



The Palgrave Handbook of History and Social Studies Education

Edited by
Christopher W. Berg
Theodore M. Christou

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FOREWORD: INTERESTING TIMES HAVE INTERESTING PASTS

These are challenging times for history teaching and learning in many parts of the world. The opportunity, through the chapters in this book, to discuss how various societies are defining the problems and, even more, developing practices that invite wider attention, is truly welcome. This is not the first time that history instruction has faced major obstacles—the past itself provides other examples and also, happily, considerable evidence that the discipline can respond. But this is an important moment.

Two basic issues set the current scene. Most obviously, rapid changes in technology and the lingering effects of the Great Recession of 2008 prompt a substantial shift in attention to subjects in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) fields, viewed as having particular economic and political importance and providing particularly attractive job opportunities. History and related subjects suffer in consequence, even though history graduates actually do pretty well in a varied job market and even though history has a civic importance that goes beyond jobs alone.

Adding to the STEM challenge is the growing polarization of opinion in many societies, which opens up often bitter discussions of what history should emphasize and whether, in an age dominated by claims of fake news, the subject has any standing at all. Passionate debates over topics like the fate of confederate monuments, in the United States, or the ways to teach indigenous history in places like Canada and Australia show that the past unquestionably rouses deep emotion. But the same debates may raise doubts about whether enough agreement can be reached for a history program to move forward.

Both the basic challenges, of course, can be turned on their heads. The undeniable importance of STEM calls attention to the simultaneous importance of disciplines that focus on human relationships and policy contexts: technology alone will not solve our problems and technology does not alone produce jobs. Furor over fake news cries out for disciplines that seek objectivity and that explicitly teach skills in critical thinking that measurably improve the capacity to detect fraud. Many of the chapters in this book talk about ways the

history teachers can turn challenge to advantage, precisely because their subject is so important in the present moment.

Basic debates about the value and coherence in history translate into two or three specific discussions, important to teachers and students alike, and indeed to a larger history-using public.

Debate #1. Many of the current reevaluations of history teaching revolve around the national survey course, and several of the following chapters make admirable contributions to this discussion. In most countries, a national history survey—either a single course or a variety of courses at different grade levels—has long constituted one of the hallmarks of history in public education. Students have been urged to deal with the origins and historical evolution of some of the key institutions and values in their national society, as a means of civic preparation and as a way of participating in a common national story.

The national survey remains important, but its advocates—and its teachers—have to grapple with some new complexities. Focus is probably the most obvious. There are lots of stories wrapped up in the national one, and history research over the past half-century has become really adept at embellishing the variety involved. There are histories of women, of immigrants, of racial minorities, of subordinate social classes—the list is a long one. And many of these histories form a vital part of current debates about what the nation itself is all about—about the extent to which it can no longer be just a story of old white men. Figuring out how to combine variety and coherence is not an unmanageable challenge; indeed, it can spark excitement and it can link history directly to current issues. But there is no question that this is no longer your grandfather's national survey; it requires more work, more careful decisions, and more flexibility.

The national story is also complicated by the world around us. We not only live in national societies but also live in a globalizing network—whether one approves of globalization or not. Figuring out how to locate the national picture amid suitable comparisons with other major societies, and amid the kinds of contact relationships that have built up over many centuries, requires yet another reconsideration of the standard survey approach. In many countries, the rise of world history as a teaching topic over the past 30 years has been the most important single change in history fare for at least a century. In turn, the world history surge represents at least an attempt to use history to respond to the wider context. But figuring out how to add this successfully, and what the impact on the national focus should be, are not easy tasks.

Debate #2. Challenged by STEM and the current state of civic discourse, many history programs and teachers are also working hard on a second problem area: trying to convey what is really essential about history learning from what sometimes passes as lists of what students need to know. The discussion, like the efforts to update the national survey, can really support creative teaching, but there is no question that it raises problems as well.

Here is the issue in a nutshell: good history teaching and learning focuses on a set of thinking skills, some of which are really distinctive in the discipline. But history as taught often seems to center on factual memorization, which for

many students offers little basic stimulus. Of course, history depends on facts—thinking skills don't materialize in a vacuum. And of course many people, including many history teachers, really believe that successful students should know a good many facts as part of a sound education. And finally, many school systems and their administrators, pressed for time, impose factual tests as a crucial measure of student and teacher success, compounding the problem of figuring out what history is really about.

But against memorization, history teachers are becoming increasingly adept at clarifying what they are fundamentally aiming at. The list includes a capacity to assess evidence and deal with probable bias, one of the key components of critical thinking. It includes an ability to use evidence to build arguments, gaining facility in writing and (increasingly) oral presentations as well. And it also includes experience in dealing with the phenomenon of change, including what causes change and what kinds of continuities accompany change.

Evidence assessment; presentation; some grasp of how to interpret change—these are the basic goals of history education, and teachers at various levels are increasingly eager to clarify the goals themselves—as against the memorization trap—and work to promote them actively in the history classroom. Again, it is an exciting opportunity, but not an easy one. It supports the role of history in preparing for jobs and careers and, even more fundamentally, it develops skills that are vital in responsible civic life.

Debate #3 (possibly). For many teachers, sorting out the issues involved in an updated presentation of a national story and, even more, figuring out the best ways to promote (and advertise) the essentials of history learning are task enough. A third area is, however, worth mentioning, and it can relate to both of the more central themes.

There is, as the slogan of the American Historical Association now reads, a history of everything, and much of it is really interesting. There is a history of sleep, which helps put modern sleep concerns in active context. There is a history of birthdays, which helps explain why widespread celebration of these events awaited a new kind of value system that did not emerge until the mid-nineteenth century. (And there is a rich and illuminating history of childhood in general.) There is an intriguing history of the sense of smell and disgust, which have also changed a lot in modern times. And the list can go on and on.

Obviously, coherent and manageable history teaching cannot begin to encompass all the possible applications of history to the range of human experience. But it can raise one final issue: is the history we present to students mainly the study of well-established subjects—like wars and political systems, which certainly deserve their due—or is it also a discovery discipline, capable of illuminating topics that add breadth and excitement to the history project?

Maybe, amid all the other things to do, we can think about carving just a bit of time, in history programs, for student exposure to the discovery aspect, to the ways a range of subjects can be illuminated through historical perspective—and even for some participation. Growing interest in student research, from History Days to undergraduate research programs in college, suggests

the opportunities for student awareness of the discovery angle—just as our colleagues in the STEM fields have long realized. Having students come away from a history program with a standard question—“I wonder what’s the history of that?”—and some means of following up would not be the worst result to seek.

* * *

There are various reasons to be a history teacher, and sometimes a certain degree of accident is involved. But most of us teach history not only because we find the subject matter fascinating but also because we really believe it promotes skills and perspectives that are truly useful to individuals and to society as a whole. We believe that people ignorant of history are more likely to make mistakes—repeating the errors of the past—and to be subject to manipulation. We believe that the discipline, for all its uncertainties and debates, really does promote an effort to determine the best evidence and to base claims on evidence in turn. We believe that, in a rapidly changing world, history provides genuine skills in interpreting change successfully. One of the great pleasures in a long career of history teaching, in addition to the excitement of seeing some students “get it” in the history classroom, is the opportunity to come into contact with the enthusiasm and creativity of many history teachers today. We have the means to respond to the challenges we face.

And there is one final thing that we share, as history teachers and history learners today, across national boundaries: we live in interesting times. We can also agree: interesting times have interesting pasts. Through studying history, we work to understand the connections.

Fairfax, VA, USA

Peter N. Stearns

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PART I

Introduction



Introduction: History Education in Theory, Practice, and the Space in Between

Theodore M. Christou and Christopher W. Berg

It seems particularly au courant to refer to publications as timely in introductory chapters, such as this is. History education is always timely and in time, subject to the same politics, contexts, and ideologies that dictate political will. As long as we have a need to teach about the past, we will debate what ought to be taught. According to prevailing fashion, any given curriculum can look to content (e.g., “what happened?”) as the core and foundation of history education or, alternatively, to a way of understanding content, as well as the world we live in (e.g., “why do things happen?”).

The past helps us to understand who we are. History tells stories of lineage, of tribe, of dissidence, of belonging. In the microcosm of state and nation, we have mythologies to cling to and others to dispel.

Perspectives on myth-making and -dispelling are multiple. “Today, we live in a complex civilization which it is necessary to understand to be adjusted to it. Schools are the means by which we accomplish this period of adjustment,” reported the *Canadian School Journal*, an educational journal published

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between the 1920s and 1950s, citing William James Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education.¹ We make sense of the complexity of living through history, but also through institutions like schools. Curricula, textbooks, and disciplines—history, for instance—are means of finding meaning.

This sentiment was anticipated by Walter Lipmann in *Drift and Mastery* (1914). “We drift,” Lipmann stated, relating to the progressive age that he believed permeated the first decades of the twentieth century in North America, “unsettled to the very roots of our being.”² Lipmann lived at a time when humanity was knocking on the door of a great war. Like most wars, this made history and was a result of a way of viewing history. It displayed the most magnificent and atrocious dimensions of what it means to be human. Lipman’s utterance and this introduction are divided by 105 years, yet his words sound alarmingly contemporary.

We live in a modern, unsettled world. We look to the future and, depending on our orientations to the unknown, we see either dystopia and dissent or halcyon days on the horizon. The future promises great things to come, or it is ominous and foreboding.

The past: how is it seen? The answer to the question varies. Read on, we ask.

History education tells us about how we see ourselves and the world or how we see the world and our place in it. We teach the past that fits our orientation to the contexts we live in. These orientations are contested and unmoored. If the past appears fixed and true, and if history curricula purport to teach some truth, be wary. If the contrary is the case, be wary still. How we see the past is not the past, and the past is not history.³

As a school inspector from the Canadian province of Ontario would note in 1934, “movements are not all of the past, but we are in the midst of them today and our senior pupils should be encouraged to read of and know them.”⁴ Here, we concentrate on the teaching of history, not in one province, but in multiple contexts, national and international. What movements, truths, curriculum theories are taught or contested, and in what ways are these used to bridge what Robert Stamp termed “gap between school and community,” or, the world of the present and the unknown past.⁵ These thoughts are indicative of the perspective that schools could align more neatly with contemporary life in order to be made into a “miniature of society.”⁶ In these miniatures, these school spaces, the study of what it means to be human is the telling of stories. A frequent theme is our history. It helps us to define who we are as individuals and as members of collectives.

¹“Educational News,” *The Canadian School Journal* (November, 1933), p. 403.

²Walter Lipmann, *Drift and Mastery* (New York: Macmillan, 1914), p. 196.

³Peter Seixas, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson, 2012).

⁴“Inspector’s Report,” in *The Annual Report of the Minister of Education to the Government of Ontario* (1931), p. 96.

⁵Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876–1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 165.

⁶C.C. Goldring, “The Work of a Principal,” *Educational Courier* (June 1933), p. 8.

SCOPE AND CONTENT

This Handbook contextualizes this debate by exploring the history of history education and curriculum history. Further, it considers the current iterations of history and social studies curriculum frameworks at a moment where a paradigm shift is under way, which demand that students “do” history through an inquiry framework based on primary source analysis rather than memorize or learn historical content by other means. Granted, it may not be the first time that this shift has happened.

It has been a long-standing refrain that public schooling is a pendulum.⁷ The extent to which this metaphor is valid is debatable, as curriculum Historian Herbert Kliebard argues:

Curriculum fashions, it has long been noted, are subject to wide pendulum swings. While this metaphor conveys something of the shifting positions that are constantly occurring in the educational world, this phenomenon might best be seen as a stream with several currents, one stranger than others. None ever completely dries up. When the weather and other conditions are right, a weak or insignificant current assumes more force and prominence, only to decline when conditions particularly conducive to its newfound strength no longer prevail.⁸

This Handbook describes both those currents (the theories that shape curricula) and those conditions that permit a current to rise or to subside (the educational contexts).

It does not tell a story about history education, per se. It permits the reader to find their own context and others, to scrutinize these anew, and to begin another conversation about history education that is informed by various studies from across the globe. These studies describe the ways in which various stakeholders work within and without the parameters permitted by curriculum, space, and time. The extent to which this is a curriculum shift, as noted, depends on the place under examination.

Besides history educators, there are implications here for teacher education. Through what Dan Lortie termed the “apprenticeship of observation,” teacher candidates—future history and social studies teachers—have already learned a great deal about history education before their teacher education programs

⁷Michael Fullan, “Are We on the Right Track,” *Education Canada* 38, no. 3 (2010): 4–7; and Roland Case, “Our Crude Handling of Educational Reforms: The Case of Curricular Integration,” *Canadian Journal of Education* 19, no. 1 (1994): 80–93, “Educational Reform in British Columbia: Bold Vision, Flawed Design,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 24, no. 4 (1992): 381–387. The metaphor perseveres transatlantic discourses; see, for instance, Bernard Barker, *The Pendulum Swings: Transforming School Reform* (London: Trentham, 2010); Kokichi Shimizu, “The Pendulum of Reform: Educational Change in Japan from the 1990s Onwards,” *Journal of Educational Change* 2, no. 3 (2001): 193–205; and Carl Kaestle, “Education Reform and the Swinging Pendulum,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 66, no. 6 (1985): 422–423.

⁸Herbert Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893–1958* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

even begin.⁹ By virtue of having been students in history and social studies classes for most of their lives, teacher candidates are not blank slates; rather, they have strong beliefs about what history is as a discipline and how it ought to be taught. Because history and social studies curricula around the globe have only recently (in a relative sense) outlined learning objectives that were based on inquiry and on historical thinking, teacher candidates are in a particularly precarious position with respect to history education.

They have somewhere between one and five years of study to relearn the purposes and means of teaching social studies and history. What is more, teacher candidates spend a great deal more time in the schools during practicum than they will learning about the research informing history and social studies education. In these practicum spaces, it is possible that associate teachers and mentors are also asked to relearn or to rethink their sometimes long established teaching habits and practices. Associate teachers are variously contesting, embracing, or being baffled by the new history and social studies curricula. The extent to which we might plot their positions on this spectrum largely depends on their own beliefs about best practices in history education and their own apprenticeships of observation.

John Dewey anticipated teachers' possible reluctance to swing toward new paradigms for teaching and learning, particularly when they have firmly established beliefs and practices:

The tendency of educational development to proceed by reaction from one thing to another, to adopt for one year, or for a term of seven years, this or that new study or method of teaching, and then as abruptly to swing over to some new educational gospel, is a result which would be impossible if teachers were adequately moved by their own independent intelligence.¹⁰

Lee Shulman highlights how long-standing the traditional conception of a divide between practitioners and theoreticians is:

The National Society for the Scientific Study of Education was only a year old when it devoted large portions of both its second Yearbook (1903) and its third (1904) to the topic "The Relation of Theory to Practice in the Education of Teachers." John Dewey's contribution, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," led off the 1904 volume.¹¹

Both the second and third volumes of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE) Yearbooks thus sought to address the perceived gap between

⁹Dan Lortie, *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

¹⁰John Dewey, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," in M. L. Borrowman, ed., *Teacher Education in America: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), p. 257.

¹¹Lee S. Shulman, "Theory, Practice, and the Education of Professionals," *The Elementary School Journal* 98, No. 5, Special Issue: John Dewey: The Chicago Years (May, 1998), pp. 511–526, p. 511.

the work of university researchers and the work of teachers. Dewey's words on the subject are potentially useful to us a century after he uttered them:

The present divorce between scholarship and method is as harmful upon one side as upon the other—as detrimental to the best interests of higher academic instruction as it is to the training of teachers. But the only way in which this divorce can be broken down is by so presenting all subject-matter, for whatever ultimate, practical, or professional purpose, that it shall be apprehended as an objective embodiment of methods of mind in its search for, and transactions with, the truth of things. Upon the more practical side, this principle requires that, so far as students appropriate new subject-matter (thereby improving their own scholarship and realizing more consciously the nature of method), they should finally proceed to organize this same subject-matter with reference to its use in teaching others.¹²

Dewey articulates what resembles a positive feedback loop. When theory is put into the hands of practitioners in a way that facilitates comprehension and application of first- and second-order thinking concepts, practitioners are able to contribute to the generation of theory through their use of it. In the case of history education, teachers understand the discipline more clearly when they have language and concepts that will help them to apply it in their instruction, which brokers the testing and development of these tools. Dewey continues:

Scholastic knowledge is sometimes regarded as if it were something quite irrelevant to method. When this attitude is even unconsciously assumed, method becomes an external attachment to knowledge of subject-matter. It has to be elaborated and acquired in relative independence from subject-matter, and then applied.

Now the body of knowledge which constitutes the subject-matter of the student-teacher must, by the nature of the case, be organized subject-matter. It is not a miscellaneous heap of separate scraps. Even if (as in the case of history and literature), it be not technically termed “science,” it is none the less material which has been subjected to method—has been selected and arranged with reference to controlling intellectual principles.

The gap, real or perceived, between what Dewey calls the “higher and the lower treatment of subject-matter” dissipates when disciplines—history here is a primary case in point—involves academic research, pedagogical instruction, and practice in contexts ranging from universities to Faculties of Education and classroom spaces.¹³

¹² Dewey, “The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education,” p. 266.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 265.

FEATURES AND STRUCTURE

The scholars who contributed to this Handbook were given latitude and preference in how they interpreted the editors' request to engage with historical thinking and history education within their specific research and practice domains. The Handbook is divided into several thematic sections, including "History Teaching and Learning in International Perspectives," "Teacher Education," "National Curriculums, Reforms, and Reassessments," "Controversial and Difficult History," and "Future Directions and Possibilities in History Education."

BEST PRACTICES IN THE *DOING* OF HISTORY

The first section, "History Teaching and Learning in International Perspectives," samples how history is conceptualized and taught in international contexts. Kaya Yilmaz's exploration of 12 secondary history teachers revealed a general dissatisfaction of curricular tools, especially, textbooks.¹⁴ Teachers were critical of the orientation and presentation of content, flawed and romanticized narratives, and authorial authority that gives readers the impression that history is simply to be accepted without critical analysis or interpretation. Textbooks are problematic because they deny students the opportunity to engage with historical thinking and perpetuate national and patriotic narratives that might come at the expense of other inclusive narratives.¹⁵ Similarly, the challenges posed by enduring national narratives celebrating a collective memory entrenched more in the imagination than in historical reality are not unique to the United States.

Cécile Sabatier Bullock and Shawn Michael Bullock's contribution explores the role national narratives pose in history education in France. These narratives, each a *roman national*, are embedded in the fabric of the public consciousness. They are omnipresent in curricula and in textbooks. Historically minded teachers must acknowledge that these national narratives exist but they must also contest them.

The power of nationalist and patriotic narratives is evident in many national contexts. In sub-Saharan Africa, there is the added dimension of forging a new postcolonial identity after gaining independence from colonial rule. Nathan Moyo explores this evolving process in Zimbabwe. He explores the critical role that school history plays in reframing Zimbabwean history in a postcolonial age. History also offers a disciplinary framework to encourage students to engage in active citizenship.

¹⁴ Christopher W. Berg, "Why Study History?: An Examination of Undergraduate Students' Notions and Perceptions about History," *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 6, no. 1 (2019), 54–71. <http://hej.hermes-history.net>

¹⁵ Christopher Berg and Theodore Christou, "History and the Public Good: American Historical Association Presidential Addresses and the Evolving Understanding of History Education," *Curriculum History* 17, no. 1 (2017), 37–55.

The problems discussed above with textbooks, national narratives, and competing political and educational interests are markedly different in the Netherlands.¹⁶ Carla van Boxtel, Jannet van Drie, and Gerhard Stoel report that curricular materials, such as textbooks, incorporate historical thinking concepts. Here, historical thinking has been a long-standing component of the curriculum.

Historical thinking assessments in the Netherlands, such as the central examination, are aligned to the curriculum and its mandate of second-order concept coverage.¹⁷ This is not the case in the Canadian province of Québec, which Catherine Duquette describes in great detail, although assessment may be more in line with the situation in Scotland reported on by Joseph Smith, where teachers have the necessary tools and background to effectively facilitate historical thinking.¹⁸ The Dutch problem identified by van Boxtel and her colleagues is one of implementation and meeting new revised curriculum standards that emphasize broad historical knowledge.

Three approaches are suggested to empower ambitious teaching in historical thinking: raising historical thinking's place as a course of study within teacher education, promoting educational design strategies, and offering professional development opportunities.¹⁹ One of the hindrances to teaching historical thinking van Boxtel and her colleagues singled out was the sheer volume of historical content teachers are required to cover. The problem of coverage is not unique to the Netherlands but is present in many international contexts.²⁰ A second hindrance are textbooks; though they include historical thinking concepts and materials, the authorial voice implied is one of unassailable truth and fact, which could be problematic for students.²¹ In schools of teacher education, classroom management is privileged over applied methods of teaching and learning historical thinking. Van Boxtel and her colleagues convincingly argue possible solutions to empower beginning teachers while supporting veteran teachers to meet the demands of a historical thinking-rich curriculum.

¹⁶For greater discussion within the US context, see Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History? (When it's Already on Your Phone)* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018) and James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 2007).

¹⁷See Catherine Duquette's chapter in this Handbook.

¹⁸See Joseph Smith's chapter in this Handbook.

¹⁹For more discussion on professional development and other national initiatives, such as the United States' Teaching American History grant program, see, for example, Berg and Christou, "History and the Public Good," 48–49; Rachel G. Ragland, "Sustaining Changes in History Teachers' Core Instructional Practices: Impact of Teaching American History Ten Years Later," *The History Teacher* 48, no. 4 (2015), 609–640. http://www.societyforhistoryeducation.org/pdfs/A15_Ragland.pdf

²⁰See, for example, Lendol Calder, "Uncover: Towards a Signature Pedagogy for the History Survey," *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006), 1358–1370.

²¹See, for example, Berg and Christou, "History and the Public Good," pp. 49–51; Robert J. Paxton, "The Influence of Author Visibility on High School Students Solving a Historical Problem," *Cognition and Instruction* 20, no. 2 (2002), 197–248.

Like many of the international contexts examined in this collection, Malta has moved to a curriculum grounded in historical thinking. The departure from traditional history to a “New History” framework, however, has been challenging, according to Yosanne Vella. Second-order concepts have been problematic for students to understand and how citizenship can be nurtured through history teaching in a multicultural nation is of particular interest.²² The Republic of South Africa, for instance, is only recently removed from apartheid and primary education is fertile ground to explore alternative approaches to traditional forms of history teaching in the country. Rob Siebörger captures the lengths teachers and researchers are going to find curricula that resonate with young children using diverse interventions, such as family histories, games, and stories, to facilitate meaningful historical learning. The international contexts discussed so far have shown a degree of convergence and overlapping interests as historical thinking-based curricula have been enthusiastically adopted. Moreover, they are facing similar challenges in how they respond to curricular and teaching concerns. The Nordic countries, however, are facing a challenge as they grapple with two historical orientations and traditions that were introduced in the 1980s: the British variant of historical thinking, along with second-order concepts, and Germany’s historical consciousness.²³ Sirkka Ahonen traces the trajectory of these two trends within the Nordic context and considers the recent debate and its implications for teaching and learning history based on “skills” or “consciousness” as young people achieve greater understanding of corporate and individual identities.

THE MAKING OF A HISTORY TEACHER

In the second section, “Teacher Education,” examples are drawn from Australian, Swiss, Canadian, and Swedish contexts. Christian Mathis and Robert Parkes’ contribution surveys the historical roots of history education in the newly revised Australian curriculum. This curriculum framework is grounded in historical thinking traditions and the influential historical competencies inherent to the Swiss Curriculum. Mathis and Parkes articulate a

²²There is a paucity of research on the Maltese context; Yosanne Vella has undertaken most of the recent studies considered here. See, for example, Yosanne Vella “Heritage and national identity in Maltese schools” in *Heritage and National Identity Bulletin Nr 12*, Summer, 1999 (European Standing Conference of History Teachers’ Associations, EuroClio, 1999); Yosanne Vella “The gradual transformation of historical situations: understanding ‘change and continuity’ through colours and timelines” in *Teaching History Issue 144* (England: The Historical Association, 2011); Yosanne Vella. “Some General Indications on Pupils’ Historical Thinking” in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 9, No. 2, (England: Heirnet, 2010).

²³See, for example, Peter Lee, “None of us was there,” *Historiedidaktik I Norden* 6, *Historiemedvetandet—teori och praxis*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen et al. (Institut for Humanistiske Fag, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1996); Jörn Rüsen, “Functions of Historical Narration—Proposals of a Strategy of Legitimizing History in School,” in *Historiedidaktik I Norden* 3, ed. Nils Gruvberger et al. (Bergen Lærerehøgskole, 1987), 19–40.

convincing argument for the pivotal role epistemic beliefs and cultivating historical consciousness play in preservice teacher education.

In Sweden, Karl Hammarlund probes the effects and implications of dismantling a near-century-long institutional hierarchy and the newly elevated role history departments now play in mixing academic history with didactics. Further, Hammarlund weighs in the balance the short- and long-term effects of the 2001 educational reform on history departments, the implications for concentrating history teaching and instructional practice in one academic department, and provides a judicious analysis of 16 of Sweden's secondary teacher education programs and their syllabi.

In the Canadian province of Alberta, Lindsay Gibson and Carla Peck found that elementary school teachers might be underprepared to meet the demands imposed by the K-12 Alberta Social Studies Program of Study. In particular, the concept of historical thinking, one of the stated six dimensions in the program of study, could be problematic for teachers unfamiliar with disciplinary history. Gibson and Peck designed a course called "Teaching Historical Thinking" to fill this perceived gap in preservice teachers' disciplinary knowledge. Participating teacher candidates indicated an improved understanding of historical thinking, in general, and how they could translate this new knowledge into actionable teaching practice in their responses. This specialized course in historical thinking shows considerable promise, especially in providing in-depth instruction in historical thinking, a concept that was foreign to most students in the study.

A unique contribution to this collection is Penney Clark and Ruth Sandwell's consideration of The History Education Network/Histoire et éducation en réseau (THEN/HiER) in Canada.²⁴ The composition of this educational and research network represented every layer of Canadian society interested in history education from policymakers to public history organizations. The goal of this network was to improve research and practice so that advancements or breakthroughs in one area were appropriated in the other creating a beneficial, symbiotic relationship, even as it helped various stakeholders in history and social studies education cross the borders that divide them. This collaboration survives, albeit with a new configuration of scholars, in a project led by Carla Peck titled *Thinking Historically for Canada's Future*, awarded \$2.5 million dollars by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada in 2019.²⁵ The legacy of THEN/HiER, as the authors conclude, is evident in the "intangible" connections and pathways that have emerged since their inception and have been stewarded by committed

²⁴ A similar network in Australia is worth mentioning, the National Centre of History Education. See <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/national-centre-history-education-australia.html>

²⁵ See Penney Clark and Ruth Sandwell's chapter in this Handbook.

researchers and practitioners dedicated to restoring a balanced historical agenda and curriculum that appeals to all Canadians.²⁶

CHANGING ORIENTATIONS: FROM TRADITIONAL HISTORY TO HISTORICAL THINKING

A number of chapters in this collection treat the subject of evolving understandings of national curricula and history's place in them. Several chapters trace the historical development of national curricula over time and define challenges, such as an overreliance on textbooks,²⁷ raising teacher qualifications,²⁸ and breaking away from traditional narratives,²⁹ that have slowed the realization of the aims of these curricular mandates. The move toward historical thinking and historical revision in these curricula is apparent but how these initiatives are prescribed and applied is where the problem often lies.³⁰

In the Republic of Cyprus, a shift toward disciplinary history teaching was enacted in 2004 by the Ministry of Education. Stavroula Philippou explored this curriculum shift through a longitudinal ethnographic case study of two veteran elementary teachers and found that each teacher approached instruction from different perspectives. While one teacher used a variety of curricular materials, including disciplinary material, the other teacher used traditional materials that promoted a history of remembrance and collective memory. The case of these two teachers illustrates the abiding tension at the local school level where certain teachers are receptive to hands-on, disciplinary teaching while others are reluctant or indifferent to any deviation from the traditional curriculum. Teachers' own attitudes, beliefs, and values play a significant role in how history is taught and what materials, such as the textbook, are prioritized. Another barrier to the implementation of these national initiatives is resistance at the local level where teachers stall or refuse to adhere to the programmatic models advanced by the state because of a preference for collective memory or traditional history.³¹

In Finland, Jukka Rantala and Najat Ouakrim-Soivio describe a mellowing of such resistance in veteran secondary school teachers as they have begun to embrace disciplinary approaches to history teaching.³² Barriers persist, as

²⁶ Clark and Sandwell, "Conclusion: The Legacy of THEN/HiER," para. 4.

