identity and is still suffering from an identity crisis in spite of the presence of various information about wars, the Sultanate, acquired lands or the relations with other states, this situation could be explained only by means of the fact that the cultural history has not been read, understood and inserted deeply and this is very unfortunate.

The participants generally answered the question, which is, 'What is the effect of textbooks in the formation of the cultural identity?' in the following manner.

'Us' and 'other' concepts are seen as meaningless in the formation of the cultural identity in objective history textbooks while they are seen as meaningful in political history textbooks'; 'It is perceived by people that it is the mission of the history to give values to young people'.

'The history told in textbooks is not loved but the books which have a historical content become best-sellers'; 'These best-seller books are the ones that are written by the authors who are not historians. The reason for this is that history books do not have a literary language'; 'There are historical perceptions that are full of ideological connotations in textbooks'.

The problems related to the textbooks which are determined by these students are also present in textbooks of Greece. According to Fangoudaki (1998: 96), the history textbooks in Greece had included numerous distortions, mispresentations and harsh political propagandas until 1974. All these acts were justified with following principles:

- The unity constitutes the social base of the nation.
- It is a compulsory act to be responsive to the 'other' who threatens our cultural characteristics and the right to determine our future. Additionally, we must resist to the other in order to protect our cultural characteristics and the right to determine our future.

Such tendencies have also been experienced by Turkey and the history writing has begun to be evaluated as a source for giving ideological orientations. The incomplete information and theoretical contradictions in history textbooks have prevented the formation of the history consciousness that involve a strong and creative construction. In short, political events are primary figures in textbooks and socio- cultural events have of secondary or lower importance.

The National Self and National Other in History
One of the primary problems in teaching is the 'self and us centralism'. Another problem is that contemporary events cannot be compared with past events and all the past and contemporary events cannot be filtered in a critical manner. The reason of this is that the development of questioning and creative skills is not being allowed.

The history has become a means that determines peoples' expectations about their social identities and their futures with the birth of modernity concept (Tekeli, 1998a, p.117). There is dilemma between traditional and modern in the foundation of the modernity. This dilemma is the first element that is emphasized in terms of the transformation process which Turkish society experiences.

The position that the West set up against the East is a product of the birth of otherness concept in history. The main basis of the Orientalism is the presentation of Europeanization as an identity project and the consolidation of this project (Yavuz, 1999, p.34). Europe needed an 'other' in order to establish its own identity. This other is the East. Ironically, this differentiation, which was experienced by the West during the nationalization process, affected strongly Turkey's creating of an 'other' in its national identity formation process. This tendency of Turkey has paved the way for both a process of making the West the other and a process of enmity towards the West.

The participants' answers to the questions including 'Who is self, and who is the other?', 'Does the emphasis on these terms in history lessons create a contradiction?', 'Does any situation that requires the emphasis on these terms exist?' are classified in following way.

Most of the history students questioned the difference between us and other in group-focused interviews. The statements that the students gave are in the following manner.

'Us and other continuously may substitute each other and change in historical periods. We see such kind of changes in Turkey when we examine pre- republic period, post-republic period and new world order. Today who constitutes the 'us'? And who is the other?'

'The most prominent conflict points are ethnical origins and religious sects'; 'It is a compulsory act to be objective in us and other formation'; 'The differentiation between Shiite and Sunni is sharper than that between Muslim and Christian'; 'Us does not love the other'; 'The negative side of the us concept is its being emotional and also being far away from objectivity'; 'The friends and enemies are created'; 'These seem that there is some sort of society engineering act'; 'The concept of us is changeable and it differs according to time, place, social structure- environment, or events'; 'The us and the other

is formed on the basis of one's own ideology'; 'The Dardanelles War has a strength to transform a group of people into a society'; 'There must not be an us and other concept in history because if it exists, history would not be a realistic history. If such a concept exists, an ideological history is formed and it becomes very difficult to find the reality in this type of history.'

Some students who believe in the necessity of an us and other differentiation in order to protect national unity mentioned their opinions in the following manner.

'There must be an us and other differentiation'; 'The state is forming an us and other perception in a conscious manner'; 'When the war of independence is occurring, it is necessary to know who is the friend and who is the enemy'; 'What happiness for the one who says s/he is a Turk'; 'The others are the ones who attack the homeland'; 'When history is taken into consideration, I support my own side, my ideology, identity, cultural identity/ beliefs, etc.'

The answers of the two students whose feelings about us and other differentiation were the strongest were like this; 'Am I from others?'; 'I feel myself from others.'

As Tekeli (1998b) stated: 'It is a social process to create an 'other' against 'us'. The concept of other, which is created on the basis of a superiority claim or is created in order to claim superiority, is considered as long as it could be used to control others and to exploit others. Lots of negative social acts and realities which were done on the basis of the concept of other could be stated. These negative acts can be exemplified as racism, genocide, ethnocentrism, mono- culturalism, the hatred towards foreigners, etc. It is very difficult to imagine a society in which there is no 'other'. The ethnocentric history teaching and publications, through which the perception of the difference between the chosen people and poor people is established, brings about conflicts and struggles."