²⁷ See David Limond in this Handbook.

²⁸ See Karel Van Nieuwenhuysen in this Handbook.

²⁹ Almost without exception, each chapter in this section discusses the move from traditional history to historical (disciplinary) thinking.

³⁰ The term "historical revisionism" here is not the same term commonly used but here defined by David Limond within the Irish context in this collection, as "a re-evaluation of history and historiography that steered away from simplistic and divisive tropes and discourses, towards a more thoughtful, less overtly politicized, more measured and nuanced examination of Ireland's past ... by mapp[ing] out ... ideas as to how Ireland's history might be better written about in very general terms."

³¹ See David Limond in this Handbook.

³² See Jukka Rantala and Najat Ouakrim-Soivio in this Handbook.

Rantala and Ouakrim-Soivio acknowledge. Textbook publishers are reluctant to incorporate disciplinary and historical thinking into their texts making it difficult for teachers to make disciplinary connections.³³ This phenomenon is not unique to Finland as the “History Wars” in many parts of the world often revolve around problematic textbook content.³⁴

A final barrier to the teaching of historical thinking is curricular non-alignment. The stated aims and competencies of certain national curricula have revealed assessments that do not accurately assess a student’s ability to deploy historical thinking. Further, initiatives such as Québec’s recent revision of the Québec and Canadian history (HQC) curriculum in 2016 and Scotland’s *A Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE) in 2004 have experienced setbacks and are only recently being explored. Duquette’s study reveals a misalignment between the HQC’s aims and the assessments, and lack of metrics/rubrics, to measure student success. The implication is serious because if students fail to perform on this final Matriculation Exam, they will not receive their diploma.³⁵ The CfE, by comparison, encourages students to become engaged citizens and sets high expectations but teachers are burdened with responsibilities beyond teaching, such as designing curricula, and are not provided the necessary support to be effective under the new standards, according to Smith. A further qualification was that the topic be a local/regional/national problem that is of continuing interest.

AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE: HISTORY’S PLACE IN THE CURRICULUM

Several contributions to this Handbook considered “Future Directions and Possibilities in History Education.” Controversial, or difficult, histories have gained greater attention in recent years and, in this collection, two scholars explore the German and New Zealand contexts.³⁶ Katalin Morgan’s research on Shoah Witness testimonies and adult German students’ personal reactions and reflections in light of it explores this powerful experience through the lens of cognitive-emotional duality. The above example is representative of a growing trend, according to Morgan, that history education in Germany might continue to engage and grapple with survivor-perpetrator narratives as a means of “sense-making” and healing. Mark Sheehan explores the indigenous history of New Zealand, through the lens of colonization, considering how historical

³³ Berg and Christou, “History and the Public Good.”

³⁴ For further discussion, see Andrew Peterson, “Different Battlegrounds, Similar Concerns? The ‘History Wars’ and the Teaching of History in Australia and England,” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 46, no. 6 (2016), 861–881; Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, eds. 2012. *History Wars and the Classroom: Global Perspectives* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See, for example, Terrie Epstein and Carla L. Peck, eds. 2017. *Teaching and Learning Difficult Histories in International Contexts: A Critical Sociocultural Approach* (New York, NY: Routledge).

thinking is diminished in a national curriculum that prioritizes a sanitized version of history at the expense of Māori perspectives. How can educational institutions prepare an educated citizenry, Sheehan argues, when there is a disconnect between the past and the present?

Another area of interest in the scholarly literature is the quest for a history-specific pedagogy that balances the virtues of disciplinary knowledge and excellence with sound pedagogy. There is abundant research in history and teacher education discussing the divide between theory and practice and content knowledge and pedagogy and potential solutions to bridge the gap. Nowhere is this discussion more polarizing than in schools of history teacher education. Several early contributions on the subject by Robert Bain,³⁷ G. Williamson McDiarmid, and Peter Vinten-Johansen³⁸ were presented in the seminal *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*.³⁹ The emergence of pedagogical content knowledge⁴⁰ prioritized content and pedagogy in equal measure but it was Lee Shulman's musings on this problem in the mid-1980s that led to the eventual coining of the term "signature pedagogies,"⁴¹ which presented the history education community with a beautiful problem to solve—how best to professionalize the teaching and training of future history teachers.⁴² Dave Powell's contribution explores the feasibility and possibilities of "signature pedagogy" for history and social studies education.

Two contributions in this collection discuss past and present trends in history and citizenship education (where they converge and diverge) and speculate on possible future directions scholarship and practice might lead. The problem of collective memory and its offshoots is at the core of Melanie Innes and Jason Endacott's, Matt Dingler's, and Joe O'Brien's chapters in this collection. The approach they collectively promote to resolve this tension between

³⁷ Robert B. Bain, "Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction," in *Teaching, Learning, and Knowing History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 331–353.

³⁸ G. Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen, "A Catwalk across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course," in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 156–177.

³⁹ Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., 2000. *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*. (New York, NY: New York University Press).

⁴⁰ Lee S. Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (1986), 1–14.

⁴¹ Lee S. Shulman, "Signature Pedagogies in the Professions," *Daedalus* 134, no. 3 (2005), 52–59.

⁴² See, for example, Chauncey Monte-Sano and Christopher Budano, "Developing and Enacting Pedagogical Content Knowledge for Teaching History: An Exploration of Two Novice Teachers' Growth Over Three Years," *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 22, no. 2 (2013): 171–211; Dave Powell, "Brother, Can You Paradigm? Toward a Theory of Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Social Studies," *Journal of Teacher Education* 69, no. 3 (2018), 252–262.

a mythologized national/patriotic past and an equipped and informed educated citizenry is a sociocultural approach to history and citizenship education. Innes goes further than Endacott and his colleagues by suggesting a framework for promoting historical literacy—and, thus, distancing students and teachers from collective memory—by appropriating dynamic approaches, such as the idea of mediated action, and how historical reasoning can be a conduit for achieving historical consciousness.⁴³

WHY INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS?

Throughout history, events such as the Industrial Revolution or the Technological Revolution of recent memory presaged epochal moments of cultural, economic, and social change. These events, often referred to by historians as colligatory concepts, facilitated increases in economic systems and improvements in human capital, mobility, and networks.⁴⁴ Technology has single-handedly become the prime mover in dismantling once formidable boundaries between local, regional, and national identities and replaced them with an intellectual curiosity and freedom that embraces cultures that, at one time, seemed foreign and remote. Free market economies and globalization, coupled with advancements in technology, have worked in concert to establish strong economic, intellectual, and social networks. These partnerships and relationships embrace ideals reminiscent of those held by luminaries of the Enlightenment and have led to collaborations not unlike our own in this Handbook.

The scholarly literature on historical thinking has been historically concentrated in Western Europe and North America. In recent years, hubs of research activity in historical thinking, historical consciousness, and various aspects of history education have emerged around the world. One of the motivations for this Handbook was to make these historical traditions and theories accessible for an international audience. Looking at how scholars and practitioners are approaching history and social studies education in different national contexts helps us reflect and improve our own practice.

A second purpose for examining international contexts is to communicate and share knowledge that might otherwise elude scholars in certain communities and locales. Several contributing authors in this Handbook have not penetrated history and social studies publication outlets in North America. For example, Joseph Smith's chapter took a historical approach to the Scottish School Curriculum's aims, goals, and outcomes in light of resurgence in Scottish nationalism. This contribution will be the first in a North American

⁴³James V. Wertsch, "Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 49–62.

⁴⁴Lauren MacArthur Harris, "Making Connections for Themselves and Their Students: Examining Teachers' Organization of World History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 3 (2014), 336–374.

publication.⁴⁵ Likewise, Karl Hammarlund's study on Swedish teacher education reform will be his inaugural publication in North America.⁴⁶

So much of the literature that is published today is often in national or regional journals and edited volumes with little readership outside of those geographical confines. This Handbook is an opportunity to profile scholars and their important work outside the traditional historical scholarship venues of North America and Western Europe. The Handbook seeks to facilitate the expansion of current networks of communication while opening up new avenues and facilitating future conversations.

A third rationale, a corollary of the second, for focusing on scholarly dialogue in international contexts is to promote collaboration. One of the outcomes of scholarly collaboration and research is to improve our own understanding about a given problem but also to broaden and elevate our shared understanding of different cultural and national contexts however similar or divergent from our own. Further, scholarly collaboration sharpens a procedural concept we might advocate for in our own teaching and research practice—multiple perspectives or perspective-taking—where we “become citizens of the world as well as the nation.”⁴⁷ A current knowledge of international trends in historical scholarship could lead to dynamic approaches to research and practice dilemmas and reframe inquiries with fresh perspectives.

Often, the problems faced in the present are reincarnations of some common problem experienced in the past. Louis Gottshalk, in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1953 titled “A Professor of History in a Quandary,” touched on matters that were of significance to the history profession as he saw it.⁴⁸ They are not entirely unfamiliar to those in academia today. One of his final admonitions was to call to remembrance the words of Alfred North Whitehead from *The Aim of Education, and Other Essays* published in 1929:

Your learning is useless to you till you have lost your textbooks, burnt your lecture notes, and forgotten the minutiae which you learn by heart for the examination. What, in the way of detail, you continually require will stick in your memory as obvious facts like the sun and moon; and what you casually require can be looked up in any work of reference. . . . It should be the chief aim of a university professor to exhibit himself [sic] in his [sic] own true character—that is, as an ignorant man [sic] thinking, actively utilizing his small store of knowledge.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Joseph Smith's previous publications have been featured in the United Kingdom's *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *British Journal of Educational Studies* and *The Curriculum Journal* as well as Australia's *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education*.

⁴⁶ Most of Karl Hammarlund's extant publication record, via his [ResearchGate.net](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Karl-Hammarlund) profile, is in non-English, Scandinavian, and German publication outlets.

⁴⁷ Brian Girard and Lauren MacArthur Harris, “Considering World History as a Space for Developing Global Citizenship Competencies,” *The Educational Forum* 77 (2013), 438.

⁴⁸ Louis Gottshalk, “A Professor of History in a Quandary,” *The American Historical Review* 59, no. 2 (1954), 273–286.

⁴⁹ Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aim of Education, and other Essays* (New York, NY: Macmillan Co., 1929), 42, 58.

Scholars drawn from diverse international contexts have contributed to this collection. Each sees the issues confronting history and social studies education today in different but complementary ways.

History and social studies have been used to colonize, to radicalize, to draw lines between us and some other or between glory and ignominy. Yet history and social studies have been instrumental in efforts to question what it means to be human, to question power, to make sense of the spaces we live in, and to tell stories of our own. Everywhere we look in this Handbook, there are marks of this perennial struggle to educate. Everywhere, there are tools and technologies, schools, curricula, and other institutions that are meant to be educative but may merely get in the way of education. Schools exist in context, and these schools are instruments of the state (or of some authoritative voice in a place and time). There will be no exemption from the seesaw that here elevates the content and timeline of a single sanctioned story and there reveals the rise of contrariety of the story's characters, setting, and plot.

This Handbook, too, tells a story. It is not definitive and complete. It is descriptive and sprawling. Even as it is multivocal and international, there are voices and contexts missing. Seek these out. An infinite number of chapters and a page list as long as time could be compiled here, and it will still be tentative and unfinished. This is, indeed, a small store of knowledge.

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PART II

History Teaching and Learning in
International Perspective



Social Studies Teachers' Perspectives on the Differences Between Disciplinary History and School History

Kaya Yilmaz

INTRODUCTION

Teachers' perspectives on their subject matter affect their curricular and pedagogical decisions. Teacher perspectives can be defined as a set of interrelated beliefs and a reflective, socially defined interpretation of experience that guide and influence subsequent behaviors and, more specifically,¹ teacher perspectives are characterized by epistemic, normative, and procedural beliefs.² A number of research studies documented that teachers' perspectives have a great effect on how they plan, implement, and evaluate the curriculum.³ Teacher concep-

¹Clark, Christopher M., and Penelope L. Peterson, "Teachers' thought processes." In Merlin C. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching*. 3rd ed. (New York: MacMillan, 1986): 255–296; Daniel D. Pratt and Associates. *Five Perspectives on Teaching in Adult and Higher Education*. (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing, 1998).

²Ibid.

³Elizabeth S. Hancock and Alejandro J. Gallard, "Preservice science teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning: The influence of K-12 field experiences." *Journal of Science Teacher Education* 15, no. 4 (2004): 281–291; Mikel F. Pajares, "Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct." *Review of Educational Research* 62, no. 3 (1992): 307–332; Alba G. Thompson, "Teachers' beliefs and conceptions: A synthesis of the research." In Douglas A. Grouws (Ed.), *Handbook of research on mathematics teaching and learning* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 127–146; Alba G. Thompson, "Teachers' beliefs and conceptions: A synthesis

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tions and thought processes affect not only classroom teaching but also student learning to a significant extent.⁴ Through a review of research on teachers' beliefs and practices, Zhihui Fang showed that many research findings support the notion that teachers maintain implicit beliefs and theories about different aspects of curriculum and instruction, and these theoretical beliefs shape the nature of their instructional practices and classroom interactions.⁵ Drawing attention to the importance of teachers' mental constructs in social studies education, Stephen J. Thornton argued that the failure of the *New Social Studies* movement in the USA (aimed at promoting inquiry and discovery teaching and learning) stemmed not from the materials or curriculum guides developed by outside authorities, but from the teacher who determines the operational or implemented curriculum to a good extent.⁶ That is, teachers' beliefs, views, perspectives, and interpretations of the official curriculum and instructional guides play a central role in transforming the official curriculum into the implemented curriculum.

Research on Social Studies Teachers' Perspectives on History

The research into social studies teachers' perspectives on history investigated different aspects of the topic such as background factors influencing the development of teachers' perspectives on history (e.g., the effects of disciplinary backgrounds on their views and practices), the relationship between teacher conceptions and teaching methods, the impact that teacher views have on students' beliefs about history, and the perspectives embodied by different types of teachers (e.g., secondary teachers' and teacher candidates' historical thinking). Likewise, history teachers' perspectives were studied in comparison to those of other subjects such as science teachers or teacher views were comparatively examined within different cultural contexts (e.g., US vs. England).

Ronald W. Evans investigated teacher and student conceptions of history in successive exploratory studies.⁷ In his first study, Ronald W. Evans⁸ explored three intern American history teachers' conceptions of the purposes of historical

of the research." In Douglas A. Grouws (Ed.), *Handbook of research on mathematics teaching and learning* (New York: Macmillan, 1992).

⁴Keith Trigwell, Michael Prosser and Fiona Waterhouse, "Relations between teachers' approaches to teaching and students' approaches to learning," *Higher Education* 37 (1999): 57–70.

⁵Zhihui Fang, "A Review of Research on Teacher Beliefs and Practices." *Educational Research* 38, no. 1 (1996): 47–65.

⁶Stephen J. Thornton, "Teachers as Curricular-Instructional Gatekeeper in Social Studies." In James P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning: A Project of The National Council for The Social Studies* (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 197–209.

⁷Ronald W. Evans, "Lessons from History: Teacher and Student Conceptions of the Meaning of History." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 16, no. 3 (1988): 203–225; Ronald W. Evans, "Teacher Conception of History." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 17, no. 3 (1989): 210–40; Ronald W. Evans, "Teachers' Conceptions of History Revisited: Ideology, Curriculum and Student Belief." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 18, no. 2 (1990): 101–138.

⁸Ibid.

study and informant beliefs about progress and decline.⁹ According to his research findings, the interns' conceptions of the meaning of history differed distinctively from each other. Their conceptions of history not only affected their instructional practices but also shaped student conceptions and learning. Evans used three overlapping categories to represent and demarcate teacher conceptions. For the *social activist and reformer*, the main purpose of studying history was to find a solution to contemporary problems facing society. For this reason, his classroom actions were aimed at getting students to see the problems in the present and their antecedents in the past so that actions could be taken to ameliorate the human condition. For the *cosmic philosopher*, the primary purpose of studying history was to help students build a knowledge base for understanding themselves and each person's unity with humanity. Lastly, for the *storyteller*, the most important purpose of studying history was to understand present issues in order to be able to make informed and reasoned decisions.

In a follow-up study, Ronald W. Evans¹⁰ continued to explore and clarify teacher conceptions of history, the relationship between their concepts and teaching methods, and background factors influencing development of conceptions of history. He identified five categories of teacher conceptions of history: storyteller, scientific historian, relativist/reformer, cosmic philosopher, and eclectic. *Storytellers* were conservatives, saw the knowledge of other times, people, and places as the most important rationale for studying history, paid homage to the predecessors, and taught history in a narrative style through good stories.

Scientific historians were liberals, considered the knowledge and understanding of historical processes (for understanding current issues) as the key reasons for studying history, attempted to help students develop the skills of historical inquiry, emphasized objectivity and neutrality, and saw historical explanations and interpretation as a means to make history most interesting.

Relativist/reformers, by far the largest group (32 out of 71 teachers surveyed), were democratic liberals, stressed the relation of the past to present problems, and viewed historical knowledge as a background for understanding current issues.

Cosmic philosophers were liberals but had a strong religious connection, regarded grand theory (generalizations or laws of history) as the most interesting aspect of history, saw patterns in history, and had a cyclical view of history.

Eclectic teachers were politically moderate, had no central tendency on any category, displayed the characteristic elements of two or more conceptions of history illustrated above, and had a very practical orientation to make students

⁹The view of history as an ongoing progress or as a decline is called "Whig interpretation of history" and "nostalgia," respectively, in the historical literature. Both are characterized by teleological historical writing, which is most interested in unfolding patterns in history as progress or decline.

¹⁰Ibid.

become interested in history. Ronald W. Evans's approach to constructing a typology of teacher conceptions on the basis of his previous study just explained, which involved only three teachers, is questionable. Ronald W. Evans stuck to his earlier categories and applied them to new participants' responses.

Further, Evans kept pursuing the same line of research on teacher conceptions with a few slightly reformulated questions. Five teachers and a total of six students were involved in his third study. According to the research findings, each of the teachers had a different approach to teaching history, their conceptions of history overlapped with each other, and their teaching of history was influenced by their conceptions of history. The study showed that teachers of the reformer and the eclectic orientation had little or no effects on their students' beliefs about history and society. Students of the scientific historian had the clearest notions about history, viewing the impact of the history course as potentially empowering on their thinking about history. Students of the storyteller and scientific historian reported a positive attitude toward studying history. Students' perceptions of history were quite negative in the eclectic teacher's classrooms. The cosmic philosopher's conceptions had little effect on students' beliefs. While some students were able to identify their teachers' political affiliations, others could not do so.

Other researchers have also investigated the influence of conceptions on teaching. Through qualitative research design, Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg investigated social studies teachers' conceptions of history in terms of the effects of disciplinary backgrounds on their views and practices.¹¹ Four first year social studies teachers' views of history and pedagogical preferences for teaching history were examined with an emphasis on the process of "learning to teach."¹² The researchers found that these participants' disciplinary backgrounds had a great impact on their curricular and instructional decisions. Their perceptions of history affected their pedagogical practices. The researchers concluded that history had considerably different meanings and functions in the classrooms of these four teachers. The researchers' analysis of the ways teachers viewed and taught history suggests that the researchers lacked a broader theoretical framework to view and evaluate these teachers' conceptions and classroom practices. That is, the researchers did not recognize different approaches to reconstructing the past. For instance, they did not seem to realize that scientific historians are purposefully seeking middle-level generalizations, at least to some extent. If one with a scientific mind-set or covering law model read these accounts, he or she might praise the effort to make generalizations. The researchers also made blurry statements concerning such

¹¹ Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, "Peering at History through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History." *Teachers College Record* 89, no. 4 (1988): 525–539.

¹² The researchers say six teachers were interviewed and observed, but for some reason they present only four participants' conceptions of history.

concepts as context and structure of history without elucidating what they mean by those terms.

In other successive studies, Samuel S. Wineburg examined the differences in the modes of thinking between eight professional historians' and eight school seniors' engagement with a series of primary and secondary sources containing contradictory information about the Battle of Lexington.¹³ While most student participants could display historical thinking and reasoning skills, historians successfully employed three heuristics, corroboration, contextualization, and sourcing in their interpretation and evaluation of the sources. Wineburg mainly attributed the differences in both groups of subjects' evaluations of the historical events to the different epistemological perspectives each subject brought to the text.

Elizabeth Anne Yeager and O.L. Jr. Davis explored the characteristics of secondary teachers' and teacher candidates' historical thinking in relation to historical texts.¹⁴ The researchers emulated Samuel S. Wineburg's research design in their exploratory study (e.g., think-aloud procedure and protocol analysis were used to look into subjects' cognitive engagement with the task requiring the analysis of different historical sources on the Battle of Lexington).¹⁵ They argued that each teacher had very different historical understanding, interpretations, and conclusions in her or his evaluation of historical texts. Three types of historical thinking emerged out of the participants' responses. These were history as "construction of meaning," history as entertainment or as "a story to be brought to life," and history as "a search for accuracy."

Some researchers studied history teachers' conceptions in comparison to those of other teachers who teach different school subjects. James H. Donnelly looked at history teachers' conceptions in comparison to those of science teachers.¹⁶ He examined the educational goals and the practices of science and history teachers in a qualitatively conducted and quantitatively analyzed comparative study. Thirty-nine teachers of history and science in five schools in England were the study's unit of analysis. He found systematic differences in the aims and instructional practices of both groups. While history teachers saw the commitment to developing children's interpretations and intellectual judgments as their main responsibility, science teachers emphasized the importance of established knowledge, commonly grounded relevance in instrumentality, and viewed uncertainty as threatening. Donnelly relates the differences in two

¹³ Samuel S. Wineburg, "Historical problem Solving. A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 83 (1991a): 73–87; Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy." *American Educational Research Journal* 28 (1991b): 495–519.

¹⁴ Elizabeth Anne Yeager and O. L. Davis Jr., "Between Campus and Classroom: Secondary Student-Teachers' Thinking about Historical Texts." *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 29, no. 1 (1995): 1–8.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ James H. Donnelly, "Interpreting Differences: The Educational Aims of Teachers of Science and History, and their Implications." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 31, no. 1 (1999): 17–41.

groups' conceptions to wider differences in the intellectual orientations of the two disciplines. Whereas the science teachers seemed to link relevance with content, the history teachers linked it with skill, especially historical analysis. History teachers saw uncertainty inhabiting two domains—the reliability of historical sources and the different interpretations of historical facts. History teachers accordingly adjusted their pedagogical practices to help students cope with these uncertainties.

Teachers' conceptions of history were examined comparatively in an international study. In a qualitatively conducted comparative study, David Hicks investigated two female pre-service teachers' conceptions of history and approaches to the teaching of history in England and the United States of America, with an emphasis on the way student teachers "negotiate the process of learning to teach history."¹⁷ The research findings indicated that these two teachers had contrasting experiences in and understandings of history and history teaching.

Helen, from England, was provided with experiences in learning the methods of the historian and the skills of the discipline in the context of the Schools Council History Project, her methods course, and internship. As a result, she developed the dispositions and habits of a trained historian. She was concerned with helping students develop history's habits of mind and skills, and aimed to engage students in discussions on controversial issues. Thus, she emphasized a process-centered approach to teaching. On the other hand, Amanda, from the U.S. experienced traditional history teaching (throughout her formal education) with an emphasis on the transmission of the story of the nation's traditions and cultures rather than the examination of the nature of history "in terms of how we come to know and understand the past in the context of the present." She devoted herself to providing students with factual information, emphasizing a content-centered approach to teaching via a heavy reliance on the textbook. Her aim in teaching history was to increase students' knowledge of influential people, important places, and significant events for an informed citizenry or "for the sake of knowing who we are today." These research results should not be surprising because history is taught in a disciplinary way as a separate school subject in secondary schools in England for a long time but that is not the case in the USA.

Aiming to unfold the nature of the belief structures of pre-service teachers, Arja Virta sought to illuminate the question of how first and second year students in the primary school teacher education program conceptualize history (i.e., their beliefs about the structure and nature of history).¹⁸ The findings showed that the participants' definitions of history were one-dimensional and

¹⁷ David Hicks, *Examining preservice teachers conceptions and approaches to the teaching of history in England and America*. Paper presented at the International Assembly Annual Conference of NCSS (Washington, DC, 2001).

¹⁸ Virta Arja, "Student Teachers' Conceptions of History." *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 2, No. 1 (2001).

vaguely organized. They defined history as the past or the continuum of historical periods, as a line of development or the basis for the present, as something that happened. In their views on the relation of history to themselves, participants thought that history is central to understanding contemporary culture and society, structures peoples' worldview, and helps individuals construct their self-image and identity. In a longitudinal case study covering years from 1996 to 2000, Jon Nichol and Robert Malcolm Guyver delved into those factors influencing the professional development of history teachers who were teaching at primary schools.¹⁹ These researchers examined the effects of an Intervention Strategy within Initial Teacher Training course on 18 student teachers' teaching in England. They found that student teachers with a fine-grained syntactic understanding of the discipline were able to develop and display many characteristics of proto-expert history teachers such as having a sophisticated conception of history. Students with little experience in the discipline, on the other hand, were not able to satisfactorily benefit from the intervention program to grow as a history teacher; thus, their conceptions of history were limited in comparison to that of other students of history.

Significance of the Study

As the literature review in the first part of the chapter may have shown, there seems to be a scarcity of research on social studies teachers' views of history as a discipline and a school subject. This research study differs from previous studies on the same or similar research topics in several important respects. First, while most of other research studies examined teachers' views of history in general, this study attempted to illuminate social studies teachers' perspectives on the differences between academic history and school history. As Zhihui Fang stated, "While research continues to question teachers' beliefs about certain subject areas, little attention has been paid to their beliefs about particular components of a subject area."²⁰ The present study addresses this concern. Second, in this study categories of teacher conceptions were constructed on the basis of teachers' own responses rather than imposed from a set of pre-established categories on teachers' responses. Third, and most importantly, this research study was carried out under the guidance of disciplinary history, benefiting from historiography's implications for the research on history education. Even though some distinguished scholars in history education such as Peter J. Lee, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg suggested to researchers to examine different aspects of teaching and learning history in secondary schools from a disciplinary history perspective, there are only a handful of researchers

¹⁹ Jon Nichol and Robert Malcolm Guyver, "From Novice to Effective Teacher: A Study of Postgraduate Training and History Pedagogy." *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research* 4, no. 8 (2004): 76–126. Retrieved from www.ex.ac.uk/historyresource

²⁰ Zhihui Fang, "A Review of Research on Teacher Beliefs and Practices." *Educational Research* 38, no. 1 (1996): 59.

who have paid attention to these scholars' suggestions.²¹ Considering the shortcomings of the earlier studies along with the gap in the research literature, the present study was aimed at broadening our understanding of teachers' views of history by focusing on the differences between disciplinary history and school history. Research questions that the study sought to answer are as follows:

- What differences do social studies teachers see between disciplinary history and school history?
- What differences do social studies teachers see between academic history books and school history textbooks?
- What differences do social studies teachers see between academic historians and school history teachers?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Sample

Qualitative research design involves purposeful sampling in the selection of the research participants. The main aim of purposeful sampling is to select and study a small number of people or unique cases whose study typically produces a good deal of detailed information and an in-depth understanding of the people, programs, cases, and situations studied.²² A purposeful sampling procedure was employed to recruit participants for the study. The main criterion used to select the participants was a range of teaching experience that teachers had. Teachers whose teaching experiences ranged from a couple of years to 25 years or more were selected. The participants' average years of teaching experience was 16. The second criterion for selection of the participants was their levels of education. I recruited those teachers who had a degree beyond the baccalaureate such as a master's or a more advanced degree. The third criterion was the gender of the participants. To balance their genders, equal number of male (6) and female (6) teachers were selected. Teachers were given a pseudonym to protect their identities (Table 2.1). Teachers were selected from five public schools in three cities in a southeastern state in the US. Ryan, Joe, John, Nick, Katie, and Emily taught in Discovery High School, Eric and Sara in Norman High School, Anna and Julia in Weddington Middle School, David in Woods

²¹ Peter J. Lee, "History Teaching and Philosophy of History." *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (1983):19–49; Peter Seixas, "Review of Research on Social Studies." In Virginia Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2001), 545–565; Samuel S. Wineburg, "The Psychology of Learning and Teaching History." In David C. Berliner, and Robert C. Calfee (Eds.), *Handbook of Educational Psychology* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1996), 423–437.

²² Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002).

Table 2.1 Demographic information about the participants

<i>Pseudonym</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Race/ ethnicity</i>	<i>Teaching experience</i>	<i>Education level</i>	<i>Degree in history</i>
Eric	50	Male	White	28	MA	No
Ryan	Mid 40s	Male	White	16	NA	No
John	35	Male	Black	11	MA	Yes
David	57	Male	White	18	MA	No
Joe	35	Male	Black	11	MA	No
Nick	52	Male	White	19	Ed.D.	Yes
Katie	28	Female	White	4	B.S.	No
Emily	NA	Female	White	2	M.Ed.	No
Anna	54	Female	White	15	MA	Yes
Julia	40	Female	White	18	MA	Yes
Sara	Late 50s	Female	Black	29	MA	No
Mary	30	Female	White	7	M.Ed.	No

High school, and Mary in Providence High School, respectively (school names are pseudonyms).

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Interview was used as a data collection tool. Interviews were conducted individually with each participant by means of a semi-structured interview schedule in English. All interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Prepared in advance or devised at the site to probe participants' perspectives, different types of probes were used to enrich research data.

The techniques and strategies of inductive qualitative data analysis were employed to analyze the participants' responses. Inductive qualitative data analysis is an iterative and creative process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the mass of data to bring order, structure, organization, classification, interpretation, and meaning to the collected data.²³ First, each interview transcript was read in detail in order to get a general sense of the whole interview and then each interview transcript was reread to start the formal coding in a systematic way. That is, second reading of the data was aimed at developing code schemes. Since the analyst should first determine what the unit of analysis would be for the data before coding,²⁴ sentences and phrases were selected as units of analysis, which is called line-by-line analysis. Coding interview transcripts line by line is one way to remain open to the data and to

²³ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999). Matthew B. Miles and Michael A. Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994).

²⁴ Patton, "Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods," 2002.

identify the participants' implicit as well as explicit statements.²⁵ After the unit of analysis for the data was selected, each interview transcript was analyzed by means of open or low level codes with little abstraction. The main purpose was to understand the data from the perspective of the participants. To accomplish that end, the participants' own words, phrases, and sentences, or what is called "indigenous terms," were used. If the informant's own words were not sufficient to code what was emerging from the data, "sensitizing codes" were used and thus the initial coding was done.

Once all the interview transcripts were coded, cross-case comparisons were made, which is usually called "constant comparative" method of analysis. On the basis of both indigenous and sensitizing concepts, each participant's response to the same question was compared with one another and then similarities, differences, patterns, and themes across the data were identified. Once regularities, patterns, and themes in the data began to emerge through open coding, divergences which did not fit the dominant patterns were identified. Divergent themes were determined and then both types of themes were sorted into categories without discarding them. The descriptive phase of the data analysis was followed by the interpretive phase during which the meaning from the participants' responses was extracted, making comparisons among those responses. Direct quotations from participants' own responses were used to document their feelings, experiences, and thoughts about the research topic under investigation at a very personal level of experience.²⁶ So, rich quotations from the interview transcripts were used both to illustrate how the categories were constructed and to strengthen the credibility and authenticity of the research findings.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Teachers' Perspectives on Differences Between Disciplinary History and School History

Teachers pinpointed many differences between academic history as a discipline at universities and school history as a subject in schools. Teachers see differences between the two types of history in terms of their orientations, the ways they are presented, for example, teaching approach, treatments of topics, and so on, the setting or the context in which history is taught and learned, including institutional constraints that affect history education, and resources used. The categories in which teachers' responses are grouped are not mutually exclusive but overlapping. Explanations of each category along with the quotations from the participants' responses are as follows:

²⁵ Catherine Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006).

²⁶ Patton, "Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods," 2002.

Differences in Orientation Orientation emerged as the main difference between disciplinary history and school history. Many teachers' responses fell in this category. According to the teachers, disciplinary history is characterized by specialties; that is, academic history is divided into specialties on a particular time period or event. For this reason, it has a depth-oriented curriculum at university which provides various perspectives on a time period or event. Academic history also is more theoretical and research-oriented, as a result of which it demands more critical and individual thinking. Focusing on professional standards and techniques, disciplinary history aims to enhance historical scholarship by producing knowledge and developing theories. Instead of being hidden, values of different sorts are openly argued in disciplinary history, the teachers pointed out.

On the other hand, school history is characterized by survey-like courses and has a coverage-oriented curriculum which puts an over-emphasis on memorization rather than higher-order thinking. School history is more teaching-oriented and pedagogical. For this reason, it is concerned with how to make history comprehensible for secondary school students and how to match the curriculum with student developmental levels and learning styles. Since school history is prescriptive, it purposefully avoids arguing values. It basically aims to socialize students to society in which they can find a place. It also aims to prepare students for higher education. Extracts from teachers' responses that fit this category are as follows:

Katie pointed out the difference in the treatments of the content of history. Pointing out the constraints on school history teaching, she said:

The main difference between disciplinary history and school history is the depth ... When you are in college or university, you are focusing on just one time period or one particular event. I mean, whereas in school history, you are asked to cover, you are asked to teach huge amount of history in a short period of time with more obstacles.

She also saw school history as a simplified version of academic history and as a course aimed at providing students with "a lot of the tools that they are going to need to work through higher history, to work with more detailed history." Emily also highlighted the difference in depth versus coverage orientation to teaching. From a practical point of view, she said, "College course deals with issues at a much deeper level. And high school or elementary, whether it is private or public, history covers issues, in broad terms in one course." Julia made similar comments on the same issue. Bringing research orientation to the fore, she said, "I believe disciplinary history is much more involved and focused. It generally deals with the research of one particular area of focus whereas secondary school history is broader."

Anna's comments focused on pedagogical considerations. Because high school history classrooms are much more diverse than college history in terms

of students' intellectual and motivational levels, the teacher needs to employ different approaches to give students a fuller understanding and catch their attention. So, she said, "The difference here though is tuning in to the learning styles of the kids, what is going to work with them as opposed to true history, discipline."

Nick looked at the differences in orientation between the two types of history from a broader perspective and thus pointed out some differences that other teachers did not mention. From his perspective, the main difference was that "disciplinary history focuses on professional standards and techniques. And it is more theoretical. The research is based on their perspective of history that is searching for patterns and developing theories." However, the focus of high school history was sharply different to him from that of academic history. Pointing out the socialization function of schools and the exercise of freedom of speech and thought at universities, he said:

Our job is to socialize students, using history, not to teach history, but to use history in the socialization process. But, I would say it is primarily for socialization and that drives the curriculum. I think the schools are primarily designed to socialize students to have them find a place in our society for good or for ill ... One is much more overtly valued, I think, high schools are more overtly value-laden and you have values in the colleges and universities among researchers but they argue with each other, write about it. You know, they don't hide the values. They just argue with each other about what ought to be done. It can be nasty. It can also be very creative. It can be very healthy. In high schools what happens is you are arguing about the values children are supposed to develop.

As these teachers' responses show, the participants are quite aware of the differences between school history and academic history in terms of their orientations.

Differences in Presentation of History Teachers pointed out the presentation of history as another difference between school history and academic history. Their responses indicated that the teaching approach in secondary schools is different than the one practiced at universities. Disciplinary history addresses issues more deeply through primary sources. They also noted that it is more teacher-centered and lacks diversity in teaching methods; that is, it is less interactive, teaching occurs and lecture is employed as the predominant instructional strategy. On the other hand, school history is textbook-driven and treats issues superficially. In other words, a simplified version of the discipline of history is presented to students. Teachers in secondary schools employ more diverse teaching methods than do historians at universities. It is more interactive and learner-centered; that is, different types of learning occur. But it is more repetitive, teachers noted, as a lot of re-teaching and revision seems to take place in secondary school history classrooms.

Considering the effects of orientation on the way history is presented to students in the two different settings, John said, "I think that how the information was presented to me is a lot different. In college history, you can dig a lot deeper because it is more of concentrated area." Joe touched on the heavy influence of textbook on history teaching by saying, "School history is textbook-driven." From Mary's perspective, "School history is very simplified. I have to simplify things in order to make sure my kids understand it." Pointing out the diversity in teaching approaches, more active student involvement, and more re-teaching in secondary schools, Sara said:

I think in high school, you probably see a lot of diversity in teaching. I mean I go back to school often myself. I don't see from the college classes that I have had, most of them are lecture. Most of them are being, I would say, probably teacher centered in that it is teaching students when they just listen. I think when you come into a high school class or at least to a high school, you are going to see different types of learning ... I think there is more involvement between the teacher and students on the high school level and middle school level and even elementary school level than I see on the college level ... High school sometimes is teaching, re-teaching, and reviewing too much. They don't do that at college.

Differences in Context or Teaching Setting in Terms of Institutional Constraints and Resources Teachers' responses showed that there are more constraints on secondary school teaching than college teaching. Secondary school history teachers have more requirements to comply with, experience more obstacles, and work under more constraining and less desirable environments. They do not have enough time to teach a huge number of topics. School history is also influenced by state standards and testing; that is, it is test-driven. From a generic point of view, Sara said, "We are in high school we just have more requirements." John emphasized the time constraint by saying, "The amount of time that [is] dedicated to that particular subject matter is different in college." Mary mentioned the external constraint on teaching. She said, "I need to help them pass test." Likewise, Joe drew attention to the effects of state-mandated testing on teaching. As a teacher in the state of Georgia, he said, "School history is test-driven. There is the state that sets up standards and says this is what students should know about history to graduate from high school. School history, teach what is in this book so that students can pass the test." Two teachers emphasized the difference in the availability of resources in two settings. Eric and Katie respectively said, "School history is not up to date in terms of sources and sources are much more limited in schools than in college." "In college, all the time, you are given more resources."

*Teachers' Perspectives on Differences Between Academic History Books
and School History Textbooks*

In addition to eliciting teachers' perspective on the differences between disciplinary and school history at a broad level, this study elicited teachers' views on the same topic at a more specific level by asking them to articulate what differences they see between academic history books and history textbooks.

Teachers are generally suspicious of the textbooks and have a negative view of textbooks in terms of their effects on history education. They see differences in both types of books in terms of the presentation of information, for example, the perspective, ownership of the perspective, style of presentation, quality of presentation, sources of information, treatment of controversial issues, external influences on publication, goals of publication, and the ways they are used. These categories of teachers' responses on both types of books are explained in the following paragraphs.

Presentation of Information

A. Perspective or Voice According to teachers' responses, college or academic history books have a certain agenda, reflect a certain perspective or interpretation of events, be it traditional or social; that is, the voice of the author along with accompanying argument is made prominent or discernable. On the other hand, high school textbooks are mainly characterized by a generic viewpoint, which lacks a particular voice. Rather than a specific perspective, textbooks put forward a generic point of view on topics and issues presented. That is, they present a blank overview of history by mixing points of view narrowly in order to accommodate every point of view and to make different interest groups satisfied. Drawing attention to the major purpose of the textbook production, Ryan said, "History textbooks are written in such a way that they don't piss anybody off because nobody buys them if they piss anybody off ... They are trying to give lip service to every perspective so that nobody gets mad." That is why he thought, "They are written from a very generic point of view." Likewise, Nick highlighted the same point by focusing on college books instead of history textbooks. He said, "College books are written from a perspective. And I think that's very important. Somebody's argument is there ... For the most part, they have a voice there where you can see there is a perspective."

The viewpoints of both Ryan and Nick implied that school history textbooks should include different perspectives on the same issue. As opposed to these two teachers' views of textbooks, David and Emily had a different one, suggesting that textbooks should be written from a generic point of view. Seeing academic books as characterized by a certain agenda, David said, "They look at all the facts and then they come up with their theory or their explanation, their interpretation of the event, and write that point of view, whereas I think textbooks should be more general. I think textbooks, just give me the

facts.” Likewise, Emily said, “School textbooks tend to have a broader perspective whereas academic sources are a little bit more opinionated, I would say or easier to pick up, biased, whereas the other [history textbook] tends to be a little more unbiased or just kind of bland overview.”

B. Concern with Substantiating Argument with Evidence Academic books substantiate and back up the information with evidence, whereas textbooks are not concerned with supporting the argument with evidence. John said, “The college textbook again goes more in depth about one particular subject matter ... substantiating and backing up the information. The textbook that we use ... has less information and less supporting material to go with it.” Likewise, Mary said, “Academic history books are often written about things, events, and then, you write a paper and you back it up with evidence and stuff like that whereas the school history textbooks are going to be fact, fact, fact.”

C. Multiple Perspectives Versus White Man’s Perspective While different and multiple perspectives can be seen in academic history books, the perspective that is visible in history textbooks is basically white men’s opinions, though that has begun to change in recent decades. Emily contended, “It [history textbook] tends to be about dead white men from their perspective.” Joe made similar comments. “What they put in the textbook is white male opinions as to how the United States evolved.” Likewise, Eric pointed out the same characteristic feature of history textbook by giving a more elaborate response:

You are going to see the history of the White man. History before 1964 was probably written by White Anglo-Saxon protestant men. But, the 1964 civil law act, you are going to see more pictures of women, you are going to see more pictures of African-Americans, you are going to see more pictures of Native-Americans.

D. Controversial Issues From the participants’ perspectives, school textbook authors avoid including controversial issues and topics such as the racism, suffering, and discrimination that minorities went through. School textbooks depict America nicely, leaving out and ignoring minority groups’ experiences. As such, they silence minorities’ voices but privilege the White men’s actions in the past by hiding their atrocities and discriminations committed against people of color. For this reason, textbooks present an incomplete or half story of the US. They do not tell a real story. For example, Ryan just touched on this aspect of history textbook by saying, “There is no controversy in textbooks.” Emily’s response reflected a cogent perspective on textbooks. “It leaves out different groups, minorities, women or other contributors. But, what was really going on? So, it seems to be lacking experiences and characters as well as the overall picture, whereas academic books are good.” Joe was the most critical of the presentation of information in history textbooks. He argued,

The discipline can get into the issues why, I think [the] school textbook stays away from the issues about racism and things that make America look bad. They will not put controversial issues in the school textbook. They will not tell us the real story. Schools are not going to use real academic books ... If you talk to Native-Americans, they are going to say, you know, I have never seen a school textbook that talks about, they paint a nice picture, they came over here and took Native-American's land and treat them harshly. They will say yes, but we bring Christianity over here. But, they don't really, school does not want to talk about the fact that they did not want to be Christians, then just kill them off and all this sort of stuff.

E. Depth Versus Breadth in Presentation Academic books treat topics in depth by providing more explanations for how events happened in history, whereas textbooks are superficial and fact-driven. Eric stated, "The academic history books tend to provide a little bit more explanations of events. History books used at high school level are probably going to be more concise and fact-driven." Likewise, John argued, "In college history, you can dig a lot deeper because it is more of a concentrated area ... The college textbook again goes more in depth about one particular subject matter in a broader way." Touching on the time constraint, Emily stated, "High school textbooks especially give a really broad overview as American history is covered only in one semester ... It is just the level of depth. High school textbooks are just giving the taste or so." Julia also made similar comments. She said, "Secondary is a broad overview of history ... and deals primarily with the surface of the issues or topics. Academic books generally take a much more focused approach."

F. Level of Language The level of language used by academic history and school history textbooks is different. Whereas textbook is written at a lower reading level, academic history books demand a higher reading level and require more patience and persistence. John said, "The language written at a college level is basically different. It requires you sometimes to read more ... The textbook that we use is, of course, on a lower reading level." Katie also pointed out the sophisticated level of reading. "Academic history textbooks are obviously at higher reading level, require more patience, require more persistence to read." Likewise, Julia stated, "Academic books deal with language that is more specific to the historians' world. Secondary books have to be on a much lower reading level."

G. Style of Presentation Textbooks have more pictures, charts, and graphs; that is, they are visual but less demanding in terms of reading. In addition, they have more practice activities and questions for students to do, that is, they are more student-centered. Pointing out the visual appearance of the books, Eric said, "The difference primarily the language that I mean pictures, graphs, charts is used, and the number of pictures that are in." Katie also highlighted the same point. "School textbooks are a lot more visual, have more practice,

have a lot of reading that has to go on in this section.” Sara made similar comment on the visual attractiveness of school textbooks. “A lot of the school history textbooks have activities, a lot of pictures, a lot of charts, a lot of diagrams, even questions for students to ponder. I see the regular textbooks being more student-centered and give students more things to do.”

H. Quality of Presentation Whereas academic books are regarded as exciting and interesting because of the inclusion of multiple perspectives, textbooks are seen as dull, boring, and dry because they fail to present multiple perspectives on historical issues. Nick said, “Some books are very powerful and intriguing. Other history books, most academic history books really are.” Likewise, Anna stated, “I just think history book, in general of secondary level, tend to be mundane, and tend to be uninspired. And I want to see different perspectives.”

Sources of Information Academic history books draw on many sources and have many quotations which make the voice or perspective clear and discernable. On the other hand, textbooks usually fail to provide quotations. John said, “It extracts information from various sources and chronicles, more documentations. You won’t see any quotations within our textbook. They refer back to other books.” Emily also highlighted the same difference between college books and school history textbook. She said, “College history books, there is hundreds of footnotes and different sources whereas history textbooks or American history textbook companies are much more limited.”

Influence on Publication As opposed to academic history books that are more independent of external institutional forces, the content of history textbooks are determined largely by the state through the establishment of textbook standards. History textbooks have to take the state’s educational mission and philosophical orientation into account in order to be recognized and certified by the state educational department. For this reason, the author of the textbook has to comply with the state’s perspective on history or what type of history books the state officials want. Nick said, “High school textbooks, what they do as they go around and they look and they see what does the government of each day want their kids to learn. And then, they have to put together textbooks that reflect that.” Likewise, Ryan pointed out the relationship between the state’s official view of history and the driving force behind textbook production, a vested interest in profit. He said, “If you make a book, a history book, and you write it from a certain perspective because it is what you believe. And the administration of the state of Caprino [Pseudonym] does not go from that perspective, they are not buying your book, you are not making any money.” Mary also commented on the influence of the state standards on textbook production. She said, “We just adopted as a textbook. It is based around the state standards, so they hit only what the state tells them to hit and they don’t hit the other things that the state does not tell them to hit.”

Overall Goal for Publication Whereas academic history books are basically concerned with the advancement of scholarship and the soundness of a conceptual framework, the driving impetus for the production of history textbooks basically stems from the capitalist incentive to make profit. Ryan said that textbook producers have to pay attention to the state administrators' perspective on history if they are going to sell their books. Likewise, Joe stated, "School textbooks are written to make money. And if you want people to buy, then you have got to print it so that it paints America to be [a nice] society." Referring to school textbook production, Nick said, "This is all the profit market. And so, if you want to make a lot of money, you have to sell textbooks in as many states as possible."

How Textbooks Are Used History textbooks are seen and used as the primary source of information in secondary history classrooms, whereas history books are not treated that way but seen as just one source among many other sources. Eric said, "Textbooks have a tendency to be the primary source of information that teachers are able to hand to students." Mary made a similar comment. "I hate textbooks. I think often textbooks are used as the Bible of history."

Intellectual Blindness Versus Critical Thinking Whereas academic books boost critical thinking, textbooks produce and foster intellectual blindness. According to the participants, textbooks are responsible, in part, for American people being politically illiterate. Mary said, "Disciplinary history makes you think, a lot more critical thinking." Nick thought that textbooks stay as a big impediment in front of raising enlightened citizens. He said, "I think that Americans are one of the most politically illiterate groups in the world. It is something I come up with over the last few years and it has to do with the textbooks." For this reason, Nick considered textbooks to be useless for teaching.

Teachers' Perspectives on Differences Between History Teachers and Academic Historians

According to teachers' responses, academic historians differ from history teachers in terms of their professional orientations, pedagogical skills and practices, specialization or level of expertise, type of instruction, treatment of subject matter, type of student population in both settings, the nature of relationship with students, and the context or working conditions.

Professional Orientation: Research Versus Teaching Academic historians do research through primary sources, using them while teaching, writing a thesis, a book, or an article on a particular topic, and producing their own theories, explanations, and interpretations of events, that is, there is an originality of explanations and subjective component in their works. On the other hand, history teachers teach rather than do research. Their main job is to teach, to serve to students, or pass on knowledge or views to students. They usually teach by

means of textbooks, do not talk much about theories because reality governs their days, focus more on practical issues, and have more routines to do. Katie said, "History teachers, their job is basically, I would say, serving to their students." Eric gave a more specific answer by making a distinction between the roles of academicians and history teachers. He said, "Professional academicians will be more likely to be involved in research. High school history teachers have a tendency to be more a messenger, passing along knowledge, passing along a view." Nick considered doing research as a big factor differentiating historians from history teachers. "Knowledge, skills, and attitudes are very different. If you are in high school, you are not really a researcher." Similarly, Julia said, "Historians are highly trained in research ... more concerned with why than what. History teachers are more concerned with what than why." David pointed out the historians' interest in developing theories and writing scholarly books. He said that academic historians deal with "one event in history and research it and then write a book about it. I think then they look at all the facts and then they come up with their theory or their explanation, their interpretation of the event." Likewise, Ryan also saw writing as one of the roles of historians instead of teachers. He said, "What do historians do when they write their books? We do not write long theses or history volumes. We could I guess, but we don't. That's not where the focus of our job is." Joe argued that history teachers are dependent on textbooks, so they teach the curriculum via a textbook, whereas "academic historians are going to dig into the facts ... find primary resources and they get different people's opinions ... do research and look at historical topics differently and try to put all of things together."

Pedagogical Skills and Practices (As Part of Professional Orientation) According to teachers' responses, academic historians do not have to possess and practice pedagogical content knowledge and skills as much as history teachers. On the other hand, history teachers should make history interesting and fun to students. They have to help history come alive in some way or another. They have to catch students' attention, keep them entertained, and make history relevant to their lives in order to get them involved and engaged with history. They have to take their students' learning styles into account and also manage their behaviors. That is, history teachers have to play more roles such as acting as a teacher, as a counselor, as a baby-sitter, as an entertainer and so on. Nick's comment focused on the motivational roles of the history teacher. He said, "I have got to figure out the way to keep them entertained, keep it going." Anna stressed the history teacher's effort to get the kids involved with the information. Emily emphasized the mundane duties and the routine responsibilities of the teacher by stating, "In academia, you are focusing on your subject ... I don't talk about theories and history. But, the reality is my day as taking notes from the kids and dealing with attendance and discipline issues and management." Taking into account students' characteristics, Mary more cogently explained the difference between historians and history teachers in terms of the role of pedagogy in history teaching. She said,

I teach kids that hate history, so, you have to make it fun. You have got to play games with them and have got to try to relate it to their own lives a lot more than I think academics do ... I have to be more than just a history teacher. You know, I am a disciplinarian, I am a baby-sitter, I am a coach, I am a counselor. You know, and they just can't focus on teaching history and learning more about history, writing about history, and researching history, so I have to put on more roles than just a history teacher.

Specialization or the Level of Expertise Academic historians develop expertise in history by specializing in a particular period or topic, have a more extensive knowledge base in a given historical era than history teachers have, and thus have one subject era to cover. On the other hand, history teachers are not specialized on a particular time period or event, they have to possess a survey-like knowledge base in order to teach a broad spectrum of the content area, so they need to find more resources, teaching materials and aids to be able cover a large number of topics in different historical periods. Referring to historians, Katie said, "The amount of specific knowledge that they know about certain things, they are more focused on certain areas." Likewise, Julia stated, "History teachers generally have a broad knowledge of history. We are trained in all areas and time periods of history. Very seldom do you find a history teacher that has an area of expertise." Seeing expertise as underpinning one of the characteristics of academic historians, David said,

Historians usually concentrate on one particular area of expertise, be it one period, or one war, or like the French revolution, and I think if you are doing this at the college level, university level, you need to be an expert in one period ... So, professional historians focus on a small area and learn that in depth whereas high school teachers, public school teachers, just have to learn as much about all of these as they possibly can.

John also pointed out specialization or level of expertise as a distinguishing factor between historians and history teachers. He said, "College professors focus on areas where they are specialized. Here at the high school level, we have to cover so much more information. We teach not one particular subject area but a broad spectrum of subject area." For this reason, John thought that the level of knowledge academic historians have in a given historical area is far broader than that possessed by high school history teachers. Sara made similar comments. She said, "Academic historians usually have a time period in history that they focus in on and they just become experts in that area ... History teacher has a general knowledge about all aspects of history."

Type of Instruction According to John, academic historians' instructional repertoire is much more limited in comparison to that of history teachers. Academic historians generally teach through lecture without frequently practicing interactive teaching methods. But, history teachers use diverse instructional methods and materials.

Their level of instruction, in how they instruct their courses. In many cases in college, I had professors who were lecturers. Lecturing format is probably what I had most in college. I had very few classes in which, [*brief pause*] it was a historical interactive course ... There weren't probably any visual aids given to visual students so, in high school, we have visual stimulus, things to stimulate that thought process.

Transition?

Treatment of Topics: The Level of Depth Because of their specialization on a particular time period, academic historians can focus on depth by providing more detailed information about a specific topic or event, look at issues from different perspectives, and let students confront multiple perspectives on a given issue. But history teachers cannot teach history through in-depth treatment of topics because of the tests and coverage-oriented, factual curriculum. Referring to historians, Ryan said, "They go into a much greater depth than we do certainly in most things. In certain areas, researchers go into greater depth than we do." Likewise, John stated, "In college history, you can dig a lot deeper because it is more of concentrated area and a concentrated folks on one particular area." Emphasizing the time constraint on high school history teaching, Mary said, "There is a very short amount of time, so, you don't get depth, so depth is a big difference."

Type of Students and the Nature of Relationship with Students From teachers' perspectives, the student population that academic historians have is different from the one history teachers have. That is, the characteristics of students are different in two settings. The student population is more diverse or heterogeneous in secondary school history classrooms than in history departments at universities, especially in terms of their abilities, motivations, interests, and maturity levels. In contrast to academic historians, who usually have students who are highly interested in history, history teachers have many students who hate history, finding it boring. Emphasizing differences among her classes, Sara said, "What is going to take you to teach that group of students, what it takes me to teach my second block can be different from what it takes me to teach the third block or fourth block, so there are a lot of differences between what is done in high school and what is done in college." Drawing attention to the reading level of students, Julia said, "We are dealing with some students who do not read much about a 6th grade reading level. I would think it would be difficult to utilize the characteristics of academic history books with that population." Mary pointed out the motivational levels of students. She said, "I teach the commoner and the academic historian is going to teach the story lovers. I teach kids that hate history ... That's another big difference who you are teaching to." According to Katie, as opposed to teaching in college, teaching history in secondary schools requires more interaction and more interpersonal relationship with students. She said:

It takes a different person to be high school or middle school teacher than academic historian. Some of my professors, I don't think they would derive or enjoy themselves in the high school or middle school, just not as much into the working with people as they are working with, you know, the books and things like that.

The Context and Working Conditions From the participants' perspectives, history teachers work under a more constraining environment or working conditions than academic historians. They are less independent of the external factors affecting education. They have less flexibility or freedom to select topics to teach, but have more mandates to comply with and more constraints on their teaching such as standards and tests. They are more isolated in their teaching and they thus do not have opportunity to argue with each other about topics in history. They also are confronted with problems in the process of socializing students into society. They face such problems as parents or community interference in their teaching. History teachers also do not have the time and means to develop themselves professionally in their field.

Emily talked about the time constraint on high school teachers' teaching. She said, "The actual time dedicated to history if I taught would be minimum compared to college course. You are so limited by ... the time spent in the class." Seeing the lack of opportunity for history teachers to develop themselves professionally as a problem, Anna stated, "We don't have the time, you know, the means are not always available to really get into the academic research part." John's attention focused on the state mandates. He said, "In high school level, we have mandates ... He [college professor] did not have anything hanging over here, it says, here are the mandates that you have to cover before the end of semester ... And that's probably the biggest difference." Likewise, Mary also mentioned the negative influences of the external mandates on teachers' teaching. She said, "The biggest factor is this test ... The tests dictate what I have to teach them. And even sometimes they dictate the perspective that I have to teach ... I have one semester to teach all of US history and make sure that they pass a comprehensive test on US history." The implicit implication of these constraints is that teachers are not recognized as professionals with autonomy but rather as technicians to put the government's policy into practice whilst being kept under constant control by the government and state educational departments.