According to another point of view, it is impossible to talk about identity and social groups in a society in which there is no other. The existence of an 'other' not only causes conflicts; but it also brings about competition, which is the basis of creativity, and even a positive cooperation. It is very nonsense to search for a society in which there is no other. The meaningful search is to search for how the understandings of the other, which are not exclusive and are peaceful, could be established. The key concept here is that the 'we', who create 'the other', must not have any claim of superiority. There will be no problem when 'us' and 'other' are constructed in a way that diversity does not constitute a reason for the claim for superiority. Accordingly, these concepts must be refined with regard to internal and external critics and they must turn into a source of diversity rather than of conflicts.

At this point, we can state Yediyildiz's (Ata, 2002, p.52) comment: 'In order to get an awareness of European Union citizenship, we firstly have to get an awareness of Turkish citizenship. The person who does not have an awareness of Turkish Republic citizenship could not have an awareness of European citizenship'.

Students demand rational statements and to get them is their rights. The establishing of an 'other' is an obstacle in front of the knowledge acquisition and it is very harmful for intellectual development.

The students answered the questions, which are: 'Do history teachers use us and other concepts in a conscious manner?', 'Is it necessary to make an emphasis on 'Us' and 'Other'?' in the following ways.

Some of the history students explained the real incentives behind the formation of an 'us' and 'other' differentiation but they do not make any comments about whether there must be an emphasis on these concepts or not.

'The tendencies like not to accept today's realities and to make strong references to the heydays of the past bring about an 'us' and 'other' differentiation an 'us' and 'other'

differentiation'; 'The state policy is directing the masses to make such a differentiation and the masses do so'; 'New regime and the old regime strengthen and sharpen this differentiation'; 'It is inevitable to make such a differentiation because friends and enemies are determined through this way in the continuous historical context.'

Some of the students agreed on the fact that objective history does not create these concepts. Accordingly, they mentioned that such a differentiation between these is nonsense: 'It is not necessary to make a differentiation between us and other. I am against such kind of a differentiation. It could be very difficult to reflect an objective point of view; but we must to protect this kind of point of view'; 'The subject matters that are given in history lessons are definitely subject matters of the 'us'. The most objective ways of presenting historical facts must be chosen.'

Some students made very speculative explanations about us and other differentiation: 'To create an enemy properly is the main basis of nationalism. The enemy is the other'; 'We never do wrong things'; 'Greeks are enemies'; 'Everyone makes wrong things to us.'

In conclusion, to introduce and present us and other concepts as mythical oppositions to high school and even to university students cause these students feel negative things about history science, history lessons, teachers and the school. Furthermore, the students believe that the history knowledge, which is very crucial in understanding the past and today, must be used in history teaching- learning processes.

V. Conclusion and Suggestions

- In order to form the history consciousness, a modern approach must be adopted. However this approach is not to be one approach which is taken from Europe or from anywhere and is adopted into Turkey's own conditions. The mentioned modern approach must be consistent with the personal characteristics and cultural traits of Turkey and it must also include whole world history.

- The explanations, attitudes and behaviors of the teachers and administrators who do not have academic thinking and behaving skills affect history teaching negatively. The acts of such kind of people cause the consolidation of the type of historical understanding that supports the continuity of the society's static structure. Especially history teaching programs must include contemporary world realities and must have potential to solve history teaching problems.

- Historical events, facts and concepts must be given as objectively as possible in textbooks.

- A new understanding and model in history teaching must be adopted and the dominance of the ethnocentric model must be come into an end.

- History teachers must provide opportunities to their students to investigate and examine the past and to form views about today and the future.

- There are some mistakes and inefficiencies in the field of the formation of the history consciousness due to the above- mentioned problems. For this reason, some problems in the area of the formation of the cultural identity are also being experienced. History teaching plays a very influential role in making acquisition of history consciousness and cultural identity. A proper history teaching must exist in order to be able to achieve this.

- In history teaching, it is very difficult to make people aware of the main epistemological points and to teach people to read several and diverse resources. Here, the cognitive skills of the students must be developed and an understanding skill which is based on cognitive awareness must be given.

- Some serious measures which will make the teachers to direct themselves towards other resources other than the textbooks must be taken because inefficiencies of the teachers in the fields of academic backgrounds or teaching styles cannot be cured through only textbooks or similar other methods.

- In addition to the opinions of the teachers, the history lessons' education- teaching programs, which will provide the application of these opinions, are also very important. The education- teaching program has been formed in order to give students an awareness of citizenship.

- The history classes must include the techniques that stimulate and motivate the students to think and interpret; that stimulate discussion environments; that put the students at the centre; that involve visual means; that emphasize the social history and interpretative thinking; that support the use of different sources; and that put emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches.

- History textbooks are full of dogmatic and 'definite' statements and the approach of using them must be given up. Instead of this approach, the new ones that support the relative and critical thinking ways.

- Turkey, which is on the road of entering the European Union, must resolve the dilemma that it experiences between the West and the East; it must filter cultural essences; it must reconsider its own past properly; and it must shape its future policies and plans.

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