Qualification for Teaching History There is another finding that does not fit well into the above categories. Nick drew attention to the issue related to teacher qualification in teaching school history. Nick was critical of those teachers who do not have sufficient preparation for teaching history but happen to teach history in secondary schools. He contended that some history teachers do not have the attitude or disposition to develop themselves professionally, lack sufficient training and skills necessary for doing research, for example, writing, gathering and analyzing data, and are not qualified to teach AP classes. He explained his viewpoint as follows:

The other differences that require a few people in high schools to teach history who don't really know anything about it. They are here for other purposes primarily ... High school teachers, on average, have substantially less knowledge of the content. They don't have the skills for writing, for gathering of the data, for the analysis of the data, for writing about history. And they don't have the attitude, oh, that's what I want to do, in fact, you might have the attitude of what is important. They don't want to do that ... You can ask a high school history teacher what they are reading. Some of them may read history. But, what history did they read? Did they read analytical history or did they just read stories about what happened, what people just say, this happened, this happened ... How many of them are acquainted with the history of the other parts of the world? A lot of people, they take, studied American history and they maybe took two courses outside the American history area. How many people in the United States who teach American history know anything about Turkish history, "The Emergence of Modern Turkey [Book written by Bernard Lewis]?" I would say that we would be lucky to get one percent, you know, they might say, oh, the name Kemal Ataturk, they might be able to say, oh, I know about him. What did they know about him? They know the name. They know the name and they probably say, oh, he is the George Washington of Turkey. Well, I guess for an American that might be a good start.

As the above quotation indicates, this teacher was conscious of the fact that his view of history teachers is at odds with other teachers' views.

CONCLUSION

Teachers see differences between academic history as a discipline at universities and school history as a subject in secondary schools in terms of orientations, presentations, the settings or the context in which history is taught and learned, and the resources used. They view disciplinary history as more specialized, more depth-oriented, theoretical and research-oriented, that is, aimed at enhancing historical scholarship by producing knowledge, more focused on professional standards and techniques, and more critical. On the other hand, they see school history as characterized by a coverage-oriented curriculum such as survey-like courses, more pedagogical and teaching-oriented (i.e., concerned with how to make history comprehensible for secondary school students whose developmental levels and learning styles need to be accommodated), and less critical. Teachers are generally suspicious of textbooks, and view them negatively in terms of their effects on history education. They see differences in academic and school textbooks in terms of the presentation of information, for example, the perspective, owner of the perspective, style of presentation, quality of presentation, sources of information, treatment of controversial issues, external influences on publication, goals of publication, and the ways they are used. Likewise, they see differences between academic historians and history teachers in terms of their professional orientations, pedagogical skills and practices, level of expertise, types of instruction, treatment of subject matter, types of student population, the nature of relationship with students, and the working conditions.

DISCUSSION

When teachers compared the two types of history, as a subject and as a discipline, they stated that there are sharp differences in orientations, presentations of history, and working conditions. They said, whereas historians do research through primary sources, social studies teachers teach by means of textbooks rather than do research. From their perspectives, since reality governs their days, they focus on practical issues rather than theoretical ones. As their responses showed, most research participants tended to distance themselves from the intellectual and theoretical foundations of history and failed to see their relevancy to teaching school history. However, social studies teachers are supposed to have a satisfactory understanding of the subject they are teaching, including its theoretical and conceptual foundations. Many studies have presented convincing evidence to support the assertion that one of the prerequisites for effective teaching is to have a good understanding of the subject matter's substantive and syntactic features. If the efforts aimed at improving the quality of teaching are to be successfully realized, they should be grounded in disciplinary communities.²⁷ As to the role of syntactic subject matter knowledge in teaching, Pamela Grossman, Suzanne M. Wilson, and Lee S. Shulman contended:

Novice teachers who lack knowledge of the syntactic structures of the subject matter fail to incorporate that aspect of the discipline in their curriculum. We believe that they consequently run the risk of misrepresenting the subject matters they teach ... Teachers who do not understand the role played by inquiry in their disciplines are not capable of adequately representing and, therefore, teaching that subject matter to their students.²⁸

The above quotation implies that social studies teachers need to understand the syntactic structures of history along with its theoretical frameworks to teach their subjects effectively. But the research participants in this study generally did not see the relevancy of the syntactic or theoretical foundations of history to their teaching.

Teachers' answers to interview questions present a clue as to the reasons why they tended to neglect disciplinary history. Teachers stated that they are not a historian but a teacher who is dealing with the practical world rather than the theoretical one. This kind of response implies that there is not much value in bothering themselves with theoretical foundations of history as a discipline. For instance, Ryan said, "Don't give me a model ... I do not want any more books like that because ... They are not good. They do me no good. They do

²⁷ Lee S. Shulman, "Teaching as Community Property: Putting an End to Pedagogical Solitude." *Change* 25, no. 6 (1993): 6-7.

²⁸ Pamela Grossman, Suzanne M. Wilson, and Lee S. Shulman, "Teachers of Substance: Subject Matter Knowledge for Teaching." In Maynard C. Reynolds, (Ed.), *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), 23-36.

not help teaching. If you want to fix education, it is not about a model.” This research participant’s response supports the earlier research findings that teachers’ beliefs, conceptions, and perspectives should be taken into account in curricular or instructional reforms if there should be a difference in how school subjects are taught and learned effectively.²⁹

History constitutes the biggest part of social studies curriculum at secondary school level in the USA. This is not universal, so an adequate understanding of how different historical frameworks construct historical knowledge should be an important component of social studies teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge. As Bruce A. VanSledright argued, teaching history effectively requires teachers to have “deep knowledge of their discipline and robust understandings of how to teach it.”³⁰ As Fischer noted: “Only those who have the knowledge and understanding of this discipline” can pave the ways for improving the quality of history teaching.³¹ If students’ historical literacy is to be improved, they should know how history is practiced by historians or why “historians disagree and there are multiple versions of the past.”³² Students are expected to develop “disciplinary understandings” as a prerequisite to becoming independent thinkers about history (National Research Council 2005). The historical literacy of students will be poor if they lack the epistemological and methodological tools necessary to question and evaluate what is called historical facts known by everybody.³³ Those who teach history to students “need to be cognizant of different modes of historical writing or historical orientations in order to assist students in handling conflicting accounts of the past.”³⁴

To that end, it is essential that a course on historiography be introduced to social studies education departments in teacher education, so that pre-service social studies teachers can have an opportunity to read, discuss, and change their conceptions of history by means of different approaches to interpreting the past. Alternatively, a course on history education may also be one of the prerequisites in certifying teachers to teach history in secondary schools. That kind of course needs to be taught from a disciplinary perspective. In designing

²⁹ Linda M McNeil, *Contradictions of Control: School Structure and School Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 1988); Stephen J. Thornton, “Teachers as curricular-instructional gatekeeper in social studies.” In James P. Shaver (Ed.), *Handbook of research on social studies teaching and learning: A project of the National Council for the Social Studies* (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 197–209.

³⁰ Bruce A. VanSledright, “Closing the Gap Between School and Disciplinary History?: Historian as High School History Teacher.” *Advances in Research on Teaching* 6 (1996): 257.

³¹ Fritz Fischer, “Preparation of Future History Teachers: The History Departments’ Role.” *Perspectives* 44, no. 9 (2006).

³² Caroline Hoefflerle, “Teaching Historiography to High School and Undergraduate Students.” *OAH Magazine of History* (2007), 41.

³³ Denis Shemilt, “The Gods of the Copybook Headings: Why Don’t We Learn from the Past?” In Lukas Perikleous and Denis Shemilt (Eds). *The Future of the Past: Why History Education Matters*. (Nicosia: Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, 2011), 69.

³⁴ Kaya Yilmaz, “Postmodernism and its Challenge to the Discipline of History: Implications for History Education.” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42, no. 7 (2010): 789.

such a course, there should be collaboration between social studies educators in colleges of education and historians in colleges of arts and sciences. Historians should be involved in developing social studies curriculum and standards at elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Putting this suggestion into practice is not an easy endeavor because of unfavorable attitudes of social studies educators toward a disciplinary approach to teaching history. Unfortunately, many social studies educators are not well acquainted with different historical orientations to the past. One of the most important reasons why many social studies educators and teachers are reluctant to benefit from disciplinary history or historiography is that the majority of them do not have training in disciplinary history and have little understanding of how professional historians engage in historical research.

In a review of research on history teaching, Suzanne M. Wilson found that many social studies teachers lacked content knowledge and less than 50% had a major or minor in history.³⁵ Drawing attention to the same point, Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen stated, "Few teacher educators are engaged in scholarly research in any discipline and may have little understanding of what historians and social scientists do as scholars."³⁶ Also, a lot of teacher educators continue to teach outside their area of major expertise and many of them did not take a satisfactory number of college level history courses.³⁷ Peter Stearns also argued, "Social studies professionals vary, but many are quite hostile to any of the major history goals, which compounds real learning dilemmas for students and teachers alike."³⁸ What is more, they are suspicious of the suggestions made by historians or educational historians on history education because of their biases against the idea of teaching history in a disciplinary way. They prefer to teach it as one of the strands of social studies, which some historians call a contrived school subject that lacks a disciplinary understanding.³⁹ Because social studies educators are the ones who are training pre-service teachers to teach history, making a change in the quality of history teaching in schools inevitably necessitates addressing their ungrounded negative attitude toward disciplinary based approach to teaching history. The gulf

³⁵ Suzanne M. Wilson, "Research on History Teaching." In Virginia Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of research on Teaching* (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2001), 527–544.

³⁶ G. Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen, "A Catwalk across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course." In Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 156–177.

³⁷ Bruce A. VanSledright, "Historical Study, the heritage curriculum, and Educational Research." *Issues in Education* 4, no. 2 (1998): 243–250.

³⁸ Peter N. Stearns, "Putting Learning Research to Work: The Next Step in History Teaching." *Issues in Education* 4, no. 2 (1998): 238.

³⁹ Peter Seixas, "Review of Research on Social Studies." In Virginia Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2001), 545–565.

that divides social studies educators and historians and the dissonance between them should be addressed as well.

Another important issue that came to the fore in this research study is the effluence of contextual factors and working conditions on teachers' perspectives and behaviors. As described in the research findings, teachers made negative comments on the state-mandated standardized tests in terms of their effects on social studies teaching. Of all teachers, Joe and Mary seem to be most negatively affected by state-mandated curriculum and standardized tests.

Mary stated, "The tests dictate what I have to teach them, and even sometimes they dictate the perspective that I have to teach ... I have one semester to teach all of US history and make sure that they pass a comprehensive test on US history."

Ryan stated, "You know, so-called fix education ... You can't fix [it] with the standardized multiple-choice tests. You can't fix it by fixing your graduation rate. That's stupid. It's politics. It is not education."

Likewise, Joe pointed out the negative effects of state-mandated testing on his teaching by saying, "School history is test-driven. There is the state that sets up standards and says this is what students should know about history to graduate from high school. School history teaches what is in this book so that students can pass the test."

These and other teachers' statements indicated that as external mandates standardized testing "steers the curriculum development in the classroom," forces teachers to leave out and select topics depending on whether students' knowledge of those topics is tested by standardized tests, which, as George F. Madaus asserted, influences or determines what is taught, how it is taught, what is learned, and how it is learned.⁴⁰ So, this study confirms the previous research findings that there is a strong relationship between state testing and teachers' thinking and practices.⁴¹

We also need to evaluate the extent to which the objectives of standardized tests are consistent with those of social studies education in order to avoid falling short of realizing the goals of social studies curricula and instruction. The components of social studies, that is, its content, its instructional methods, its activities and assignments, and its assessment measures, should be planned and implemented in a way that is consistent with social studies goals.⁴² But there isn't a match between the objectives of these tests and those of social studies education. For instance, the following objectives that social studies education is supposed to accomplish cannot be assessed by standardized tests: showing concern for the welfare and dignity of others; community improvement

⁴⁰ George F. Madaus, "The Influence of Testing on the Curriculum." In Laurel N. Tanner (Ed.), *Critical Issues in Curriculum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 83.

⁴¹ Sandra Mathison, "Assessment in Social Studies: Moving Toward Authenticity." In Ross, E. Wayne (Ed.), *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

⁴² Janet Alleman and Jere Brophy, "The changing nature and purpose of assessment in the social studies classroom." *Social Education* 63, no. 6 (1999): 334-337.

through active, democratic participation; rationality in communication, thought, and action; understanding problems of international relations; and reasoned commitment to the values that sustain a free society.⁴³

Therefore, to accomplish the aims of schooling in general and those of social studies education in particular, we should establish and maintain balance and consistency among curriculum, instruction, and assessment. Lastly and most importantly, since one of the major shortcomings in the research on teachers' conceptions of history has been the failure of social studies educators to recognize the importance of historiography when conducting research on history education, we need more studies on teachers' conceptions of history in order to more deeply explore the implications of historiography for history education.⁴⁴

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⁴³National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) “NCSS Position Statement on Testing and Evaluation of Social Studies Students. Position Statement and Guidelines,” 1991.

⁴⁴Kaya Yilmaz, “Historical Empathy and its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools.” *History Teacher* 40 (2007): 331–337.

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“But They Can’t Do That!” Practical Approaches to Engage South African Primary School Pupils in Historical Learning

Rob Siebörger

INTRODUCTION

The 1980s was a bleak decade in South Africa as the struggle against apartheid entered its final stages yet no one knew when the end would come.¹ It was as bleak in the primary school classrooms as it was in the rural reserves, townships, and cities. Schools were very poorly built and resourced, classes were large, and teachers were often inadequately trained. Relatively little time was spent in teaching history, geography, and science. History mainly involved rote learning and memorization, together with “filling in the missing word(s).”² It was considered a significant innovation when a crude form of multiple-choice tests in history was introduced into primary schools at the time.

¹The African National Congress was unbanned on 2 February 1990 and Nelson Mandela was released from prison on 11 February 1990. On 27 April 1994 the first democratic elections in South Africa were held. Nelson Mandela was inaugurated as President of South Africa on 10 May 1994.

²Teachers commonly provided notes that had key names, dates, and places left out, to be filled in by the students, which was often the only activity they encountered in history classes (sometimes mistakenly referred to as cloze procedure).

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The quest to reclaim the classroom as a site of learning began in the mid-1980s with “alternative” and “Peoples’ history” initiatives and materials.³ Most of these projects neglected the primary school, for several reasons. English was officially the language of instruction and of the textbooks from year five (Standard 3) onwards, but in most black schools the level of fluency was so low that there was little English spoken in the classes.⁴ The classes were large, which meant that the teachers had too little time to give individual assistance or to mark work properly, a circumstance which led many teachers to concentrate on language and mathematics and to neglect the hour or two a week that was meant for history. The content of the history curriculum was also foreign to both teachers and children.⁵ While there was some local history (invariably interpreted from the white colonial point of view), there were also large sections on ancient Greece and Rome and the Middle Ages in year five, the first year in which history was taught as a school subject.

The challenge then was to respond to the mindless repetition and very low comprehension that characterized classroom history, by engaging children in activities that they could actually understand and do themselves without the exercises being inappropriate to their ages and intelligence. This chapter poses as a key question what the precursors to historical thinking in children are and how one can stimulate its nascent development. It examines what began as experiments in family history, new styles of textbooks, games and simulations, and stories from pictures, and it concludes by evaluating what characterizes these approaches and what their possible contribution to historical learning is. There was, however, no systematic program or set of theoretical beliefs that neatly tied these experiments in historical learning. They were born of the need to find a means of teaching history to children with limited English literacy and poor educational opportunity in a way that might develop historical thinking and the construction of their own knowledge, in place of received content and repetition.

³For an overview, see Luli Callinicos, “Popular History in the Eighties,” and Melanie Walker, “History and History Teaching in Apartheid South Africa,” in *History from South Africa Alternative Visions and Practices*, ed. Joshua Brown et al. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 257–276. Those seeking to provide alternatives included the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED), some textbook writers and publishers, university academics at the liberal universities, and many local progressive organizations. Walker, “History and History Teaching,” 274–276.

⁴“Black” is used here to indicate schools for African children under the policy of apartheid (typically referred to in official terminology as “Bantu education”). It includes three categories of state school: those in urban townships, those in rural “homelands,” and those in the so-called independent homelands.

⁵Teachers were poorly prepared for teaching. Many had not completed high school, the average training for primary school teachers was two years at a teacher training college, and little attention was paid to the content of school subjects. They were given some grounding in classroom instruction, which in the case of history teaching seldom went beyond being able to read out of a textbook and write on the chalkboard, to classes where few children had copies of the book.

ABOUT FAMILIES

The chapter presents a retrospective analysis of a series of practical interventions with primary school age children in the 1980s and 1990s.⁶ One of the early initiatives was to develop empathetic and investigative means to teach family history, a topic which was often included in syllabuses for years four or five.⁷ The purpose provided for the materials that were subsequently published was that:

[f]amily history gives pupils a chance to learn about the past in a way that is meaningful to them. Most history is about things they know nothing about (especially when they are young). In family history they know something already. Family history is not history that has to be learned, it has to be investigated, and pupils can enjoy finding out about the history of their families and the families of other members of the class. [It] can help pupils to develop a sense of worth, a sense of identity, a sense that we all “belong,” whatever kinds of families we have. It can develop respect for the differences between pupils and an understanding of why those differences exist. For the teacher, it provides an opportunity to get to know pupils and their families better.⁸

The specific skills and values to be promoted through family history were listed as increasing children’s vocabulary, creative expression, interpretation of different kinds of evidence, the sense of time and of dates, and “mutual understanding” (fostering self-respect and respect for others, improving relationships between people of differing cultural traditions, understanding conflict and dealing with it, and developing an appreciation of how people depend on each other).

The core of the approaches was that the students themselves needed to be actively involved in all the crucial decisions and that their opinions overrode the teacher’s opinions. The first of these was to create a definition of a family which would be acceptable to every child in a class. This they did first through an information sharing exercise about different families (e.g. TV families, families in books and films, families in the news, royal families, cartoon families, families in songs) and then by looking at a set of different pictures and sharing ideas in groups about whether the people in the photographs constituted a

⁶The late 1980s and the 1990s was a time of unusual opportunity for curriculum innovation in South Africa as the old education structures gave way to new. The impetus for change in primary school history came to an abrupt halt in 1998 with the introduction of a national curriculum referred to as *Curriculum 2005*. It was replaced by a vastly improved history curriculum in 2002, the *Revised National Curriculum Statements: Social Sciences*, which in its turn was replaced by the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement: Social Sciences* in 2011. These curricula have removed the space for experimentation almost entirely. Crucially, none has paid any serious attention to the question of how to promote historical learning with younger children, especially those who lack language fluency.

⁷Officially ages nine and ten, though there might have been wide variations within classes.

⁸Primary History Project, *Teaching About Families. Ideas for Primary History Teachers* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1996), 4.

“family” or not and why. The final “A family is ...” statement that was created was inevitably long, so as to accommodate all views. It can easily be imagined that the children did not need strong writing skills to do this, as the teacher could mediate and that there was abundant opportunity for code switching between home languages and English.

Researching families began with objects brought into the class by the teacher, starting with a bag of contemporary (a pipe, a walking stick, a money box, for example) items that would easily be associated with various family members and having them identified and discussed. It was followed by each child bringing a bag of five items from home. The bags were then distributed randomly in the class. Each child made up a sentence (written or oral) about the other family, based on the bag they had received. The next research item involved a fairly standard interview of an older person, with a strong emphasis on compiling the questions together (“What was the best/worst time of your life?” “Are the customs the same today as when you were young?” “What was the important story/news in your time?”). Additional tasks were to create a timeline of the important events mentioned in the interview (notes attached by clothes pegs to a line, which could be written by the teacher) and acting a story from the interview. If there was more than one person to interview they could compare the answers to the same questions. A concluding (and much enjoyed) activity was drawing outlines of their hands, each to represent a family member and writing five things on the fingers to convey information about that person (e.g. Granny: Granny walks slowly; she likes to talk; I like her smell ...).

A family tree diagram was the final part of the unit, as by then the agreed definition of a family would have been firmly established in the class and students should have been less embarrassed when having to come to terms with sad or uncomfortable realities or gaps in their information about their families. The task involved asking them to write down who was in their family (to be decided entirely at their own choice, with no pressure to include or exclude anyone, even pets). They then drew a circle in the middle of a page and put themselves plus anyone who was very close to them in it (usually those living in the same place). After that, the other family members were located in circles further from the center but linked with a line, for example, from “Mom” to “Gran,” her mother. There might also be horizontal connecting lines. Every diagram was different, and they were all valued for their specific uniqueness. Students could follow this, if wished, by making a fictional “family collage” in pairs or groups with pictures from magazines, cut out to tell a story of a family. It gave everyone the chance to live out some fantasy about a family and to end on a very positive note.

One of the things realized very early on was that the teachers needed to be taught about family history as much as the children did. It was crucial to be able to model the kind of teaching expected at teacher workshops if one wanted the approaches to be successful. What was particularly important was for them to grasp that they were facilitators not instructors. They had to resign all the

decision-making to the children and accept what they came up with (whether they personally liked it or not). This ran counter to their training and practice. It was a lesson that would need to be learned again and again in future projects.

PRINTED TEXT

The textbooks used in the 1980s and 1990s were text heavy despite the weak reading ability and the poor knowledge of English of most primary schoolers. Ironically, they were even more text oriented than the books for white mother tongue English speakers. In most cases the illustrations contained did not fit the context of the text well, nor did they specifically illuminate it. It was obvious to all that a different kind of textbook was required.

A small number of alternative textbooks were published in the early 1990s.⁹ They were not widely accepted for prescription in schools and as such represented something of a publishing risk for the publishers, which meant that they depended heavily on black and white artists' copies for illustrations, but they were printed on far better quality paper than the mass market books that were approved by the (apartheid) education departments for black schools.¹⁰ Another significant development was that these were the first South African school history books to be accompanied by a teacher's book, which discussed the historical background of each lesson, provided teaching suggestions, gave the answers to activities, and included detailed notes on historical vocabulary.¹¹

The format of the books was simple. There is a double page spread for each lesson with everything required for the lesson on it. Each of the lessons was unique in content, style, and layout, though there were themes that were developed through each book. The year five book¹² was the most groundbreaking, and the other books in the series expanded on its approaches.

Pages 1 and 2 consisted of one large picture across the pages and approximately 60 words of simple text that a teacher could read fairly easily with a class. The instructions were to look at the picture (a group of early adults and

⁹This discussion is based on the *Making History* series of books, particularly Lorraine Marneweck, Rob Siebörger, and Louise Torr, *Making History Standard 3* (Pietermaritzburg: Centaur Publications, 1991), as they were intended specifically for Department of Education and Training (black) schools. There were other innovative alternative books at the time, intended for broader markets and aimed at higher levels of literacy, including Glynnis Clacherty and Helen Ludlow, *Looking into the Past Std 3* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 1995) and Leslie Beck et al., *In Search of History Primary Book 1* (Cape Town: Oxford, 1995).

¹⁰The market for textbooks in black schools was dominated by the Department of Education and Training (DET). Its syllabuses were used by almost all the "homeland" and "independent state" education departments and textbooks had to follow them in order to be prescribed. The alternative books tended to keep roughly to the content sequence of the syllabuses but not to the detail or pedagogy.

¹¹Lorraine Marneweck, Rob Siebörger, and Louise Torr, *Making History Standard 3 Teacher's Book* (Pietermaritzburg: Centaur Publications, 1991).

¹²Lorraine Marneweck, Rob Siebörger, and Louise Torr, *Making History Standard 3* (Pietermaritzburg: Centaur Publications 1991).

children living in a cave shelter) and talk about a list of five things to be found in it. The underlying pedagogy was that the children would be encouraged to describe and discuss in their own words the scene before them, which contained enough interest and ambiguity to enable them to speculate about how people like these had lived in the past. This was followed by a written task to underline what they thought were the important words in each of three short sentences containing observations about the picture.

Pictures and photographs played an important part in many of the lessons. A simple historical sequence in understanding the lives of transhumant pastoralists who moved with the season was constructed, for example, from three questions based on studying a picture: Why did they leave their homes? What did they take with them? What did they leave behind? One lesson began with five pictures to talk about that and then had to be matched with five sentences—which might appear to be very straightforward but there was no implicit sequence and none of the sentences directly described a picture. Another, however, used the pictures to illustrate a sequence of how people came to be enslaved. Pictures were also used to prompt the creation of conversations/dialogues, allowing for oral reasoning, rather than very restricted written responses.¹³

Developing English language ability was a prominent objective. New historical concepts were explained by pictures rather than words (though the teacher's book provided detailed written explanations). For instance, "The San and the Khoikhoi bartered with farmers. Look at the picture and answer: What did the San and the Khoikhoi use to barter? What did the farmers use to barter? What does barter mean?" Next, an account was told of early agriculturalists in ten numbered short (two or three sentence) paragraphs, which teachers could read together with the class. Children were then asked to work out the main idea in each of the paragraphs. A more traditional exercise was to ask questions on short written descriptions that emphasized interesting narrative rather than conveying purely content information, which led to speculative answers—who, what, why. One of the most popular lessons was a simple text story with pictures replacing the words at intervals and the children having to guess the missing words. The challenge to guess right and to get to the next picture first made the exercise a firm favorite in the book.

An approach used several times was to compare today with the past by means of contrasting pictures. It gave the students a reason to talk with confidence about what they could see in their own world and then to "spot the differences." The assumption was that this would assist their acquisition of the concept of time and help them to begin to differentiate more critically between categories, under the rubric that people today do not always live as people did long ago—but some do (i.e. continuity and change). Thus, a familiar scene of women working on the land in rural areas when compared with an older one led to discussion in depth of what people ate and how they prepared it, how

¹³ See, for example, John Fines et al., *Teaching Primary History* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1997), 65–75; Rosie Turner-Bisset *Creative Teaching in History* (London: David Fulton, 2005), 138–142.

they looked after their children, what implements they used, and how the landscapes differed. Similar lessons were on clothes (what do they tell about the way of life of people?), the things people made long ago, and Iron Age smelting versus working with metals today.

Such comparisons were also used in another year five textbook.¹⁴ Copies of two scenes from original sketches of Cape Town in 1832 formed part of a section on the history of transport. In one, a man, very probably a slave, was carrying two baskets attached to a long yoke on his shoulders (Indonesian style). In the other, a man, not necessarily a slave, was pushing a hand cart. Both contained vegetables or fruit. The questions asked provided a very rich discussion of how goods were transported in Cape Town at the time.¹⁵ "Which of these ways would you prefer to use? Why?" (Clues: What were the roads like? How and where did you want to sell your goods? Which could take more? Which was safer? Which was cheaper? Which would you prefer at the end of the day?) "Think of other things that might have been carried in similar ways?" (Clues: water/milk, bricks, firewood, sand; noting the contrast between using the yokes and the hand carts.) "What kinds of hand carts or barrows are used today?" "In what places?" (Clues: children usually do not need them, but teachers often do.)

The contrast between the handling of historical content knowledge in the existing books and the alternative books can best be conveyed by a comparison of extracts on the same content in two year five textbooks (based on the same syllabus).

1.2 The Hottentots—Many years ago the Bushmen moved southwards through Africa. Some of them separated from the main groups and married the Hottentots (a Hamitic race). Because of this *intermarriage* a race of people *developed* who were darker in color and also bigger than the Bushmen. This happened very long ago. Today these people are called Hottentots. They call themselves Khoi-Khoi, which means "men of men." The Hottentots also moved south into Africa when the Black and Whites came to Africa.¹⁶

Even those with scant or no knowledge of the history of South Africa will note some of the inaccuracies and racist labeling in this passage. Looking beyond that, however, it is the selection of what counts as useful knowledge and accessible language that is the immediate issue, as the parallel passage below illuminates:

How the Khoikhoi lived The San [i.e. Bushmen of the previous passage] lived a long time without any sheep or cattle. Then some of them began to get

¹⁴Rob Siebörger, Ingrid Machin, and Neville Fleurs, *Discovering History Standard 2* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1984).

¹⁵The activity has been used extensively with children, teacher education students, and teachers.

¹⁶J. Schoeman et al., *Active History Std 3* (Pretoria: De Jager-HAUM, 1985): 3.

food in different ways. They did not only hunt and find food. They started to *keep* animals. People who keep animals for food and clothing are *herders*. These people called themselves the Khoikhoi. The Khoikhoi herders kept sheep, goats and cattle. They got milk, meat and skins from them. Khoikhoi families kept their animals for themselves. This was different from the San who shared everything. The groups moved from place to place to find water and food for their animals.¹⁷

The emphasis in the alternative version is on differentiating between the hunter-gatherers and the herding people in terms of how they fed and clothed themselves, rather than by comparing them unfavorably with the colonizers.¹⁸ Being able to distinguish between and contrast categories of location and time were important objectives of the text. What it was like to live as a slave at the Cape was approached through comparing “Living in a town” and “Living on a farm.” Studying a series of pictures of each enabled the distinctions between slave and free, domestic (house) slaves, slave artisans, and slave farm laborers to be explored, as well as their gender roles and the relationships between adult and child slaves.

The companion book to this one for year six¹⁹ had more emphasis on reading the text and using it together with the information in the illustrations to answer questions. It did, however, contain some fresh approaches to preparing the ground for students to begin to operate in a more historically aware way. One of these was the use of extracts from poems or songs, such as this song describing the experience of migrant laborers going to and from the gold mines of the Witwatersrand in the late nineteenth century:

In crossing the river I became a new man,
Different from the one I was at home.
At home I was secure [safe]
But now I am on this side
I am in a place of danger
Where I may lose my life at any time.²⁰

The possibilities for empathetic questions and the use of the vernacular languages are clear, while the juxtaposition of the songs made it immediately obvious what it meant to be a migrant mine worker. Similar use was made of an

¹⁷Lorraine Marneweck, Rob Siebörger, and Louise Torr, “Making History Standard 3,” 10.

¹⁸The device surfaces again later in the book when considering the impact of the first European colonizers at the Cape: to ask how the way of life of the Khoikhoi changed with the arrival of the Dutch, under the headings of “Cattle and sheep,” “Wealth,” and “Land.”

¹⁹Lorraine Marneweck, Rob Siebörger and Louise Torr, *Making History Standard 4* (Pietermaritzburg: Centaur Publications, 1992).

²⁰An illustrative stanza from the text of Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 58. Used in the textbook by permission of Ravan Press (Luli Callinicos. *Gold and Workers.*) (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1981). A song sung by Sotho mine workers.

extract from a poem written by R.T. Caluza (1895–1969) about the Land Act of 1913 that had divided the land between black and white and created reserves, leaving only 13% of the country for Africans.

We are children of Africa
 We cry for our land ...
 Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite
 We are mad over the Land Act
 A terrible law that allows sojourners [visitors]
 To deny us our land.²¹

These texts were followed by another feature introduced in this book, the use of picture diagrams to be annotated by the students. Here it was the “Circle of Poverty” which enveloped the families of migrants, with five points of explanation accompanying the pictures.²² The book also took imaginative dialogue further. In the same on the history of mining in South Africa there were a number of examples:

- Work with a friend. Look carefully at the pictures above [of early iron mining]. Tell the story of how a spearhead was made, starting with the women collecting the iron ore.²³
- Work with a friend and pretend that you are both travelling in a wagon [pictured] on the way to work in a mine. Write down a conversation between the two of you. You might like to start it this way:

Thabo: I hope my family will be fine without me.
 Sisa: So do I! But we really need the money.

Thabo:
 Sisa:²⁴

- You are a newspaper reporter. You are visiting [the diamond mines in] Kimberley ... You visit a compound and see that it has high walls and fences. You cannot see inside, but you know that there is netting to stop the workers throwing diamonds to people outside. What do you think the workers would tell you about what it was like to live there? [Picture to illustrate.] Write down what you would write in your newspaper.²⁵

²¹ An illustrative stanza from the text of Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 35. Used in the textbook by permission of Ravan Press (Luli Callinicos. *Working Life*.) (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

²² Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 59.

²³ Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 55.

²⁴ Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 75.

²⁵ Marneweck, Siebörger, and Torr, “Making History Standard 4,” 63.

For year seven, the final year of primary school, this approach was elaborated, for instance, in the history of Krotoa.²⁶ She was the first Khokhoi person to live with the Dutch (in the 1660s), speak their language, and be baptized. Krotoa is referred to as being someone who lived between two worlds.²⁷ An imaginary conversation read:

- Krotoa: The Dutch want to barter this handful of beads for that sheep and that cow.
- A Khoikhoi herder: Tell the Dutch that these animals are worth more than a handful of beads. They are well fed and healthy.
- Krotoa: The Dutch trader says that if you do not accept his offer, he will find another herder who wants to barter these beads for his animals.
- Khoikhoi herder: I want to barter and I have walked a long way with these animals to bring them to the Dutch trader. But I think he should give me more than those few beads, and some copper as well, so that I can get some more animals to bring for barter.
- Krotoa: He says you want too much. There are many other herders who will trade their cattle for a handful of beads.²⁸

The task that followed asked the students to add a few more sentences and to try to show in them why neither the Dutch nor the Khoikhoi trusted Krotoa. After that they could elect to act out some of these three-way conversations, with the aim to show why Krotoa is caught in the middle, why each side was angry with her, and how she might have felt.

These students worked more than the year sixes did with written texts, too. By breaking the following paragraphs from a primary source up into shorter sentences and by a teacher assisting them to explore the meanings of unfamiliar words and phrases through dramatized reading and dictionary exercises, it became possible to discover beneath the layers of language a very clear and basic message about race and colonialism. The writer was Dr. John Philip, who worked to establish missions among Khokhoi people in the Eastern Cape and was a strong defender of their rights. He wrote in 1824 and 1822:

Where any class of people have been regarded as an inferior race, and when the interests of one colonist used to have more weight than the rights of four or five hundred [Khoikhoi] you cannot expect [them] to have British ideas and feelings, and it is mortifying to observe how soon even British Settlers imbibe [take up]

²⁶ Penny Berens, Margaret Dugmore, and Louise Torr, *Making History Standard 5* (Johannesburg: Heinemann Publishers, 1995).

²⁷ Candy Malherbe, *Krotoa, called 'Eva': a woman between* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1990).

²⁸ Berens, Dugmore, and Torr, "Making History Standard 5," 93.

prejudices so flattering to their pride and so favorable to their imaginary interests.

Those who criticized the backwardness and lack of civilization at the Institutions [mission stations] before, are now alarmed and indignant at the improvements. They criticize the Institutions to destroy them. What the colonists want is an excuse to disperse [spread out] the [Khoikhoi] among the farmers as servants.²⁹

The graded development envisaged by the writers of these books over the three years, beginning with a picture only and ending with this relatively sophisticated text, using the interest and involvement created by the activities as the spur for greater historical understanding, has been illustrated. The following examples are an attempt to move away from the centrality of textbooks, to create the opportunity for imagination, excitement, and hypothesis.

GAMES AND SIMULATIONS

For children who otherwise got little play in their history classes, simulation games provided a range of incidental benefits, many of which could assist the early development of historical thinking by learning “from the inside.” There was strong motivation to identify with the people of the past who are involved and to want to know more about them, while the enjoyment of the games could spill over into the rest of the history taught (“We like history because we play games ...”). There were, further, other more important accompanying results: simulations always opened an appreciation of the multiplicity of outcomes there were for the different participants in historical events, which helped wean children from the idea that there was only one possible past, or one way of telling it. Games and simulations raised many questions which could be explored after the play action and stimulated the desire to investigate and to check what actually happened (beyond the hypothetical context). Empathy for the situation of people in the past stimulated an understanding of how actors in the past made decisions.³⁰

The favorite³¹ game by a long margin was an adaptation of snakes and ladders.³² On a photocopy of a traditional board (A3 size paper) were added 18 pieces of historical text to the tops of the snakes and the bottoms of the ladders, with the spill of the die providing the element of random impetus. Some of these, to illustrate from a game about the Khoikhoi herders,³³ were:

²⁹ Berens, Dugmore, and Torr, “Making History Standard 5,” 119. Quoted in W. M. MacMillan, *The Cape Colour Question: A Historical Survey* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), 172, 177.

³⁰ David Birt and Jon Nichol, *Games and Simulations in History* (London: Longman, 1975): 5–6. See also Henry Ellington, Joannie Fowle, and Monica Gordon, *Using Games and Simulations in the Classroom: A Practical Guide for Teachers* (London: Routledge, 2013).

³¹ In my experience of playing this and the following games with classes of adults and children.

³² Rob Siebörger, Unpublished material, 1990.

³³ See Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1985).

- There is news from the Gouriqua [people] that there is grazing near Mossel Bay [bottom of a ladder].
- Your sheep give birth to many lambs. The weather is warm and they all live [bottom of a ladder].
- Drought has caused most of your cattle to die. You go to the coast to look for grazing. [top of a snake].
- The Dutch have traded sheep and cattle but they have left you with only a little copper [top of a snake].
- You have received a supply of dagga [marijuana] from the Hessequa [bottom of a ladder].
- You have been attacked by the Namaqua who have more fighting cattle. They have taken all your cows [top of a snake].

The game was played in groups of four. Students were instructed to read the text aloud whenever one of them landed on a text square. As the squares were numbered, they could easily keep a record of what happened to them during their life experience. Every person's experience was different in the game, which presents the opportunity to act out some of them, so as to compare their lives. With more advanced classes they might have been asked to make written notes that can then be interpreted in more detail. The key to the game was that whatever happens, they would all experience the uncertainty and fragility of life.

The history of what is now known as the Eastern Cape province during the century from 1750 to 1850 was characterized by colonial expansion from the south-western Cape by "trekboers" (migrant Dutch farmers) and conflict over land in a series of "frontier wars," with incursions and counter-incursions from the colonists and the Xhosa-speaking peoples. Both groups were pastoralists and agriculturalists. In the traditional school version this history was reduced to learning the dates of the series of wars (1 to 9), who the main protagonists were, and what rivers they crossed or defended in the process. What was acutely lacking was an appreciation of the interaction that took place in between the wars and the agency that the Xhosa possessed, despite losing much of their lands by the end of the period. A game was created to involve students in the momentum of this history.³⁴

"Landgrab" was a map board game³⁵ of the Eastern Cape in the period, played by three students or three couples. The map was divided into about 80 squares (each corresponding very roughly to 500 square kilometers). Each player represents a group—Dutch Boer, British settler, and Xhosa—and starts from a designated square representing their point of origin (Graaff-Reinet village, Algoa Bay, and Hints's place near Nqabara/Willowvale). It was played

³⁴ See, for example, Martin Legassick, *The Struggle for the Eastern Cape 1800–1854. Subjugation and the roots of South African Democracy* (Johannesburg: KMM Review Publishing, 2010).

³⁵ Berens, Dugmore, and Torr, "Making History Standard 5," 124–129. Based on Jon Nichol, *The Saxons* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979): 10–11. Also consult Birt and Nichol, "Games and Simulations" and Jon Nichol, *Simulation in History Teaching. A Practical approach* (Historical Association: London, 1980), 11–12, for a description of a similar game.

with a flip of a coin over six rounds, the objective being to take as much land (squares that must have at least one side in common with an existing square that is yours) as you can. The winner was the one with the most squares taken by the end of the last round. If a player happened to find their squares completely surrounded by another, they had to leave the game and surrender their squares to the other. In every round there was a separate historical scenario for each participant, which was hypothetical but had real events and plausible people. Round 1, 1812, for instance, was as follows:

Boer

Heads: The Xhosa farmers have been driven from the Zuurveld [literally “sour grassland” – at that time the contested territory]. You get a new farm. Take 5 squares.

Tails: The British have not granted all the land that was taken in the war. You are disappointed. Take only 3 squares.

British

Heads: The war has been successful. You have driven the Xhosa out. Take 5 squares.

Tails: There are not enough British troops to control the territory won. Take only 2 squares.

Xhosa

Heads: Xhosa people outside the Zuurveld keep their land. You are safe. Take 5 squares.

Tails: People in the Zuurveld lose all their land. You have to live with relatives. Take only 1 square.

The detail was historically accurate though the ultimate outcome of the game was entirely hypothetical. (It was possible for the Xhosa to win, but the odds were stacked against them and considerable strategic nous was required about how one chose one’s squares and fended off others in order to do so.) The historical context was, however, far removed from the older school histories. The information sheet which each participant had and was instructed to read from provided six contrasting views of the same conflict, an example of multi-perspectivity that went far beyond that provided in many historical accounts. Children had to cope with the ambiguities of the historical context while at the same time experiencing the joys of success and the sorrows of failure.

The Medicine game also used the device of a coin and heads and tails information,³⁶ but it built in an element of role play.³⁷ Played by three or four players, each player had first to create a “Lifemeter,” on paper, a vertical column

³⁶ Medicine across the ages and famous medical discoveries was (and is), like Transport, referred to earlier in the chapter, a common “general history” topic for South African primary schools.

³⁷ Rob Siebörger, Unpublished material, 1996.

like a thermometer, 20 cm high, 1 cm wide, marked in centimeters, each centimeter representing 5, 10, 15, and so on, years to 100. They then chose a role:

- Herbal healer: You cure people by using plants to make medicines, and you tell them about the best food to eat.
- Nurse: You look after sick people, help women when they are giving birth, and help doctors in clinics and hospitals.
- Surgeon: You do operations on people to repair things that are causing illness and trouble.
- Researcher: You work in a laboratory to find new medicines, new vaccinations, and new ways to investigate and cure diseases.

The players read what happened in each round and filled in ten years on their Lifemeter for “Heads.” If their role was involved, they doubled the years and filled in 20 years. For “Tails” they filled in only five years.

Some of the rounds were:

<i>Heads</i>	<i>Tails</i>
<i>Round 1</i>	
The people who built the pyramids in Egypt were given garlic, onions, and radishes to eat. They protected them from diseases such as typhoid and cholera. Herbal healers add 20 years.	The Egyptians used many magic spells in their medicine. Many of the spells did not work at all.
<i>Round 3</i>	
Surgeons could save the life of people by amputating arms or legs that were infected. Surgeons add 20 years.	Most people who had an arm or leg amputated died as a result of infection from the instruments that the surgeon used.

The game assisted students to see that there was not a line of continuous progress in medical practice and discovery and that circumstances could differ in unexpected ways. It also helped them to appreciate the complementary roles of those involved in health care, while comprehending that despite the best of attention human life was always precarious.

One of many board games inspired in part by *Monopoly* traced the history of a slave.³⁸ It had 48 squares, each containing some information or an incident in the life of the fictitious person and each providing a text from a primary or secondary source with historical detail to illuminate it.³⁹ Four players moved forward by using a four-pointed spinner. As they landed on a square they read both sets of information (if they had not previously been read) and collected red (= negative) or blue (= positive) cards. Each square yielded one, two, or

³⁸ Nicolette Clarke, Unpublished material, 1989.

³⁹ Drawn from Candy Malherbe and Nigel Worden, *Always Working* (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1986).

three cards, depending on the impact of the incident. The objective was for the slave to live as independent a life as possible and in the process to collect as many blue cards as one could. Whoever had the most blue cards was the winner.

Examples were:

1. *You are an Angolan who has been captured. You are on your way to the Cape to be sold as a slave.*

On 28 March 1658 the ship Amersfoort, which two months earlier had intercepted a Portuguese slaver bound from Angola to Brazil, arrived in Table Bay with a shipment of slaves. ... 21 men and 22 women were set to work in the fields and gardens. The rest were assigned to various Company [VOC—Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie] officials. (Two red cards.)

29. *You run away from your master and join a Xhosa group.*

On the frontier slaves cannot be used on account of the proximity to the [Xhosa]; for they often desert, taking with them the arms with which they have been supplied for the protection of livestock entrusted to their care ... (*Die Joernaal van Dirk Gysbert van Reenen*, 1803, VRS 18, p. 289).⁴⁰ (Two blue cards.)

34. *You organise a protest against your master. All his slaves begin a “go slow.” Your master increases your food quality. You are sold.*

Slave owners could sell disobedient slaves: “The most sensible course to take up with a slave whom correction does not improve is to send him to the auction and dispose of him at any price.” (O.F. Mentzel *A geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope (II)*, 1925, p. 130).⁴¹ (Two blue cards, one red card.)

The game afforded an experience of how difficult the lives of slaves were and how they might have used their agency to try to escape their circumstances. It also gave the historical source for each square on the board, providing motivation for students and teachers to dig deeper.

STORIES FROM PICTURES

A popular activity for year five and six children was to make stories from the pictures given to groups in the classroom.⁴² Photocopies of the same photographs (usually six to ten photos) were given to students to discuss in their groups. They worked out for themselves what was happening in the pictures and then arranged them in a sequence to tell a story. Once they had agreed on

⁴⁰ Malherbe and Worden, “Always Working,” 32.

⁴¹ Malherbe and Worden, “Always Working,” 57.

⁴² The strategy was developed and tested by participants in the South African Primary History Programme, 1999–2003, see Rob Siebörger, Gail Weldon, and Jacqui Dean, *Doing History Teacher’s Guide* (Cape Town: WCED Edumedia, 2004), 12–13. Teachers on the program reported its popularity.

the story, they pasted the pictures on a large sheet of paper and wrote the text of their story below each picture.

One such example was the topic “One day in the life of the San,” given to year fives. One group arranged their six pictures, starting with a photograph of a mother and four children seated on the ground. Their caption for it was:

One day there was a San family. They did not have a house.

Their second picture was of two men crouched over a small bundle of dry sticks, captioned:

The men decided to collect branches together to make a shelter of branches.

Next they chose a picture of a man balancing precariously up a tree examining a large bird nest:

One of the men was afraid of heights. The others decided to finish the shelter.

Following it was a bold picture of a San hunter drawing back his bow and taking aim. It was labeled:

The man who was afraid of heights went to hunt.

Then came a picture of two children looking on at a dead buck [antelope] lying on the ground:

He and his sons caught a big buck.

The story ended with a picture of a family group outside a shelter. It was captioned:

Now they can eat well and sleep in their shelter of branches.⁴³

This activity was usually used after a class had learned about the topic. Its key elements were the discussion and negotiation involved in sequencing the pictures and putting the story together. Each group’s story was unique. The comparison of the stories once pasted on the walls around the room revealed many different views of what took place in the pictures and how they could be used to make a narrative. The multiple narratives arising demonstrated how easy it was to arrive at different interpretations of historical accounts. The quality of a story depended on the quality of the interpretation of the pictures. Though the stories were hypothetical, the evidence for each part of a story could be challenged and critically investigated. It was intended to help learners

⁴³Siebörger, Weldon, and Dean, “Doing History,” 12.

understand how history is written and different versions of the past are created. For it to succeed, the teacher was obliged to step back from personal judgment and accept the decisions of the groups but in so doing could nudge the class toward being able to differentiate between more likely and less likely conclusions and outcomes.

The follow-up to the story from pictures was often to give the class a writing frame to complete, either individually or in pairs/groups.⁴⁴ The writing frame consisted of the beginnings of sentences—starting words, arranged to give children the pattern and form of a piece of writing. An illustration of a writing frame with a child’s response on this topic was:

Before this lesson I knew ... *that the San were hunters and that they did not live in proper houses.*

Today I learned for the first time ... *that they got their clothes from animals.*

I also found out ... *that children also hunted.*

I think the most interesting is ... *that they kept their water in ostrich eggs.*

A more advanced writing frame could be:

Some people say that ...

However, other people say ...

It is also important to know ...

I agree with⁴⁵

WHAT CHARACTERIZES THESE APPROACHES

Each of these examples sets out to engage students as its priority, whether in discussion with the teacher or with peers, whether in examining pictures or whether in puzzling, competing, or acting. Historical learning can in one sense be seen as incidental to this, a desirable by-product. Engagement, though, has many benefits. It brings lessons to life, it stimulates curiosity and investigation, and it generates a favorable disposition toward the subject. At the start of the work on families, discussions about the families in soap operas or cartoon series and films, while inevitably leading to arguments about which is best and “What is your favorite?” facilitated both serious questions about what a family was and what it did and about diversity. The cave scene picture on the first and second pages of the textbook would lead without much prompting to questions such as, how were the animals killed? What kinds of knives did they use? Did women hunt, too, and did men dig for roots? And about breastfeeding. The context for those questions, unlike those about the families, was the past. Through successfully engaging the children one can, thus, create a contemporary context

⁴⁴ See David Wray and Maureen Lewis, *Children Reading and Writing Non-fiction* (London: Routledge, 1997) and Christine Counsell, *Analytical and Discursive Writing* (London: Historical Association, 1997).

⁴⁵ Siebörger, Weldon, and Dean, “Doing History,” 13–14.

(the families) and/or a historical context (the cave scene) conducive to historical learning.

What are presented here have been labeled “approaches” in the title of the chapter, which conveniently allows the focus to fall on the practical activities rather than their historical contexts. It skews whatever pedagogical content knowledge they contain toward the pedagogic. This is unfair to the textbook material as it makes it seem unstructured, whereas, to the extent that the syllabuses it was based on were structured, they had a rationale and sequence. What it raises is the larger debate about the curriculum of primary school history: in-depth study of a few history topics that children can get to know in a meaningful way versus a broad selection of themes that have special interest for children, studied very shallowly but entertainingly. These examples tend to highlight the latter, which typically relates more to younger children; the former to older. The examples of the simulation games show that, despite this, it is possible to achieve elements of both at the same time. The snakes and ladders might seem trite in the way that it presents the content, but many adults who have seen or played the game have been amazed to learn much information from it of which they were completely oblivious.

The role of the hypothetical features prominently. In simulations one can seldom, if ever, employ an entirely real scenario with real people (as that would not allow for any independent thought by the participants and would make it difficult to fill in the gaps in knowledge). They usually employ a hypothetical scenario with plausible events and people or a historical event (with real geography) but with hypothetical people and decisions. There are advantages to this when teaching students. If they lack content knowledge of the past a simulation or role play exercise lets them in. Instead of being embarrassed or incapacitated by their slight knowledge they can operate freely within the hypothetical (which is the basis of much of computer gaming).⁴⁶ The plausible elements combine to limit them and to create boundaries of time, space, and human behavior, on the other hand. Those playing the Landgrab game find themselves concentrating on their strategies, focusing on filling in the squares that they have appropriated with their color or symbol. They come face to face with reality when, however, they read the commentary and must hear the harsh circumstances that faced the people of the time.

At which point might games or simulations initiate historical thinking in children, given that they have become engaged by them? Fines et al.⁴⁷ suggest that it may be when children are first introduced to real problems that present a multiplicity of possible outcomes, which enable them to consider the situation, the possibilities, and the way things can develop within a historical context. They also consider that simulation assists young students to come to grips

⁴⁶See, for example, Kevin Kee, “Computerized History Games: Narrative Options,” *Simulation & Gaming* 42, no. 4 (August 2011): 423–440.

⁴⁷Fines et al., “Teaching Primary History,” 201–202.

with otherwise complex and intractable historical material, indicating that simulations can prepare the way for handling content that they might not otherwise easily understand. Imagination, Nichol argues,⁴⁸ is the door that simulations unlock for children, by providing a structure or frame within which they can realistically begin to approach the past. It is, in part, because they are able to “understand historical situations ‘from the inside.’”⁴⁹ The next step is to link the imaginative context to causation, and change and consequence through breaking down the complexities of events.⁵⁰ Moorhouse also stresses that it is the way in which debriefing and follow-up exercises take place (during and) after a game or simulation that assists children to begin to communicate and think historically.⁵¹

While it is true that “empathy” as a goal in teaching primary school history has not been demonstrated above to a meaningful extent, there are several examples of experiences that can create a sympathetic awareness of the situation and behavior of people in the past—and in the case of families possibly the present as well. The sense of sharing a common humanity with others is the starting place and, though it is difficult to imagine that there is a developmental sequence, children will later show an ability to see a situation or view an individual from several standpoints. The simulations, dialogues, storytelling, role play, and acting all present openings that will challenge their present awareness of others/the other. If exploited, historical learning will be enhanced.

There have long been attempts to trace progression in empathetic understanding in history, whether as a unitary or a differentiated concept, but relatively little attention has been focused on how such understanding is triggered and emerges in young students.⁵² In distinguishing between historical empathy as perspective recognition and as caring, Barton and Levstik suggest that elementary students are entirely capable of engaging with perspective recognition and that caring (about; that; for and to) is a critical tool for making sense of the past. They illustrate, in a Grade 4 case study of how peoples’ attitudes and beliefs have changed over time, that young children can develop an understanding of these ideas and beliefs and they regard this as an impor-

⁴⁸ Nichol, “Simulation in History Teaching,” 5–6.

⁴⁹ Turner-Bissett, “Creative Teaching,” 12.

⁵⁰ Dan Moorhouse, “How to make historical simulations adaptable, engaging and manageable,” *Teaching History*, no. 133 (2008): 10–16.

⁵¹ Moorhouse, “How to make historical simulations,” 16.

⁵² As described, for example, in Rosalyn Ashby and Peter Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History” in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Christopher Portal (London: The Falmer Press, 1987), 62–88; Peter Knight, “Empathy: Concept, confusion and consequences in a national curriculum,” *Oxford Review of Education* 15, no. 1 (1989): 41–53; Linda C. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History. Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools* (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 146; and Jason L. Endacott, “Reconsidering Affective Engagement in Historical Empathy,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 38, no. 1 (2010): 6–47.

tant means to assist students to see that history is meaningful and relevant.⁵³ Solé, in a study of the language and writing of fourth graders in history tasks, concludes that through creative activity, it is possible to encourage empathy and historical imagination from the earliest years of schooling, to help support increasing levels of sophistication in thinking (Solé 2013, 26).⁵⁴ The nature of empathy described in the South African approaches discussed here is, however, perhaps best expressed as “to try to understand what people in the past were thinking and feeling, to be them,”⁵⁵ by taking on their roles, thoughts, and feelings through storytelling, drama, and simulation. Fines et al. illustrate this in a study with Year 3 and 4 children in Devon doing local history.⁵⁶

In terms of the debate about generic/transferrable skills and history skills (or the skills of the historian) and whether they can or should complement each other, these approaches emphasize the generic more specifically historical skills. This reflects to an extent the nature of primary school teaching and learning (from the general to the specific), but it is the appropriateness of the skill to the task in hand that is more important than the skill itself. The skill is chosen for its purpose in the task, rather than the task for its demonstration of the skill, which is arguably something that is more applicable to older students. In tasks asking for the writing of stories from pictures, visual literacy (e.g. an ability to identify the big patterns in the photographs as well as to interpret the small details, and an ability to sequence by theme) is key to being able to put a narrative together and, further, to being able to defend the narrative. Change and continuity, when analyzed as “What is different?”, “What is/stays the same?”, and “Why do some things change?”, are means of directing attention to the past and its peculiarity. This is especially important with younger children, whose personal experience of the past is so short (for an 8-year-old has little more than four years to look back on, while a 12-year-old has double that). The rural women working the land did what generations had done before them, but there were key differences: no men and the presence of modern implements in the contemporary picture, which provided a basis for constructing a contrast.

There is no theory of language development present either.⁵⁷ All the activities were designed to be used in contexts where English is formally the language of instruction but where vernacular languages are used frequently if not

⁵³ Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching for the Common Good* (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 206–243; Levstik and Barton, “Doing History,” 133–148.

⁵⁴ Glória Solé, “Promoting creativity, empathy and historical imagination: Early Years Students Learning the Topic ‘Portuguese Discoveries,’” *Primary History*, Issue 63 (Spring 2013): 26.

⁵⁵ Fines et al., “Teaching Primary History,” 21.

⁵⁶ Fines et al., “Teaching Primary History,” 21–23.

⁵⁷ The textbooks were consciously guided by research done on early language and learning in the Primary Education Project (PREP) at the University of Cape Town, see Wendy Flanagan, *Education Studies* (Cape Town: Juta, 1998), 32–43, but there is no overall theory of language

predominantly in the classroom. As the children grow older, their English becomes more complex and their vocabulary larger. The assumption is that confidence in talking needs to develop first, which means providing the motivation for it. Spotting features of a picture by playing “I spy,” telling the names of family, arguing about how far someone can move in snakes and ladders are amongst many starting places to change the classroom from a place where one is only expected to listen to one where one expects to be listened to. Songs, poems, and chanting belong naturally in most South African primary classrooms. Their inclusion in English brings the subject of the history much closer to the lived reality of the students. Reading⁵⁸ has an important part to play, and the text written by Dr. John Phillip about the prejudice against the Khokhoi in the Eastern Cape is included to illustrate that it is possible, by using praise and reward, a rapid scanning of the text, which is followed by a number of repeated readings, and prompted by interest-provoking questions (such as “Why would one white man be more important than 400 or 500 Khoikhoi people?” “Why were the white settlers surprised and cross about the improvements at the mission stations?”), to assist children to make sense of a dense but very relevant text.

THE TEACHER

In designing the activities, educating the teachers was recognized as being as important as educating the students. Many of the approaches were presented at workshops or trialed with student teachers where the opportunity to model the teacher’s role was seen to be essential to any change in classroom practice. Success at using one of the ideas encourages the take-up of the others. In large classes the family history unit presents teachers with a unique opportunity to get to know the circumstances of their students well and to empathize with them, the surest way to encourage empathetic responses from the children. Valuing the individuals and allowing them the space to treasure things that are peculiar to them is key to beginning this process.

Family history, as indicated, also presents some of the biggest challenges to the teacher persona: the fact that the teacher cannot impose views or decisions on the class but has to stand back to allow them to make up their own minds. Also, there is no neat way of getting everyone in the class to do the same thing or participate in the same way. Equal reward for significantly different work must be accepted.⁵⁹ This open-endedness applies equally to the outcomes of

development and enhancement that covers all of the approaches in this chapter. Pat Hoodless ed., *History and English in the Primary School* (London: Routledge, 1998) has valuable insights.

⁵⁸ See Fines et al., “Teaching Primary History,” 81–97.

⁵⁹ Regarding assessment, it was only after the curriculum revision of 2002 (Footnote 6) that it became possible to develop meaningful assessment strategies for the primary school history curriculum.

games and drama, and to the fact that no written work will ever produce uniform single word/phrase/sentence answers again. Teachers who were used to providing written material for their students to copy or to paste into workbooks are encouraged to use what is in the books instead. Many will be accustomed to using the textbook for content but not for the tasks and in these examples (unlike the traditional books), the tasks were carefully chosen, worded, and provided with answers in the teacher's books.

CONCLUSION: BUT THE CHILDREN CAN'T DO THAT, CAN THEY?

Historians and history educators may argue that what is described here is not history; nor is it historical thinking. This may have some truth, but it denies the fundamental reality that young children need to begin somewhere. To engage their minds in tasks such as these that make it possible for them to begin to be curious about people in the past and how they lived their lives is to promote historical learning and to prepare them to think historically. For those who lack knowledge of English, it is even more important to be able to interact with history in the curriculum in meaning-making ways.

Teachers may also scorn both the children and the approaches designed for them, either because they have a very limited view of what their students are capable of, frequently believing that all they can do is to copy down and learn by rote, or because they simply don't regard experiential learning as valid. For them following the approaches and seeing them in practice themselves is crucial to accepting that their students *can* do it—and may at times be better at it than they are.

This account has emphasized that there are many meaningful activities that can act as forerunners for children in developing their understanding of history and the past, particularly for those whose background and life experiences outside the classroom are limited. Hilary Cooper has described such history teaching as developing “moral awareness and social and emotional as well as cognitive growth, not through didactic teaching but by encouraging children to answer questions, to discuss and speculate about the reasons for people's behavior, attitudes and values in other times and places.”⁶⁰ There is much scope for targeted research studies using approaches such as these and tracking the subsequent development of historical understanding as children mature.

⁶⁰ Hilary Cooper, *History in the early years* (London: Routledge, 1995), 3.

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Re-imagining History Teaching by Challenging National Narratives

Cécile Sabatier Bullock and Shawn Michael Bullock

INTRODUCTION

Although it is relatively common to highlight, if not bemoan, the separation between theory and practice within the field of education generally, we would argue that this debate takes on a rather unique tone within history education and social studies education.¹ In particular, we contend that perennial, broader debates about theory and practice tend to manifest as a tension not only between the terms “history” and “education” within the *history of education*, as Richardson argued, but also between teaching content (or “knowledge”) and teaching for historical thinking.² In the first case, the tension is between a field having a culture valuing purely the academic study of the past and a field having a culture concerned—to some extent, at least—with practical questions of application of ideas to classroom settings and issues pertaining to a profession.

¹Throughout this chapter we will use the term “history education” to stand in for both history education and social studies education. This decision is not to make light of the differences between the two, or the histories of how these teaching subjects developed in difference contexts. It is, however, a reflection of the fact that we believe our argument is justifiable across both fields.

²William Richardson, “Historians and educationists: The history of education as a field of study post-war England Part I,” *History of Education* 28, no. 1 (1999): 1–30.

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As Richardson argued at the beginning of his comprehensive history of the history of education in the UK: “The inherent conservatism of academic history ensured that its professional priorities changed only slowly.”³ As many have noted, the question of whether one is a historian who studies education or an educationist who uses history is a perennial one that, to this day, remains salient to those who contribute to the history of education—if for no other reason than, like the history of art and the history of science and technology, the history of education tends to have a complicated relationship with history. As McCulloch noted, the history of education is a contested discipline, “a condition rooted in its strategic yet unstable location in relation to history, education, and the social sciences.”⁴ We would argue that this contestation becomes magnified if one considers the relationship between the history of education and history education.

One might justifiably argue a further complicated relationship between the tension of teaching historical knowledge and teaching for historical thinking. We argue that this tension, which has played out in national curriculum documents the world over, is strongly linked to competing national narratives around what history education is for, how history might be taught in schools, and for how long history must be taken by students. Further, we in the teaching of history are necessarily bound within its own history of teaching history within a particular cultural context. In this chapter, we use the rhetorical device of a *roman national* to frame and interrogate our central hypothesis on the need to re-imagine the education of future history and social studies teachers.

In this chapter we posit that national narratives are a part of both the content of school history and a grammar of the history of teaching history. We use France and its republics as case studies for the ways in which the French national narrative, the *roman national*, was constructed and implicitly and explicitly reinforced by the state. We further argue that the three orders of interaction in education—the government curriculum, the sanctioned textbooks, and the choices made by teachers—must be considered as a group of interactions in order to understand both the persistence of national narratives and the ways in which they might change. If history and social studies teachers are the vanguard of helping students describe, interpret, and analyze the *roman national* to which they are being exposed daily by virtue of citizenry, to say nothing of the materials with which they interact in history classes, then history and social studies teacher educators need to re-imagine their pedagogies of teacher education.

In some ways, our arguments are not new: the idea that national grand narratives permeate history education in both substantive and syntactic ways has been taken up by scholars such as Den Heyer and Abbott, Korostelina, and

³Ibid., 1.

⁴Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (London: Routledge, 2011), 112.

Stanley.⁵ Korostelina posited that it is important to “present to students narratives that provide a comprehensible and legitimate story about the nation and institutionalize collective memory.”⁶ Stanley argued in part that historical narratives can contribute to “popular racism” because they tend to posit histories that count and histories that are made invisible and that “[u]nchallenged, nationalist historical narratives create a binary in terms of possible (read acceptable) identities.”⁷ Our assertion that those who would teach history and social studies need to be acutely aware of their dominant national stories and those who teach these future teachers need to explicitly provide opportunities to teach and examine critically the history of the development of said national stories might be equally obvious. Indeed, we do not presume that future teachers are completely ignorant of the received national stories they have grown up with.

We do, however, argue that debates around how history should be taught, what history might be taught, and whose history might be taught require both history teachers and history teacher educators to take stances as public intellectuals and, in so doing, develop a deep understanding about how and why national stories tend to exert considerable force on the teaching of history in a particular context at all levels. In our view, teachers and teacher educators are public intellectuals by default: they teach in public, make decisions about how curricula are enacted, and respond to questions from students, parents, guardians, and colleagues about things that they have said or done in their public classrooms, presentations, lectures, and writings. Re-imagining history education, then, requires acute clarity on how national narratives develop and strategies to interrogate said stories within history teacher education classrooms, K-12 classrooms, and the broader public sphere.

One way to gain such clarity, we believe, is to examine the ways in which national narratives and the history curriculum have developed in a context likely to be unfamiliar to many reading this chapter and entreat the reader to consider the points of resonance and dissonance within their own context, from the perspective of both research on the development of national narratives and their effects on history education and research on history education, and the history of history education, writ large. Our purpose here is not to exhaustively review existing research in history education published in English, with which we assume most readers are familiar, but to invite comparisons between ideas presented through a case study of France and context(s) that the

⁵Kent Den Heyer and Laurence Abbott, “Reverberating Echoes: Challenging Teacher Candidates to Tell and Learn from Entwined Narrations of Canadian history,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 41, no. 5 (2011): 610–635; Korostelina Karina, “Constructing Nation: National Narratives of History Teachers in Ukraine,” *National Identities: Critical Inquiry into Nationhood, Politics, and Culture* 15, no. 4 (2013): 401–416; Timothy Stanley, “The Struggle for History: Historical Narratives and Anti-Racist Pedagogy,” *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 19, no. 1 (1998): 41–52.

⁶Korostelina, “Constructing Nation,” 412.

⁷Stanley, “The Struggle for History,” 50.

reader might be familiar with. We wish to avoid, to be blunt, an officialized story of research that has been done in other contexts as a stand-in for the history of history education in France. Research can have its own set of grand narratives. As Den Heyer and Abbott concluded in their study of future history teachers, a desire to “avoid culturally reductive or stereotypical images of others” and “the taming of historical complexity for ease of communication” is a process filled with tensions.⁸

We have decided to take the question of teaching history in France as our case study for two additional reasons. First, the debates around the nature and role of the national stories are recurrent, politically charged, and tend to be widely discussed within both academic and popular press in France. The reasons for the prevalence of interest and discussion around France’s national story are many and varied but, in our view, have much to do with the fact that they have effects on curricular issues and schooling, the nature of the public’s collective memory, and the way in which the past is framed by the citizenry and the government: “France was a victim during two World Wars”; “France was occupied but formed a resistance comprised of patriots”; “De Gaulle liberated Paris”; “Religion is separate from the state.” These statements are both true from certain perspectives and yet also incomplete; their brief trueness evokes a shallow consensus for many that circumvents the need for questioning, particularly at the school level. Second, we believe that it is far too tempting for those working with future teachers to quickly dismiss the idea of national stories as something that does not have an impact within our history teacher education classrooms, filled as they are with students who have at least some academic history qualification, or assert that the problems of national stories are so clear to educationists, historians, and researchers that they bear no additional mention. It is highly unlikely that a given future history teacher will have a robust academic background in each of the time periods and topics they will be called upon to teach; our own recent experiences invoke modernists sat next to medievalists, who are in turn sat next to social historians—each ostensibly with topics in history that fill them with either joy or dread and each on their way to professional certification.

Of course, the presumption also risks assuming that academic knowledge of history is a sufficient inoculation against the shallow consensus of the national story. It is not. Even if it was, the gaps in academic knowledge for beginning future teachers, in our experience, tend to be filled with intrusions from national stories. In England, this may manifest as the reduction of the history of the UK as a history of 1000 years of kings, (some) queens and their actions, with little attention paid to surrounding countries in the UK, or the world more generally. In Canada, this may manifest in the comfortable assertion that Canadian history has tended to be on the side of justice and peace—a problematic assumption to say the least given the history of residential schooling and societal complicity in the erasure of histories of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. Thus, we entreat the reader to take

⁸Den Heyer and Abbott, “Reverberating Echoes,” 612.

on the notion of the national story within their own context to consider the ways in which national stories have an impact on public ideas, government agendas, the curriculum, and ideas about history teaching. We will use the term *roman national* throughout this work to call attention both to our case study of France and because we believe the term itself is evocative—we are called upon to read a *roman*, a novel, particularly one with national importance. How we then frame and query that reading as historians of educations charged with teaching future teachers is part of our goal in this chapter.

In part, our chapter was inspired by a recent special issue of the left-leaning French national newspaper *Le Monde* that questioned the ways in which the *roman national* should be taught in schools.⁹ Within origins dating back to at least the late nineteenth century, the issue posits that the *roman national* is supported by a clearly articulated national story of how history should be taught and further posited that this story is guarded by a particular subset of the teaching profession. In order to better understand the relation between school history, school historiography, and its teaching, it is important to question not only the specific nature of both school history and its stated goals, but also the narrative modalities of the goals for teaching.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* (founded in 1829) also devoted a special issue in November 2017 to this theme, whose title was *Faut-il supprimer le roman national?* (Must we suppress the national narrative?). The fact that the special issue presupposed a debate on the “end” of the *roman national* testifies to the relationship historians and educators have with these kinds of questions for some times, echoing Loubes who argued “history teachers are reflecting on the ‘proclaimed’ death of the *roman national* at the school level.”¹⁰ The increasingly common sentiment is that our collective narrative, our *roman*, needs to disappear. This so-called end of history is in fact what the early twenty-first century has labelled the “end of the *roman national*.”¹¹ De Cock explained the “proclaimed death” by arguing that “the national question at the heart of debates around traditional narrative modalities (*roman national*), is regularly a lever for controversy because it reflects the tense relationship between the state and society vis-à-vis the presence of cultural and/or social heterogeneity in the classrooms.”¹²

It is thus advantageous, she continues, to announce that the *roman national* is dead, at least officially, because doing so condemns the idea that the *roman national* serves to offer a homogeneous model of identity and collective belonging. Of course, proclaiming the death of an idea and its actual removal from discourse are two different things. Centralized, reductive, patriotic narra-

⁹ Didier Daeninckx, “Roman national, ‘il était une foi’” *Les querelles de l’histoire, Le Monde*, Hors-Série October–December 2017, 50–51.

¹⁰ Olivier Loubes, “D’un roman national, l’autre. Lire l’histoire par la fin dans les programmes de 1923 et de 1938,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 53.

¹¹ Unless otherwise noted, all translations from text originally written in French are our own.

¹² Laurence De Cock, “Le roman national a-t-il des vertus intégratrices? Surquelques polémiques actuelles autour de l’enseignement de l’histoire,” *Diversité* 168 (2012): 128.

tives die hard, regardless of the volume of research that has been done exploring the effects of said narratives on students and teachers. We propose that exploring how the *roman national* developed in different educational contexts, and why it persists to this day, is a worthy endeavor.

“LE ROMAN NATIONAL”: A SOCIALLY AND CULTURALLY CONSTRUCTED NARRATIVE

The expression *roman national* was popularized by Pierre Nora; it refers to a patriotic, normalizing narrative that both helps to construct the nation-state and approaches the status of a myth.¹³ A *roman national* is a bearer of a collective memory, which tends to crystallize around certain places, characters, symbols, currencies, and events. It functions to legitimize official discourse to better establish and control particular foundations of the state whilst authorizing a particular kind of unity for a nation. De Cock highlighted the interaction between the construction and action of a *roman national* in the following way:

The *roman national* is based on an act of faith: a knowledge of the national past, that motivates particular feelings such as admiration, identification, commemoration, rejection, and morality in the name of producing a ‘common good’ that is enough to draw people into a sense of homogeneous belonging, whatever their particular cultural and social heritage may be. This is what we can call the “performative virtues” of the *roman national* as tool for integration and assimilation.¹⁴

It is therefore a socially and culturally constructed narrative object, and its teaching, as part of the teaching of history, is “a political issue of the first order.”¹⁵ The performance of the *roman national* may also be interrogated and understood through the lenses of individual and community-based identities, particularly if one uses Durkheim’s ideas about the development of collective representations.¹⁶ Doing so in an era of globalization, mobility, and identity de- and recompositions, however, begs the question of how one might “make a memory from contradictory memories.”¹⁷

History teaching in France took firm hold of the idea of a *roman national* beginning with the Third Republic (1870–1940), and the relationship that has remained strong to this day. The regime of the Third Republic was based largely on the institution of school and its power to ferment and consolidate

¹³ Pierre Nora (Ed.), *Les Lieux de mémoire*. (Paris: Gallimard (Quarto, 3 tomes), 1997).

¹⁴ Laurence De Cock, “Le roman national a-t-il des vertus intégratrices? Sur quelques polémiques actuelles autour de l’enseignement de l’histoire,” *Diversité* 168 (2012): 129.

¹⁵ Yves Poncelet and Wirth Laurent “L’enseignement scolaire de l’histoire dans la France des 19^e et 20^e siècles. Fondements. Introduction,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 3.

¹⁶ Émile Durkheim, “Représentations individuelles et représentations collectives,” *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, tome VI (1998): 273–302.

¹⁷ Valérie Toronian, “Histoire: le roman national est-il mort?” Editorial, *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, November, DATE? 2017, 4.

the unity of the country, through linguistic and cultural means. Although the French Revolution also linked the unity of the State and the Nation to the idea of linguistic unity of French land (and “soil”), Ragi reminds us:

The culturally-based nation considers the state as the only institution capable of culturally homogenizing populations. Because of its extraordinary size, it has a formidable branching with an extreme capillarity that touches the most remote villages of the Hexagon; the State has an unrivalled socializing power; it is through the state that the “nationalization” of the people will be achieved.¹⁸

Ragi also went so far as to suggest that the institution of school becomes the heart of republican dispositions in this system, appearing “not only as the direct emanation of the state, but also as the condition of perpetuation of the republican ideal.”¹⁹ Thus it is through education (and especially civic education) that the foundation and the perennial legitimacy of the entire republican regime are aimed at. Among other things, this regime was framed with a particular *roman national* to remove the educational system from the tutelage of the Church.²⁰ From there, the republican model, in a “centralizing and egalitarian Jacobinism” and through its *roman national*, composes a collective narrative that aims both to guarantee a modern nation-state and to forge a national identity.²¹

Nora, however, also warns us that the very notion of *roman national* leads to an instrumentalization of history and memories. Indeed, it should be remembered that the history that is taught in schools is a recomposition of history, in the sense that our understanding of historical events has developed over time and with different interpretations. School history, for example, is often unlikely to include findings from the latest historical scholarship and research. The historical events taught in schools have been officially selected and thus represent a certain kind of authoritative discourse, particularly from the perspective of a country that has one national curriculum. In this way school knowledge is “socially constructed, as the result of a process of elaboration in which one observes confrontations of interests and values as well as stakes of power.”²² Thus the very act of construction required wilful omission of certain facts and lines of historical enquiry. It also can, paradoxically, open up new avenues for discussion.

The Gaullist story of the Resistance, constructed at the end of the Second World War, is one example. The story, installed at the end of the fighting to

¹⁸ Tariq Ragi, *Minorités culturelles, Ecole républicaine et configurations de l'Etat-Nation* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 76.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Louise Dabène, “Caractères spécifiques du bilinguisme et représentations des pratiques langagières des jeunes issus de l’immigration en France,” in Georges Lüdi, *Devenir Bilingue, Etre bilingue* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, Verlag, 1987), 7.

²² Patricia Legris, “L’élaboration des programmes d’histoire depuis la Libération. Contribution à une sociologie historique du curriculum,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013):71.

avoid a civil war in France and deeply embedded in France's *roman national*,²³ has tended to present France and French people as victims of the Nazi war machine, often glossing over issues such as wartime collaboration (particularly between French police and Nazi occupying forces) and the rampant anti-Semitism present in France well in advance of the Second World War.²⁴ More recently, however, this same story of resistance has created some space for a plurality of voices, particularly the voices of women who participated in the resistance. Although very much in line with the concept of resistance within the *roman national*, such stories broaden the often-gendered conceptualizations of what resistance means within wartime.

Questioning the *roman national* requires one to ask how the teaching of history addresses the prevalent—yet sometimes tacit—articulation of collective memories. As noted earlier, such collective, authorized, state-supported memories often come into conflict with the community and individual memories that are part of diversity and plurality in any human society. Boucheron argued that history is “diverse, plural and complex,”—such an argument is unlikely to provoke considerable rebuke from future teachers of history.²⁵ We question how we are preparing future history teachers for this diversity, plurality, and complexity within the concept of nation-states, such as France, which have been built and unified around founding myths relayed in textbooks and school history programs. As Sarason pointed out, we all come to school with inherited insider perspectives.²⁶ This is true particularly when one considers Tyack and Tobin's “grammar of school,” their name for the cultural agreements and customs governing education and schooling that are so highly resistant to change.²⁷ As Tyack and Cuban would later argue:

The grammar of schooling is a product of history, not some primordial creation. It results from the efforts of groups that mobilize to win support for their definitions of problems and their proposed solutions. The more powerful and prestigious the groups, the more likely it is that they will be able to buttress their reforms with laws, regulations, and accreditation requirements ... Habitual institutional patterns can be labour-saving devices, ways to organize complex duties. Teachers and students socialized to such routines often find it difficult to adapt to different structures and rules. Established institutional forms come to be understood by educators, students, and the public as necessary features of a “real school.”²⁸

²³ Robert Gildea, *Comment sont-ils devenus résistants? Une nouvelle histoire de la Résistance (1940–1945)* (Paris: Les Arènes, 2017).

²⁴ Laurence Rees, *The Holocaust* (London: Penguin, 2017).

²⁵ Patrick Boucheron, *L'histoire mondiale de la France* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2017).

²⁶ Seymour B Sarason. *Revisiting “The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change.”* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996).

²⁷ David Tyack and William Tobin, “The “Grammar Of Schooling”: Why Has it Been so Hard to Change,” *American Educational Research Journal* 31, no. 3 (1994): 453–479.

²⁸ David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 86.

Tyack and Cuban's comments remind us of the ways in which the grammar of schooling tends to reinforce the status quo and the subtle way it might function to keep schools and the teaching of any particular subject area relatively conservative. Writing anonymously in the *Guardian* newspaper, one "secret teacher" reflected on how children tended to be much more interested in topics they perceived as being a part of British history (i.e., the Royal Family, Winston Churchill, and the Second World War).²⁹ This perception must stem, at least in part, from deeply internalized assumptions about what is British and what is not—in other words, the *roman national*.

Tyack and Cuban's comments also give pause around how the myths at the core of the *roman national* give form to an idea of what counts as "real school." As we have seen, France has had a tradition of using the *roman national* as an educational device to push forward ideas around republicanism and a certain set of ideas of what it means to be French. It has been used in service of the doctrine of "one language, one people" for nearly 150 years. To disrupt the place of the *roman national* in the education of future history and social studies teachers, we much return to a fundamental question.

WHY TEACH HISTORY?

Before thinking about what history to teach and the ways in which such histories may or may not interact with official state-sanctioned *roman national* history, and particularly before reflecting on how we might teach future history teachers, we need think about why history should be taught in the first place. Seixas might argue it important to enable students to understand "their own historicity into school history programs."³⁰ Tambyah explored the challenges of teaching for historical understanding—a laudable reason for why we might teach history—given gaps in the disciplinary knowledge of middle-school teachers.³¹ VanSledright argued that changes in immigration patterns in the USA have significant effects on how and what history is taught.³²

Although it might sound strange to North American frames of reference, scholars such as Marchand would argue that the teaching of history is relatively recent, historically.³³ He states: "[T]he process of institutionalizing the teaching of history ... launched under the Restoration and the July Monarchy

²⁹ Anonymous Author, "The Secret Teacher," *The Guardian*, 26 May 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/2018/may/26/secret-teacher-history-bias-school-fear-student-future>

³⁰ Peter Seixas, "Progress, Presence and Historical Consciousness: Confronting Past, Present and Future in Postmodern Time," *Paedagogica Historica*, 48, no. 6 (2012): 868.

³¹ Malihai M. Tambyah, "Teaching for 'Historical Understanding': What Knowledge(s) Do Teachers Need to Teach History?" *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 42, no. 5 (2017): 35–50.

³² Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of nation-state, historical knowledge, and School History Education," *Review of Research in Education* 32 (2008): 109–146.

³³ Philippe Marchand, "Les attentes institutionnelles vis-à-vis de l'histoire entre 1880 et 1940," *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 5–21.

(1830–1848) continued under the Second Empire.”³⁴ The institutionalization of the discipline was ratified in the 1860s by the minister Victor Duruy, who made the teaching of the history of France (from early beginnings “until our days”) compulsory from 1863 for the primary school level and from 1867 at the secondary school level. The idea of teaching history from, implicitly, the beginning “until our days” reflects a desire to use history as a way of ensuring children have some competence in officially sanctioned stories of the construction of France.

One of the influential—and thus controversial—figures who participated in the constructions of the French *roman national* was Ernest Lavissee, educational reformer for history curricula in the 1890s. Lavissee worked during the formation of the Third Republic (1870–1940) and, particularly following the 1870 defeat of France by Prussia, the aims of teaching history needed to be intellectual, moral, and grounded in civic duty. Lavissee felt that school history enabled students to consider critically political and social changes in the present; history was positioned as a window to the world that put both national and international change in historical perspective whilst aiding in the formation of a citizenry: “History as reflection on time ... the civic function of discipline and ... the need to study the present, finally ... the search for truth and ... openness in the world.”³⁵ One can note similarities in the kinds of ideas invoked nowadays to justify and support the teaching of history. The current National Curriculum in England, for example, states:

A high-quality history education will help pupils gain a coherent knowledge and understanding of Britain’s past and that of the wider world. It should inspire pupils’ curiosity to know more about the past. Teaching should equip pupils to ask perceptive questions, think critically, weigh evidence, sift arguments, and develop perspective and judgement. History helps pupils to understand the complexity of people’s lives, the process of change, the diversity of societies and relationships between different groups, as well as their own identity and the challenges of their time.³⁶

The current national curriculum in France, at the level of Cycle 4 (12–15 years old), notes:

The teaching of history in Cycle 3 encouraged students to understand that the past is a source of knowledge and something to be questioned. Students were encouraged to develop both an interest in and an enjoyment of history from primary source materials and documents. In the wake of these learnings, Cycle 4

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁵ Jean Leduc, “Pourquoi enseigner l’histoire? La réponse d’Ernest Lavissee,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 45.

³⁶ Department for Education. “Statutory Guidance: National Curriculum in England: History Programmes of Study,” GOV.UK, last modified 11 September 2013, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study>

proposes an approach to historical narrative that allows students to enrich and refine their knowledge of the past over a chronological and thematic progression. Students will thus be able to find markers that characterise the major periods of the history of humanity. Such major periods of history include developments such as turning points and breaks in a history from both national and global perspectives. Students will thus acquire elements that illuminate the contemporary world in which they live and learn to situate the history of France in a more global context.³⁷

In both cases, but in slightly different ways, we see how national curricula appeal to some notion of “truth” in historical narratives as well as the role of history, particularly national history, in fostering senses of citizenship—both national and global. One might well argue, of course, that notions of civic engagement have changed considerably. That may be so, but the fact that the curriculum remains grounded in both civic duty and ideas of using national history as a jumping off point for understanding other histories of the world is telling.

We know, however, that it is necessary to meaningfully consider the critical, emancipatory, and inclusive dimensions of a teaching of history. The debates surrounding the question of the teaching of the *roman national*, and its teaching (or not), relate precisely to the critical dimensions and postures that must be adopted in the face of both the history taught and the ways in which said history provides particular lenses through which teachers and their students interpret their relationship to the world. De Cock calls this an emancipatory and inclusive history, representative of the students to whom it is taught.³⁸ The work of Marc Bloch catalyzed a questioning of the linearity of the received *roman national* throughout the 1930s.³⁹ In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the *roman national* was again called to task through debate provoked by immigration and decolonization. Said themes, along with the taboo theme of collaboration under the Vichy regime, lead to widespread denouncement of the political bias of school programs. Of particular note was the vehemence with which the fictions of the *roman national*, reified in textbooks and thus presented as authoritative facts, were criticized. Hayden White⁴⁰ may have argued that all history requires a certain amount of fictional narrative, but the reaction of the general public against the received fictions of France’s *roman national* in the 1970s remind us that fictions can be and should be rewritten in light of new historiographies, particularly those that challenge hegemonic, Whiggish thinking. Fictions are not necessarily solely linked to written text, either, as

³⁷ Ministère de l’éducation nationale et de la jeunesse, “Programme du cycle 4,” [education.gouv.fr](https://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/programmes_2018/20/4/Cycle_4_programme_consolide_1038204.pdf), last modified November 2018, https://cache.media.eduscol.education.fr/file/programmes_2018/20/4/Cycle_4_programme_consolide_1038204.pdf

³⁸ Laurence De Cock, *Sur l’enseignement de l’histoire* (Paris: Editions Libertalia, 2018).

³⁹ Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1929).

⁴⁰ Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

newfound reactions against the use of Vercingétorix and Charlemagne in popular imagery are also notable at this time period.

Leduc notes: “[F]or some decades now, historians of the profession have been working on the idea of *reflexivity*, an epistemological and historiographical aggiornamento [set of new ideas] from which it emerges that history cannot claim to reach the truth about the past ... even if this truth must remain on its horizon of work.”⁴¹ Although the *roman national* has been a foundational answer to the question of “Why teach history?” in France, the narratives it produced have been under question for a considerable amount of time. Yet we would argue that it remains, tacitly and explicitly, a reason that history occupies a particular status within the French school system. To understand why, we need to examine how history tends to be taught.

TEACHING HISTORY: TENSIONS BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS

At this point it is useful to consider the place of teachers within the school system and the roles that are delegated to teachers within the teaching of history in France. The teaching of any discipline, and we argue history in particular, is caught between the tensions and pressures of educational issues, political objectives, and the construction and reconstruction of collective memory. It is only natural that these pressures have repercussions on the development of school curricula and thus of the textbooks designed to support said curriculum. The frames given by school curricula and their supporting textbooks, grounded in the *roman national*, then have an effect on the sorts of primary and secondary sources that tend to get used in classrooms. Calling on teachers to use primary source materials in their teaching is one thing; recognizing that the ways in which teachers will enact said request is necessarily constrained by their starting off point—the national curriculum and its associated *roman national*—is quite another. We recall Poncelet and Wirth’s three “orders of selection” that tend to affect how any given discipline is likely to be taught: the school curriculum dictated by ministries of education, the official textbooks developed to support said prescribed curriculum, and the choices made—governed by personal professional understanding—of classroom teachers.⁴²

It is productive to look at each of these *orders of selection* in turn—we find the term “order” particularly helpful as it helps us be mindful of the explicit hierarchy in school systems and the tension between Apple’s official and hidden curricula.⁴³ At the level of the national curriculum, one finds tensions of

⁴¹ Jean Leduc, “Pourquoi enseigner l’histoire? La réponse d’Ernest Lavisse,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 49.

⁴² Yves Poncelet and Laurent Wirth, “L’enseignement scolaire de l’histoire dans la France des 19^e et 20^e siècles. Fondements. Introduction,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 1–4.

⁴³ Michael W. Apple, “The Hidden Curriculum and the Nature of Conflict.” *Interchange* 2, no. 4 (1971): 27–40.

inclusion and exclusion between the disciplines. The history of history teaching at school in France illustrates that the institutional expectations of the discipline, which are more or less strong, generally, depend greatly on both the context and time. The recurring and indeed somewhat vociferous debates on the place of history in compulsory education in secondary school in France in comparison to, for example, the natural sciences are an illustration of the power issues surrounding the discipline. France continues to make history a compulsory course until the age of 16 (up to the *brevet des collèges*); afterwards its status in *lycée* very much depends on the mixture of courses chosen for the *baccalauréat*.

One might also invoke the place of the *roman national* within the presidential campaign of 2017 to highlight the links between the teaching of history, education, and politics. The use of the *roman national* during the presidential campaign of 2017 testifies to the tenuous link that exists between historiography, education, and politics. For Legris:

Each controversy engenders civic discourse because history is to create, in students, a sense of belonging to a national community endowed with a common collective memory. Said collective memory is to play a vital role in the formation of a critical citizen capable of understanding the world in which they evolve. For those on both the right and on the left, who defend an important place for the discipline of history in schools, it is precisely this civic end of history that is essential. History's presumed fulfilment of the function of creating a citizenry makes it, for many, a fundamental scholarly discipline.⁴⁴

In France, as in many countries, history curricula are mandated by the Ministry of National Education, which is already an indicator of the relationship that the school has with the content to be taught. Legris points out that “according to a deliberate programming” it is the state that both imposes and orients what is the appropriate knowledge to be taught and, by extension, what knowledge is to be omitted (or suppressed).⁴⁵ These decisions, we argue, have historically been made alongside a continually constructed and reified *roman national*, although we should note that “the programs are also not completely closed to the evolution of historiography, or to social expectations and certain political demands: the study of the production of school knowledge makes it possible to show their relative levels of openness to the demands and educational, memorial and political issues.”⁴⁶ In other words, the *roman national* is subject to change, albeit slowly.

The sociology of curriculum is concerned in part with the ways in which contents for teaching are selected, shaped, organized, validated, and distributed.

⁴⁴ Patricia Legris, “L’élaboration des programmes d’histoire depuis la Libération. Contribution à une sociologie historique du curriculum,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 69.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

Theorists such as Apple, Forquin, and Perrenoud help illustrate the relationships and power networks that influence school programs.⁴⁷ In his article on the development of the curriculum in France after the end of the Second World War, Legris underlined the complex and highly politicized nature of the issues surrounding the development of the history curriculum, relying on examples of school history reform projects.⁴⁸ Legris distinguishes between school curricula that: (a) call into question the place assigned to the discipline, particularly in relation to other school subjects, (b) revisit the contents to be taught, and (c) call for changes in teaching practices and, on the other hand, the more or less sustained political interventions that lead to either the blocking of educational reforms or the introduction of new content. Legris uses the example of the introduction of the history of immigration—in Noiriél’s words, a long time “illegitimate object,”—as an example.⁴⁹ While the history of immigration has, for a long time, been “a fallow story” in that it has not been cultivated as a part of the *roman national*, the significance of its introduction into the official school curriculum cannot be overstated.⁵⁰ According to Legris, it speaks to a palpable public desire to interrupt the *roman national*; she argues that the inclusion of the history of immigration “is not a reflection of the historiographical evolution [on immigration] within history that has been observed since the 1980s”; it is, rather, “before politics.”⁵¹ Her comments remind us that there is “a political filtering of the teaching content that takes place during the development of curriculum.”⁵² The history of immigration does not exist in the curriculum due to the latest trends in research or due to political willpower—it is, rather, a capitulation to the force of the general public.

Continuing on with the example of the history of immigration and its exclusion from the curriculum, Noiriél argues that French textbooks have long considered, like politics, that “immigration [was] a ‘external’ question (transient, new, marginal) that has nothing to do with the construction of France, nothing to do with the French and their past.”⁵³ From this perspective, then, it is hardly surprising that the history of immigration was not included within either the French curriculum or French textbooks—it did not serve the development and enactment of the *roman national*. And so, alongside the official curricula they

⁴⁷ Michael W. Apple, “The Hidden Curriculum and the Nature of Conflict.” *Interchange* 2, no. 4 (1971): 27–40; M. W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Jean-Claude Forquin, *Sociologie du curriculum* (Rennes: PUR, 2008); Philippe Perrenoud, “Curriculum: le formel, le réel, le caché,” in Houssaye, Jean (dir.) *La pédagogie: une encyclopédie pour aujourd’hui* (Paris: ESF, 1993), 61–76.

⁴⁸ Patricia Legris, “L’élaboration des programmes d’histoire depuis la Libération. Contribution à une sociologie historique du curriculum,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 69–83.

⁴⁹ Gerard Noiriél, *État, nation et immigration – Vers une histoire du pouvoir*. (Paris, Belin, 2001), 67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Legris, “L’élaboration des programmes d’histoire depuis la Libération.”

⁵² *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵³ Noiriél, “*État, nation et immigration – Vers une histoire du pouvoir*,” 20.

are ostensibly meant to support, textbooks also offer their interpretation of what should or should not be included in the books proposed to teachers.

For Choppin, textbooks even constitute “a false historical evidence” because “the school textbook is neither historical source material nor data, but the result of a particular intellectual construction.”⁵⁴ Studying the development of school history textbooks allows to update what Gaize calls “the plot of an official history”; this is a history which, again, we argue is deeply rooted in a *roman national* dating back to at least the founding of the Third Republic.⁵⁵ The work on this writing of history therefore places textbooks at the interface of a “scholarly enterprise building a history of the present time and the social demand for history.”⁵⁶ In this sense, textbooks also participate in a writing of history, in which the re-presentations of past and present come into resonance or dissonance. In their analysis of French textbooks, Soysal and Szakács argued, “As the teaching tools depart from a predominantly French-oriented history to one that incorporates other civilizations into the citizens’ heritage, France’s position on its late colonial experience and decolonization remains ambivalent at best.”⁵⁷

For example, it was not until the early 1980s that the Algerian War and the concurrent colonial aspirations of France were featured in the national curriculum. Speaking about the Algerian War remains, to an extent, somewhat taboo in today’s France due to, in no small part, a long complicit and consensual *roman national* of the Fourth Republic in which certain stories were suppressed. President Macron’s explicit recognition of French use of torture and his apology to the widow of Maurice Audin in September 2018 was, for many, one of the first steps in recognizing the problematic narratives of the Fifth Republic. For Gaïti, in fact, the writing of the history of the post–Second World War reveals the co-existence “[of] controversial periods (related to the Algerian war) [which] insert in a cold, dull, generally consensual history, a devalued history, surrounded by two moments of restored grandeur – Liberation on the one hand, the Fifth Republic on the other – and which seems permanently measured, at least implicitly, at these heights.”⁵⁸

Although the introduction of the Algerian War into the secondary history curriculum in France dates back to 1983, its teaching is still a delicate question as topics of the Algerian War are always caught in the “tensions between history

⁵⁴ Alain Choppin, “Le manuel scolaire, une fausse évidence historique,” *Histoire de l’éducation*, 117 (2008): 56.

⁵⁵ Gaïti Brigitte, “Les manuels scolaires et la fabrication d’une histoire politique. L’exemple de la IV^{ème} République,” *Genèses*, 2, no. 44 (2001): 50.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Yasemin N. Soysal and Simona Szakács. “Reconceptualizing the Republic: Diversity and Education in France, 1945–2008.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 41, no. 1 (2010): 104.

⁵⁸ Gaïti, “Les manuels scolaires et la fabrication d’une histoire politique. L’exemple de la IV^{ème} République,” 59.

and memory.”⁵⁹ These tensions are found particularly in classrooms, where teachers present the official content to students who have been, in many cases, directed connected to the consequences of the Algerian War and its prior non-inclusion in the *roman national*. As part of a continuing education program for secondary school teachers in the suburbs of Lyon, as Boyer and Stacchetti showed “teachers treat the Algerian War as an example of *decolonization by war* as evidenced by the official curriculum and present official materials, often comparing it with the case of the decolonization of India, considered as a *peaceful decolonization*.”⁶⁰ This classification of decolonization, framing the Algerian War as an undesirable “type” of decolonization, serves to support the existing *roman national*. We see here an example reminding us that merely including a topic on the curriculum does not necessarily serve to disrupt a powerful political story. In secondary school, the teaching of the Algerian War is discussed in terms of the nature of the conflict, the difficulties of its political management, and its implications for metropolitan political and social life. But beyond so-called facts and historical events, another more important consideration emerges: How one might present the subject to students of Maghreb origin and how student citizens react to a story that does not fit in with a certain idea of France, supported by a *roman national*. Here, the teaching of history must be considered with how one frames one’s own identity. As Lorenz pointed out, a historical identity is “a type of identity defined by its development in time.”⁶¹ Time, as we have seen, allows for the suppression and expression of particular stories depending on the will of the state, its curriculum, its official texts, and the ways in which teachers navigate these three.

Mounting a challenge to the *roman national* of an inclusive France is linked to questions of identities that undermine the representation of a linguistically and culturally homogeneous nation. As Soysal and Szakács noted, France has consistently projected a universalistic, perspective particularly within its official forms of public discourse.⁶² The teaching of the history of the Algerian War, decolonization, and immigration helps to redefine the contemporary aims of a discipline that today must renew its questions, because “the history taught is constantly changing.”⁶³

⁵⁹ Gilles Boyer and Véronique Stacchetti. “Enseigner la guerre d’Algérie à l’école: dépasser les enjeux de mémoires?,” in Frédéric Abécassis, Gilles Boyer, Benoit Falaize, Gilbert Meynier and Michelle Zanarini-Fournel (Eds.), *La France et l’Algérie: Leçons d’Histoire. De l’école en situation coloniale à l’enseignement du fait colonial* (Lyon: EnsEditions, 2014), 241.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁶¹ Chris Lorenz. “Towards a theoretical framework for comparing historiographies.” In Peter Seixas (Ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 31.

⁶² Yasemin N. Soysal and Simona Szakács, “Reconceptualizing the Republic: Diversity and Education in France, 1945–2008,” 2010.

⁶³ Olivier Loubes, “D’un roman national, l’autre. Lire l’histoire par la fin dans les programmes de 1923 et de 1938,” *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, no. 21 (2013): 59.

CONCLUSION

We follow De Cock's premise of "pleading for" a new *roman national* that relies on new forms of narrative, those that rely on the social interactions at the core of historical scholarship.⁶⁴ Such narratives go beyond the traditional binary divisions to place events, actions, and people in their historical context. A difficulty in France is the deep investment that has been made in constructing a *roman national* that is so deeply embedded in the public consciousness that it is often difficult to see. Compounding this difficulty is that France has tried, for hundreds of years, to articulate (and impress) universal values that were to form the foundations of a Republic and nation-state—beginning, of course, with a national language decided upon by a monarch, which was spoken by relatively few people at the time.

We wish to extend this reasoning further, however, by suggesting that future history teachers need more than a new *roman national*. We acknowledge it will always exist in some sense through an official curriculum, supported by texts. To pretend that a country, a state, or a province does not have a *roman national* is problematic and to contend simply that a new one is required, once acknowledged, is similarly problematic. We wish to state, in no uncertain terms, that a central tenet of teaching future history and social studies teachers needs to be a description, analysis, and interpretation of the *roman national* in which they are learning to teach. Part of this approach might include a close examination of the *roman national* with which they are less familiar, with a view to understanding that it is often simpler, initially, to analyze histories that are distal before turning to the proximal. Part of the reason for using both French examples and scholarship in this chapter is to provoke the reader, an English reader, to consider the effects of the *roman national* for their context and for their roles as teacher educators. These considerations, we hope, will provoke tension.

McCulloch opined that "the study of the history of education is also a site of struggle ... it is riven by fissures and beset with insecurities."⁶⁵ We would argue that one of the struggles is the struggle that teacher educators must face when working with future teachers who will, in one way or another, be explicitly implicated in their *roman national*. In the UK, currently, there is a massive debate around the importance of content expertise in teacher training (as it is called in official UK governmental documents) and the content area experience that future teachers will have in their school placements. Yet paradoxically, teacher licensure is general and not linked to a particular content area knowledge. Either a teacher has Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) or they do not. Here, we at once see another struggle for the history of education and history education more generally: We live in an age in which rigor is defined by a certain kind of subject knowledge that is meant to be taught in schools, mandated

⁶⁴ Laurence De Cock, "Le roman national a-t-il des vertus intégratrices? Sur quelques polémiques actuelles autour de l'enseignement de l'histoire," *Diversité*, 168 (2012): 133.

⁶⁵ Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (London, UK: Routledge, 2011), 1.

by the state through its curricula, yet future history teachers are not explicitly recognized as being qualified to teach with expert professional knowledge.

The struggles contained within the *roman national* for what is to be taught in a history classroom extends to how the teaching profession, including but not limited to history teachers, is itself defined. Perhaps by encouraging future history and social studies teachers to make the *roman national* a critical site in their teaching, we might also engender the kinds of conversations necessary to ensure that the teachers are not further de-professionalized in increasingly neo-liberal environments. Here we also link to Christou's comments that the history of education should be a foundational part of all teacher education and that its marginalization has been due to, in no small part, the all-too-easy assertion that the history of education is "theoretical" and thus not applicable to classroom concerns.⁶⁶ We would argue here that the history of education as a subject within teacher education programs, as used both by future history teachers and by future teachers more generally, might provide precisely the sort of tools required for deconstructing the *roman national*.

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⁶⁶Theodore Christou, "Gone but not forgotten: the decline of history as an Educational Foundation," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 5 (2009): 569–583.

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Improving Teachers' Proficiency in Teaching Historical Thinking

Carla van Boxtel, Jannet van Drie, and Gerhard Stoel

INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the long-standing attention given to historical thinking in the Dutch history curriculum and the question of how teacher educators can play a role in bringing historical thinking into the classroom. The Netherlands already had a kind of 'historical thinking movement' in the 1970s and 1980s. But despite the long-standing presence of attainment targets concerning historical thinking in the history curriculum, historical thinking is not naturally present in history lessons. In the first part of this chapter we briefly outline the attention for historical thinking in history education in the Netherlands. In the second part we discuss three promising approaches in the initial training and professional development of teachers to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

The first example is a four-year teacher training program in which historical thinking is a core component. The second example comes from a postgraduate teacher training program which prepares teachers for senior secondary education. We describe how preservice teachers in this program extend their theoretical and practical knowledge about how to engage students in historical

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thinking and reasoning by doing a design research. The third example presents our experiences with a professional development program for experienced history teachers in which we started with a collaborative analysis of how students reason historically. In the discussion, we look at the challenges that still lie ahead when we want to close the gap between theories about historical thinking and classroom practice.

DUTCH APPROACHES OF HISTORICAL THINKING

Current theories on the teaching and learning of history emphasize the role of historical thinking. Scholars provide a variety of partly different but also overlapping conceptualizations. Historical thinking competences are often related to historical consciousness.¹ Historical thinking competences are also considered relevant in the context of citizenship education.² Participation in deliberations about the common good requires the ability to analyze processes of change and continuity and to identify and reflect on causes and consequences of social problems and possible scenarios for the future. Furthermore, it has been argued that students should be able to critically examine representations of the past in collective memory.³

Particularly influential are conceptualizations of historical thinking that focus on historical reading strategies, such as sourcing, contextualization, corroboration, and close reading.⁴ In other approaches of historical thinking, metahistorical or second-order concepts play a core role.⁵ In these approaches,

¹The relationship between historical thinking and historical consciousness is discussed by several scholars, for example, Peter Seixas, “Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking,” in *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, ed. Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger, and Maria Grever (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 59–72; Andreas Körber, “Historical Consciousness, Historical Competencies – and Beyond? Some Conceptual Developments within German History Didactics,” 56, *S*, 2015; Carla van Boxtel, “Historical Consciousness. A Learning and Teaching Perspective from the Netherlands,” in *Contemplating Historical Consciousness. Notes from the Field*, ed. Anna Clark and Carla Peck (New York/Oxford: Berghahn, 2019), 61–75.

²Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Routledge, 2004).

³Helle Bjerg, Andreas Körber, Claudia Lenz, and Olivier von Wrochem, *Teaching Historical Memories in an Intercultural Perspective* (Bielefeld: Metropol, 2013).

⁴See, for example, Sam Wineburg, “Historical Problem Solving: A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 83 (1991): 73–87; Abby Reisman, “Reading Like a Historian: A Document-based History Curriculum Intervention in Urban High Schools,” *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 1 (2012): 86–112; Jeffrey Nokes, Janice Dole, and Douglas Hacker, “Teaching High School Students to Use Heuristics while Reading Historical Texts,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 99, no. 3 (2007): 492–504; Susan De La Paz and Daniel Wissinger, “Effects of Genre and Content Knowledge on Historical Thinking with Academically Diverse High School Students,” *Journal of Experimental Education* 83, no. 1 (2015): 110–129.

⁵For example, Peter Lee, “Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History,” in *How Students Learn: History, Mathematics, and Science in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington: National Academies Press, 2005), 31–77; Stéphane Lévesque,

historical thinking concerns thinking in terms of change and continuity, causes and consequences, historical evidence, and how a particular action or event can be related to the broader context of historical developments and situations. In most conceptualizations there is not much attention for the role of substantive historical knowledge. In our own framework of historical reasoning this substantive knowledge is also included.⁶ We define historical reasoning as a combination of several historical thinking activities that aim at drawing conclusions about the past based upon historical evidence. Students' knowledge of historical facts, concepts, and chronology is one of the resources (next to historical interest, understanding of metahistorical concepts, and epistemological beliefs) that shape the quality of historical reasoning.

In the Netherlands, conceptualizations of historical thinking have always been strongly connected to both the heuristics that are involved when investigating historical sources and the second-order concepts of the discipline, such as change and continuity and causation. The Dutch description of these second-order concepts goes back to the 1970s. In that time, eminent Dutch history teacher educators (e.g., Dalhuisen, Latour, Fontaine, Geurts, and Toebes) wrote about the doing history approach and how to work with historical investigations. They emphasized skills, as, for example, distinguishing fact from opinion, the use of heuristics to examine the trustworthiness of sources, the construction of a historical explanation, historical empathy, and taking into account another one's and your own positionality.⁷

History teacher educator Leo Dalhuisen played an important role in the conceptualization of historical skills. Inspired by Bruner's notion of central concepts and structures of a discipline and the 'new social studies' promoted by Fenton, he developed—in collaboration with the history philosopher Van der Dussen—a system of metahistorical concepts (in Dutch 'structuurbegrippen') and related skills, such as fact and objectivity, change and continuity, historical empathy, causes and consequences, and interpretation.⁸ Since the 1980s, these historical thinking concepts have been an important component of the formal Dutch history curriculum. Compared to other subjects that made a shift toward more emphasis on skills in the late 1990s, history was ahead at that time. Dalhuisen developed a history textbook that included a variety of historical

Thinking Historically. Educating Students for the Twenty-first Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2012).

⁶Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel, "Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning about the Past," *Educational Psychology Review* 20, no. 2 (2008): 87–110; Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie, "Historical Reasoning: Conceptualizations and Educational Applications," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott A. Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell), 149–176.

⁷Leo Dalhuisen and Kees Korevaar, *De Methode van Onderzoek in het Geschiedenisonderwijs* [Research Methods in History Education] (The Hague: Van Goor Zoons, 1971); Leo Dalhuisen, Piet Geurts, and Joop Toebes, *Geschiedenis op School. Theorie en Praktijk* [History at School. Theory and Practice] (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977).

⁸Leo Dalhuisen and Jan van der Dussen, *Wat is geschiedenis?* [What is History?] (Haarlem: Gottmer Uitgevers Groep, 1971).

sources and exercises that focused on historical inquiry. The publications *History: What Is it?* (1993) and *That Is History* (2000) of the committee that revised the history examination program were widely used by history teachers and contained many examples of open-ended investigations with historical sources in which students had to apply historical skills.⁹

Until the turn of the century research on the learning and teaching of history was almost absent in the Netherlands. This was—among other things—due to a severe cutdown of expenses for teacher training institutes and a lack of interest in the pedagogy of history in the history departments of universities. From 2000 onwards, we see the development of a strong and also internationally visible community of Dutch history education researchers. Much of this research has revolved around historical thinking and reasoning and focuses on several aspects, such as change and continuity, historical questioning, causes and consequences, historical significance, historical perspective taking, historical empathy, and historical contextualization.¹⁰ These studies contributed to our understanding of what historical thinking and reasoning entail and, particularly, how it can be promoted, for example, by inquiry or writing tasks.

THE PRESENT HISTORY CURRICULUM: COMBINING OVERVIEW KNOWLEDGE AND HISTORICAL THINKING

In the Netherlands the subject of history is compulsory for students until the age of 14 (pre-vocational track) or 15 (pre-university track). In primary and junior secondary education, there is a national curriculum that prescribes some targets related to historical knowledge and skills.

The targets provide quite some room for schools to decide for themselves about the content of the history curriculum. The main focus is on teaching a

⁹Leo Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis: Wat is dat?* [History: What is it?] (Den Haag, 1993), and Werkgroep Implementatie Eindexamen Geschiedenis, *Dat is Geschiedenis* [That's History] (Den Haag, 2000).

¹⁰See, for example, Jannet van Drie, Carla van Boxtel, Jos Jaspers, and Gellof Kanselaar, "Effects of Representational Guidance on Domain specific Reasoning in CSCL," *Computers in Human Behaviour* 21, no. 4 (2005): 575–602; Albert Logtenberg, *Questioning the Past. Student Questioning and Historical Reasoning* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2012); Gerhard Stoel, Jannet van Drie, and Carla van Boxtel, "The Effects of Explicit Teaching of Strategies, Second-Order Concepts, and Epistemological Underpinnings on Students' Ability to Reason Causally in History," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 109, no. 3 (2017): 321–337; Geerte Savenije, Carla van Boxtel, and Maria Grever, "Sensitive 'Heritage' of Slavery in a Multicultural Classroom: Pupils' Ideas Regarding Significance," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 62, no. 2 (2014): 127–148; Tessa de Leur, Carla van Boxtel, and Arie Wilschut, "I Saw Angry People and Broken Statues': Historical Empathy in Secondary History Education," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 65, no. 3 (2017): 331–351; Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie, "'That's in the Time of the Romans!' Knowledge and Strategies Students Use to Contextualize Historical Images and Documents," *Cognition and Instruction* 30, no. 2 (2012): 113–145; Tim Huijgen, Carla van Boxtel, Wim van de Grift, and Paul Holthuis, "Toward Historical Perspective Taking: Students' Reasoning When Contextualizing the Actions of People in the Past," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 45, no. 1 (2017): 110–144.

chronological frame of reference focusing on European and Dutch history and consisting of a framework of ten eras with characteristic aspects for each era (e.g., the spread of Christianity in the time of monks and knights) which has to be illustrated using the Dutch Canon (a list of 50 persons and events). Students should be able to use the characteristic features of historical periods to place events, people, and changes in the correct eras and to understand how people lived in these times. The objectives for primary school and junior secondary education do not have much attention for historical thinking; only the competence to use historical sources to construct an image of a historical period is explicitly mentioned. In senior secondary education, both a central examination (developed by a national assessment organization) and school examinations (developed by the teacher) make up the final grade for History. Historical thinking is a core component of the examination program, next to the framework of ten eras. Students, for example, have to be able to take into account the nonlinear and multicausal character of historical phenomena and events, identify types of causes and consequences (e.g., direct, indirect, short term, long term, intended, unintended, more or less significant consequences based upon scale, intensity, duration), and understand that each explanation is an interpretation.¹¹

The same kind of objectives are given for thinking about continuity and change. Students have to be able to identify types of change (e.g., tempo, duration, scale, intensity, political/social-economical/cultural), recognize that every time bears in itself material and immaterial traces of the past, deal with the difference between unique and generic meanings of historical concepts, and explain that every analysis of continuity and change is an interpretation. Only recently is there more attention for the second-order concept 'historical significance' under the header 'significance nowadays'. Students should understand the changing significance of past events, persons, and developments for different groups of people and recognize various present motives, values, and expectations when people make moral judgments about the past. Thus, attainment targets mention not only the second-order concepts and related strategies, but also the understanding of historical narratives as constructions of the past.

As explained above, historical thinking concepts and skills have been an important part of the Dutch history curriculum since the 1980s. Around the turn of the century, there was a major shift in the history curriculum. The thematic approach that was common in senior secondary education was replaced by a curriculum that was more dominated by a chronological frame of reference consisting of ten eras with characteristic features.¹² This curriculum reform

¹¹ Board of Examinations, *Geschiedenis HAVO en VWO. Syllabus Centraal Examen* (Arnhem: CEVO, 2013).

¹² Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming, *Verleden, Heden en Toekomst* [Past, Present and Future] (Enschede: SLO, 2001).

was for an important part shaped by political agendas.¹³ Politicians made the case for more shared knowledge of the past, which was expected to contribute to social cohesion and citizenship. Furthermore, there were complaints about the assumed loss of knowledge of significant dates and persons as a result of the more thematic approach and the attention for historical thinking. The implementation of the ten-era framework—which is assessed in the central examination—resulted in a strong focus on using overview knowledge of national and European history to situate concrete persons and events in time. Historical skills, however, did not lose their place in the curriculum. They were now called historical thinking and reasoning skills and the formulation was adapted to conceptualizations used in history education research abroad and in the Netherlands.

Recently, the government has initiated a large-scale curriculum reform of all subjects in primary and secondary education. The implications for the attention for historical thinking skills are not clear yet. The curriculum reform aims at more horizontal (between subjects) and vertical (from primary to senior secondary education) coherence and attention for citizenship, personal development, and twenty-first-century skills. The idea of ‘teachers in the lead’ resulted in a curriculum development team consisting of only teachers and school directors. Teacher educators, researchers, and associations of teachers can provide feedback. The association of history teachers argued that historical thinking and reasoning should be the core component of the new curriculum.¹⁴ The curriculum development team for social studies (in the Netherlands comprising History, Geography, Economics, Social Science, and Civics) is working on a set of competences that are common for the social studies, such as thinking in terms of change and continuity, causes and consequences, multiple perspectives, interactions, and structures.¹⁵ This may result in more attention for historical competences in primary and junior secondary education.

TEACHER EDUCATORS’ EFFORTS TO ENHANCE HISTORICAL THINKING IN THE CLASSROOM

In the Netherlands teacher education is organized in three different programs. For primary education, preservice teachers follow a four-year program at the bachelor level at Colleges for Teacher Training. They are qualified to teach all subjects across the entire age range in primary school (ages 4–12). The preservice teachers come from senior secondary education (the track that prepares for university of applied sciences) or from secondary vocational schools. At the

¹³ Arie Wilschut, “History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies: Germany, England and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 42, no. 5 (2010): 693–723.

¹⁴ Vereniging van Docenten Geschiedenis en Staatsinrichting in Nederland, *Bij de tijd 3. Geschiedenisonderwijs voor de toekomst* [Up to Date 3. History Education for the Future] (2018).

¹⁵ Curriculum.nu, *Vierde tussenproduct Ontwikkelteam Mens en Maatschappij* [Fourth Interim Product Design Team Social Studies] (January 2019).

colleges there is only limited time for history and the pedagogy of history. Secondary school teachers are qualified either to teach in junior secondary education (ages 12–14) and senior pre-vocational education (ages 14–16) or to (also) teach in the tracks in senior secondary education (ages 15–18) that prepare for university of applied sciences or university. The qualification for junior secondary and senior pre-vocational education can be obtained by a program of four years at the bachelor level, comprising courses on history, the teaching of history, and general pedagogy.

The qualification to teach history in senior secondary school can be obtained by a two-year program at the master level or a one-year postgraduate program for those who already have a master's in history. During the final stages of initial teacher training, a preservice teacher teaches around four to six hours a week in school as an intern. The preservice teacher is mentored by a history teacher educator working at the university and a history teacher from the school. Although in all teacher training programs, the time for history-specific pedagogy is limited, due to the time that is spent in internship, general pedagogical competences, or the content of history, preservice teachers are trained to teach historical thinking and reasoning. The time devoted to historical thinking, however, differs per program.

Overall, history teacher educators are well informed about conceptualizations of historical thinking and reasoning in the national and international literature. An increasing number have a PhD in history education (often focusing on aspects of historical thinking and reasoning). In the four-year teacher training program many educators use a textbook that focuses on historical thinking.¹⁶ This textbook contains concrete examples of historical thinking, assignments to engage student teachers in historical thinking, and examples of how to enhance historical thinking in the classroom. At the master and postgraduate level, the emphasis is less on developing students' historical thinking competence, but more on the philosophical underpinnings of historical thinking, insights from empirical research, and strategies for teaching and assessing historical thinking and reasoning.

Publications on historical thinking are widely used. Furthermore, many teacher educators make use of the Active Historical Thinking publications developed by a group of Dutch history teachers and educators. These publications contain ready-to-use and easy-to-adapt exercises that aim at active engagement in historical thinking. The exercises (e.g., 'odd-one-out', 'mystery', and 'images debated') are well structured, but open-ended and mostly done in small groups.¹⁷

¹⁶Dick van Straaten (Ed.), *Historisch denken. Basisboek voor de Vakdocent* [Historical Thinking. Handbook for the History Teacher] (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2016).

¹⁷Harry Havekes, Arnoud Aardema, and Jan de Vries, "Active Historical Thinking: Designing Learning Activities to Stimulate Domain-specific Thinking," *Teaching History* 139 (2010): 52–59; Harry Havekes, Carla van Boxtel, Peter-Arno Coppen, and Johan Luttenberg, "Knowing and Doing History. A Conceptual Framework and Pedagogy for Teaching Historical Contextualisation," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 11, no. 1 (2012): 71–92.

HISTORICAL THINKING AND REASONING IN THE CLASSROOM

We have to be careful in making statements about the extent to which teachers in the Netherlands engage their students in historical thinking and reasoning, because hardly any research has been done. Based upon the results of some small-scale studies and our own experiences, we think that, despite the position of historical thinking and reasoning in the curriculum and teacher education programs, in general the instructional focus on historical thinking is still limited.

It is promising that current history textbooks, which are commonly used in the Netherlands, contain a rich variety of sources and exercises that focus on historical thinking and reasoning. However, we do not know to what extent teachers really use these exercises. Furthermore, there is the difficulty that the textbooks are offering contradictory messages. The core of the textbook is a text about the characteristic aspects of the ten-era framework in a narrative format. The chronological frame of reference is translated into a rather fixed narrative. This narrative reads like an ultimate story of what happened. The textbook analysis by Kropman, van Drie, and van Boxtel shows that the author's voice and multiple perspectives present in historiography are almost absent in the history textbooks.¹⁸ In this sense, textbook narratives are not supportive in the development of students' historical thinking and reasoning competences.

The interview study of Tuithof provides some insights in the ways Dutch history teachers struggle with combining the teaching of overview knowledge and historical thinking skills.¹⁹ Tuithof interviewed history teachers several times during the implementation of the new examination program with the ten-era framework and studied changes in their pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). She found that it was difficult for teachers to adapt their PCK when their teaching orientation (with a focus on historical thinking) did not match with the new curriculum.

There are only two small-scale observation studies, which inform us how teachers engage their students in historical thinking and reasoning. Huijgen and colleagues observed eight history teachers twice and looked at how they promoted historical contextualization in their lessons.²⁰ The results indicate that the teachers demonstrated some historical contextualization, but hardly actively engaged their students in historical contextualization processes. Gestsdóttir, van Boxtel, and van Drie included ten lessons of eight Dutch history teachers in a study that aimed at the development of an observation instru-

¹⁸Marc Kropman, Jannet van Drie, and Carla van Boxtel, "Multiperspectivity in the History Classroom. The Role of Narrative and Metaphor," in *Narrative and Metaphor in Education. Looking Both Ways*, ed. Michael Hanne and Anna Kaal (Abingdon, UK/New York: Routledge, 2018), 63–75.

¹⁹Hanneke Tuithof, *The Characteristics of Dutch Experienced History Teachers' PCK in the Context of a Curriculum Innovation* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, PhD diss. 2017).

²⁰Tim Huijgen, Paul Holthuis, and Carla van Boxtel, "Promoting Historical Contextualization: An Observational Study," *Educational Studies* (2018, online first).

ment focusing on the teaching of historical thinking and reasoning.²¹ These teachers were selected because the researchers expected that the teachers would demonstrate at least part of the behavior that was included in the instrument, for example, because they were actively engaged in professionalization activities focused on historical thinking. They found that in three of the ten observed lessons teachers showed behavior that was considered to reflect the teaching of historical thinking and reasoning to some extent or to a large extent. In most lessons, only few of the behavioral indicators were observed. The teachers mainly demonstrated historical thinking and used historical sources to support historical thinking. In almost all lessons, teachers engaged students in historical thinking and reasoning by providing individual or group assignments. In only half of the lessons teachers communicated learning objectives related to historical thinking goals. Furthermore, showing that there are multiple perspectives or interpretations and explicit instruction about historical thinking strategies were absent in almost all lessons.

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THEORY AND CLASSROOM PRACTICE

Despite the fact that historical reasoning is part of the curriculum and has its place in teacher education programs, implementing it in the classroom remains difficult. Below, we discuss three approaches that aim to bridge this gap.

Historical Reasoning as a Core Component in a Four-Year Teacher Training Curriculum

In this paragraph, we describe the systematic attention for historical reasoning in the curriculum of one of the nine higher education institutions in the Netherlands that offer a four-year program qualifying for junior secondary education and upper pre-vocational education. The program focuses on subject matter, general pedagogical and history-specific pedagogical knowledge, and skills.

This four-year program starts with a course about historical reasoning that aims to make preservice teachers more familiar with the discipline of history and to develop their historical reasoning competences. During the course preservice teachers become familiar with the critical examination of historical sources, the construction of historical explanations, historical perspective taking, and periodization. Furthermore, they investigate to what extent types and components of historical reasoning are present in history textbooks and lessons at their school. Subsequent courses in the first year focus on historical periods and history-specific pedagogy. In the history-specific pedagogy course,

²¹ Susanna Gestsdóttir, Carla van Boxtel, and Jannet van Drie, "Teaching Historical Thinking and Reasoning: Construction of an Observation Instrument," *British Educational Research Journal* 44, no. 6 (2018): 966–981.

connections are made with the historical reasoning course. At the end of the first year, preservice teachers' subject matter and (history-specific) pedagogical knowledge and skills are assessed with an integrative performance task in which students design a lesson that also includes attention for the development of historical reasoning competences. At the end of this first year, the teacher educators want to see that students have moved beyond the idea that the learning of history concerns the reproduction of historical facts.

In the second year, there is a second course about historical reasoning focusing on conceptualizations of historical reasoning. Again, preservice teachers have to apply their understanding of historical reasoning, not only by analyzing lessons and textbooks, but also by analyzing student work. Which aspects of historical reasoning are difficult for students? What is their students' level of reasoning? Furthermore, they have to design a lesson in which they put one of the metahistorical concepts (e.g., change) at the center, formulate a historical question, and ask students to work with historical sources. The choices students make have to be justified by theory about historical reasoning. The final assessment at the end of the second year is again a design task. Preservice teachers develop an 'Escape the History Classroom' assignment in which they need to include all components of historical reasoning, using the historical reasoning framework of van Boxtel and van Drie.²² At this level, teacher educators indicate that students still have difficulties with adjusting their lessons to the needs, prior knowledge, and experiences of their students. At the end of the second year, the overarching goal is that students are able to explicate goals related to different components of historical reasoning. In the last two years of the curriculum, taking into account students' interest, knowledge, and needs gains more attention.

In the third year, there is much emphasis on the internship. Next to that, preservice teachers follow courses about historical topics and theory of history. The courses about historical topics have been developed according to a diachronic approach and the six historical thinking concepts that are described by Seixas and Morton.²³ They write a historical article about a topic of their choice based upon both primary and secondary sources, demonstrating their own historical reasoning skills. The course about the theory of history builds upon the historical reasoning courses and places the historical reasoning constructs in a broader scientific framework.

In the final year preservice teachers conduct a practice-oriented design research, in which they investigate a question of their own choice. Only few choose to focus on a question related to the learning and teaching of historical reasoning. A problem mentioned by the teacher educators is that during their practice-oriented research, preservice teachers often rush to a concrete instructional strategy (e.g., using a step-by-step instruction or checklist), whereas they have less attention for an in-depth analysis of how students actually reason

²² Van Boxtel & Van Drie, "Historical Reasoning," 2018.

²³ Seixas and Morton, *The Big Historical Thinking Concepts*, 2012.

about past developments and a broader exploration of potentially effective instructional strategies.

Engaging Preservice Teachers in Design Research Within Their Own Classroom Practice

An important characteristic of the postgraduate and two-year master programs is the attention for conducting (design-based) practice-oriented research. Over the past decade, the role of (design) research in Dutch schools has developed greatly. This can be witnessed, for example, by an increase in professional learning communities, lesson-study groups, and teacher design teams. Because of their academic background, teachers with a university degree often play a central role in these design activities. In order to support this role, teacher training programs at the university level include educational design research and methods of educational design in their programs. The educational design course that we discuss is part of the core curriculum of the history teacher training program at our own university.

The central aim of the Educational Design course is for preservice teachers to learn how they can systematically analyze, design, and evaluate aspects of their teaching using theories and methods of the educational sciences and history-specific pedagogy. To connect with the different types of research that exist in current educational practice, preservice teachers can choose one out of three types of research. First is developing a prototype based on theory and an analysis of requirements and students' prior knowledge and interest, which is validated by feedback from experts and try-outs with part of the materials. Second is improving a teaching or learning activity in three iterations. Each iteration is evaluated and based upon the outcomes the activity is improved. Third is investigating the learning outcomes of an instructional approach, for example, by conducting an intervention study using a pre-test, post-test, or quasi-experimental design.

All three variations encompass the three phases of design research: (1) prior research to analyze the problem and the aspects that lie behind the problem; (2) developing learning materials or lessons based on design principles; and (3) validating (a prototype) or evaluating (when the design is implemented).²⁴ In the first phase, preservice teachers decide upon the problem or ambition they want to address. In this phase, students consult literature to define the learning outcomes, learning activities, or the knowledge gap their research will focus on. They elaborate on the difficulties that students or teachers themselves might have with an aspect of the curriculum. For example, preservice teachers focus on the teaching of causal historical reasoning, contextualization, historical significance, or working with historical sources. Alternatively, they focus on a specific instructional approach to enhance historical thinking, for example,

²⁴Tjeerd Plomp and Nienke Nieveen (Eds.), *An Introduction to Educational Design Research* (Enschede: SLO, 2009).

collaborative learning, explicit instruction, or whole-classroom discussion. Simultaneously, they collect empirical data in their own classroom to explore the nature of the problem in their own practice. Oftentimes, thinking-aloud interviews or task analysis are used to determine how students reason historically, and which steps they do (and do not) take.

After the problem analysis, literature is consulted to define design principles that might ‘solve’ the problem. These principles can be derived from general pedagogical literature and from domain-specific literature. The final step in this process is the formulation of a hypothesis that summarizes and (causally) relates the problem, the design principles, and the expected outcomes/desired results. Parallel to designing their lessons or learning activity, preservice teachers develop a research plan. They establish the goals of their research, operationalize the variables in their hypothesis, decide on adequate research instruments, and oftentimes develop these instruments based on their theoretical framework (e.g., interview protocols, reasoning tasks, or learner reports).

To illustrate this, we give an example of an intervention study in which a preservice teacher focused on students’ epistemological beliefs. The preservice teacher formulated the hypothesis in the following way:

Pupils often believe that historical knowledge is objective and that historical sources contain this objective knowledge. To influence [these] epistemological beliefs of my 11th-grade pupils and train them to construct a nuanced and well-supported narrative about the past, I developed a lesson unit that centers on provocative questions that must be answered using multiple, contradicting sources, and pays explicit attention to inquiry skills. After the lesson unit, I expect pupils to be more aware of the interpretative nature of historical knowledge. Secondly, I expect pupils to include contradictions between sources more often, to contextualize sources better, to account more explicitly for the origin and characteristics of the sources and support their conclusions with more evidence.

A questionnaire on epistemological beliefs about history and a learner report were used to assess changes in students’ beliefs.²⁵ Furthermore, a short document-based question was used to assess task performance. The performance task and questionnaire were deployed as a pre- and post-test.

An example that illustrates developing and validating a prototype is the case of a student teacher aiming at redesigning an assignment on oral history and migrant stories in students’ own environment. In this case, the history department at the school suggested the topic. The assignment was originally developed to support learning about large historical developments of the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., Cold War, decolonization, postwar sociocultural

²⁵ Gerhard Stoel, Albert Logtenberg, Bjorn Wansink, Tim Huijgen, Carla van Boxtel, and Jannet van Drie, “Measuring Epistemological Beliefs in History Education: An Exploration of Naïve and Nuanced Beliefs,” *International Journal of Educational Research* 83 (2017): 120–134.; Baukje van Kesteren, “Applications of de Groot’s ‘Learner Report’: A Tool to Identify Educational Objectives and Learning Experiences,” *Studies in Educational Evaluation* 19 (1993): 65–86.

developments, and the development of a diverse and multicultural society) by supporting it with concrete stories. However, the teachers of the department concluded that although students found it interesting and enjoyed collecting the stories, no connections were made between the personal stories and the larger historical processes.

Based on a theoretical framework about the importance of multiperspectivity and the role of contextualization, the preservice teacher defined several principles and designed a new assignment. He validated this prototype by interviewing several experts: an academic who focused on history learning and heritage institutions, sensitive topics, and perspective taking; a teacher who participated in an oral history project; and several students. He used the feedback to improve the design principles and the final prototype.

For most preservice teachers, the educational design course is a demanding course. This has to do, first of all, with the number of steps students have to take and the time constraints of the course. Furthermore, history preservice teachers are in general unexperienced in the methods of social sciences and the domain of learning theories, which increases their learning curve. Teacher educators try to support preservice teachers with workshops about conducting interviews, thinking-aloud sessions, content analysis, and intervention studies. Furthermore, preservice teachers who have had roughly 50 hours of experience in practice are often still focused strongly on classroom management and their role as teachers (Fuller and Bown 1975). Consequently, preservice teachers sometimes experience a gap between the goals of the teacher education and everyday practice (see also Korthagen 2016).

However, many preservice teachers (sometimes in retrospect) report to have learned a lot from the academic rigor and the acquaintance with the body of research on historical teaching and learning. In their reflections, preservice teachers indicate that they have developed a deeper understanding of concepts related to historical reasoning (e.g., change and continuity, or chronology) and of the problems students experience with these concepts. This learning is strengthened by the critical and systematic way in which the course made them look at their own practice and at the reasoning of their students. One preservice teacher put it like this:

I develop quite a lot of lesson materials, but I never dive in the existing literature and I also do not evaluate the outcomes as thoroughly as we were expected to do in this course. The most important learning result for me [...] was that] when developing future lessons, I need to start with defining clear goals for my pupil's and also define tasks [...] that allow me to make [the goals] assessable.

Analyzing Students' Historical Reasoning in a Professional Development Program

Another approach to improve teachers' skills in teaching historical thinking is through professional development programs (PDPs). An example of such a

PDP is *Beyond the facts. Improving causal reasoning in the history classroom* conducted in 2016–2017.²⁶ This program aimed at improving the teaching of causal reasoning in secondary education; teaching causal reasoning requires, among others, that teachers have prior knowledge of students' way of reasoning and the problems they encounter. They need knowledge of students' reasoning in different school years and their progression. The main characteristic of this PDP was the analysis of students' causal reasoning as collaborative activity, to provide teachers with insights in the conceptions, misconceptions, and ways of reasoning of students in various years. The idea was that this knowledge would better enable them to select appropriate teaching methods and materials that were tailored to the actual level of their students.

In the preparatory phase a group of five teachers and two researchers developed a rubric for causal reasoning, based on the collaborative analysis of students' answers on three different causal reasoning tasks collected over different age groups. Furthermore, the rubric was grounded in previous research on causal historical reasoning. The rubric describes four levels on six criteria: reasoning with multiple causes, making causal connections, using historical concepts, drawing conclusions, backing claims with evidence, and understanding multiple explanations.²⁷ Subsequently, concrete lessons for teaching causal reasoning were developed. Six design principles (largely based on the work of Stoel, van Drie, and van Boxtel) were introduced: formulate explicit goals on causal reasoning, diagnose students' reasoning prior to the lesson, formulate a complex causal question guiding the lesson, teach causal reasoning explicit, design open and active assignments that include group work, offer different learning paths.²⁸

The rubric and the model lessons were subsequently used as input in a PDP with a broader group of history teachers. The first part of the PDP repeated the collaborative activity to analyze students' causal reasoning. Participating teachers analyzed a preselected sample of students' causal reasoning, first without the rubric (thus eliciting their own prior knowledge) and then by using the rubric. The second part of the PDP focused on using this knowledge for developing lessons. In this phase the model lessons were presented and discussed by the teachers. In the final part of the PDP, teachers started to design their own lessons and received feedback from each other and the two trainers. In the following weeks, they conducted these lessons.

In the PDP, 11 experienced history teachers participated, each with one class, varying from grade 7 to 11 (263 students in total). The effects of the PDP were evaluated both on teachers' development and on students' learning experiences. The researchers conducted questionnaires at various moments,

²⁶This project was funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (grant number 405-16-508).

²⁷The rubric (in Dutch) can be found at <http://www.expertisecentrum-geschiedenis.nl/de-feiten-voorbij/rubric>

²⁸Stoel et al., "The Effects of Explicit Teaching," 2017.

interviewed teachers, and made observations of the lessons. In addition, students' learning experiences with the lessons were measured using a learner report.²⁹

Outcomes showed that teachers felt more confident in teaching causal reasoning, especially with respect to their ability to diagnose students' causal reasoning. Teachers reported more insight in the construct of causal reasoning and in the knowledge on students' conceptions and misconceptions. This enabled them to provide students with more specific feedback and to design lessons that were more tailored to the actual level of students' reasoning. Teachers indicated that the activity of collaboratively discussing students' reasoning gave them a lot of insights and diminished the gap between theory and their own teaching practices. The rubric was often mentioned as a powerful tool for analyzing student reasoning and gaining more insight into the problems students face. It helped in formulating specific learning goals and activities for engaging students in causal reasoning.

The observation of the lessons showed that the teachers used the six design principles. Almost all teachers used a diagnostic task to gain insight into students' prior knowledge. The teachers all explicitly formulated learning goals for causal reasoning, next to more content-related learning goals, and used an overarching causal question for their lesson. Examples of questions were: Why did Napoleon, who was an excellent general, lose the battle of Waterloo? Why did the Amsterdam 'Botermarkt' (Buttermarket) receive a new name in the nineteenth century and was called 'Rembrandtplein' (Rembrandtsquare)? How can the end of the Cold War be explained? These questions guided all activities in the lessons and were collaboratively answered at the end of the lesson. A diversity of open and active historical thinking activities were used to answer the main question. For example, selecting causes from different sources or a schoolbook text, ordering causes in different categories (i.e., political, economic, and social-cultural causes or consequences; or direct and indirect causes), or constructing schemes such as a causal map or a diamond nine for determining the significance of causes.³⁰

Explicit instruction on causal reasoning was part of all lessons. Timing differed, however: sometimes at the start of the lesson, sometimes afterwards when discussing the outcomes on the overarching question. The latter was done, for example, by explicitly discussing with students what they had learned about causation in history, or why answers on the overarching can differ and still not be wrong. In the interviews, teachers highlighted the importance of explicit teaching of historical reasoning, as it often remained implicit in their lessons. Three teachers took up the challenge of offering different learning paths. Based on the diagnosis, students could choose which learning path they would take. Most often, these paths were more or less teacher-centered

²⁹ Van Kesteren, "Applications of De Groot's Learner Report," 1993.

³⁰ Arthur Chapman, "Camels, Diamonds and Counterfactuals: A Model for Teaching Causal Reasoning," *Teaching History* 112 (2003): 46–53.

(working on the main task independently; working on the main task with the use of guiding materials; following direct instruction of the teacher). Although these teachers were positive about the results of these personalized trajectories, other teachers indicated that this approach was too far away from their current practice.

The analysis of the learner reports showed that students appreciated the lessons. The large majority of the 263 students agreed or completely agreed with the statement: 'I know now better how to work with causes and consequences in history.' Students who agreed with the statement subsequently indicated that this was foremost due to the assignments. They appreciated the open-ended, active, and collaborative characteristics of the assignments. As one of the students (grade 10) reported: '*We worked collaboratively on assignments, I like that, I pay more attention and remember the content better*'. Compared to 'ordinary' history lessons students experienced these lessons to be more fun, interesting, relevant, and challenging. From this evaluation, we conclude that focusing on the analysis of students' reasoning in a PDP is a fruitful approach for teaching causal reasoning. It provided teachers with more insight in what causal reasoning entails and students' ways of reasoning, which subsequently helped them design lessons that focused on causal reasoning, adapted to the level of students. This approach could be easily extended to other types of historical reasoning.

DISCUSSION

In this chapter we addressed the question how teacher educators can play a role in bringing historical thinking and reasoning in the classroom and bridging the gap between aims that are well-described in theory and classroom practice. First of all, we have to remark that although some small-scale studies indicate that in the Netherlands engaging students in historical thinking and reasoning is not naturally present in the history lessons in secondary school, we do not know much about the extent to which and how Dutch history teachers pay attention to the development of historical thinking and reasoning competences. The recently developed observation instruments can be useful to investigate this on a larger scale and to make a comparison with the teaching of historical thinking in countries that have a similar or different curriculum and/ or teacher education program.³¹

The problem of teaching historical thinking is not only confined to the Netherlands. Scholars in other countries have noticed the gap between theory and practice.³² Reisman notes that although teachers acknowledge the value of

³¹ Gestsdóttir, "Teaching Historical Thinking and Reasoning", 2018.

³² See, for example, Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, "Why Don't More History Teachers Engage Students in Interpretation?" *Social Education* 67, no. 6 (2003): 358–361; Bjorn Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, and Theo Wubbels, "The Certainty Paradox of Student History Teachers: Balancing between Historical Facts and Interpretation," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 56 (2016): 94–105.

teaching historical thinking, they do not adopt such an approach easily.³³ Voet and De Wever point to the difficulty of understanding what it actually entails to teach historical thinking.³⁴ In the Netherlands, we can see the following constraining factors. First, the chronological frame of reference of ten eras has been translated into an overloaded overview of historical periods and developments, which puts pressure on the time available for teaching historical thinking competences. We need more examples of how students can appropriate a chronological frame of reference to situate events, developments, persons, and historical sources in time without overloading them with a long list of to be learned facts, dates, persons, and concepts. Elsewhere, we pointed to the possibility of focusing on colligatory concepts and landmarks.³⁵

A second constraint is the text in history textbooks. In the Netherlands, textbooks shape for an important part how teachers teach and how students learn history. Although the textbooks contain historical thinking activities, the texts themselves are mostly constructed as a single narrative that is presented as objective truth. Textbook authors should think about ways to communicate to the students that the text is written by someone who has asked questions, and selected and constructed a particular interpretation. Also, it should be more visible for students that regarding some questions there are multiple plausible answers possible.³⁶ Students can also investigate how the meaning assigned to historical people and events that are part of the core curriculum changed over time. In this way teachers can both teach overview knowledge and enhance students' understanding of multiple perspectives and history as interpretation.

In teacher education, particularly in the one- and two-year programs, a constraining factor is that preservice teachers' concerns are often more with classroom management than with learning to teaching historical thinking competences. In this context it is important to make a clear connection with the student's own teaching context, as is the aim of the educational design course that we discussed, in particular to start with a teaching problem that the preservice teacher himself or herself encounters. This point also makes clear the need for continuous professionalization of teachers.

More knowledge is needed on exactly what knowledge and skills preservice teachers need to teach historical thinking to their students. Thus far, research on preparation of history teachers is still rare and rather particularistic.³⁷ What

³³ Reisman, "Reading Like a Historian," 2012.

³⁴ Michiel Voet and Bram de Wever, "Effects of Immersion in Inquiry-based Learning on Student Teachers' Educational Beliefs," *Instructional Science* 46, no. 3 (2018): 383–403; Michiel Voet and Bram de Wever, "Preparing Pre-service History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017): 206–217.

³⁵ Van Boxtel and Van Drie, "That's in the Time of the Romans!," 2012.

³⁶ This is, for example, addressed by Richard Paxton, "The Influence of Author Visibility on High School Students Solving a Historical Problem," *Cognition and Instruction* 20, no. 2 (2002): 197–248.

³⁷ Chauncey Monte-Sano and Christopher Budano, "Developing and Enacting Pedagogical Content Knowledge for Teaching History: An Exploration of Two Novice Teachers' Growth over

are the ingredients of a teacher education and a professionalization program that promotes the teaching of historical reasoning? First, we think it is important that preservice teachers and experienced teachers acquire insight in what historical reasoning entails.

This can be achieved, for example, by engaging in historical thinking and reasoning themselves (e.g., through assignments in courses that aim at historical content knowledge) or by (collaboratively) analyzing and discussing students' thinking and reasoning. Second, preservice teachers and experienced teachers can be supported by frameworks and tools that define historical thinking and reasoning in terms of concrete student behavior. For example, the rubrics used in the PDP that we discussed and that shows progression in historical thinking skills. Other examples are the historical thinking concepts and guiding posts developed by Seixas and Morton and the framework for analyzing historical reasoning developed by van Boxtel and van Drie.³⁸

These tools can be used to analyze student work and to design learning activities that enhance historical thinking. Observation instruments can support student teachers and teachers in getting a better idea of what they can do in order to *teach* historical thinking and reasoning, such as demonstrating historical thinking when giving instructional explanations, providing explicit instruction about a particular historical reasoning strategy, or enhancing students' historical reasoning in the context of a whole-class discussion. In all the three examples that we presented, teacher educators tried to show that enhancing historical thinking in the classroom does not necessarily involve 'doing things with historical sources'. There are other types of activities that can promote students' historical thinking. More research, for example, is needed on the potential of creative tasks to enhance students' motivation to engage in historical thinking and reasoning. Future research should also focus on the impact of teacher preparation and professional development programs on the teaching of historical thinking and the effect on student learning. The approaches that we discussed seem promising. They all suggest the operationalization of historical thinking and reasoning in terms of concrete student behavior, a focus on students' thinking and promotion of professional experimentation with approaches to improve students' historical thinking competences, acknowledging the context (e.g., school, curriculum) in which the teachers operate.

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Three Years," *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 22, no. 2 (2013): 171–211; Stephanie van Hover and David Hicks, "History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, ed. Scott A. Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 391–418.

³⁸Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 2013; Van Boxtel and Van Drie, "Historical Reasoning," 2018.

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The Development and Progress of the ‘Source Method’ as a History Teaching Method: Practical Classroom Examples from Malta

Yosanne Vella

INTRODUCTION

The ‘Source Method,’ or as it was known in England in the 1970s, ‘New History’ teaching, may be considered the embodiment of the constructivist approach, where the central notion is that of having the child actively thinking during the learning process. In many ways, ‘the Source Method’ was a backlash against positivist historiography with its emphasis on absolute ‘truths’ in history which are recoverable by historians. ‘The Source Method’ went against the positive stance and supporting the position that facts from the past only start to have meaning once the historian has gone to work on them. As time passed, the ripples of postmodernism consolidated this position further in history teaching. Postmodernism went even beyond the famous Carr/Elton debate on the nature of history and maintained that truths uncovered by history are imperfect and generalizations do not apply because we are dealing every time with a new and unique individual, event, or person. The questions historians ask are determined by the questions of their society, reflecting the same apprehensions or optimism of the time rather than the historical period the historian is studying; as Keith Jenkins said: “History and the past float free of each other.”¹ All this cast serious doubt on the objectivity of history.

¹Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History* (Routledge, 1991), 7.

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While this extremely nihilistic approach to history of postmodernists was not embraced fully by school teachers, it did, however, convince history educators that it did not make sense to give pupils one narrative of history. Postmodernism fuelled teachers' resolve to move away from traditional history teaching which reflects the positivist stance for it rests on the assumption that history is a finished product—the work of historians. The construction of new thinking became more highly valued than the ability to demonstrate mastery of conventionally accepted historical knowledge. History was no longer seen as a body of knowledge, which has to be passed on to pupils, instead history became an exercise in producing a valid interpretation based on evidence.

THE BEGINNING OF 'THE SOURCE METHOD'

This debate on what is history greatly influenced the teaching of history, but it also went hand in hand with other concerns. In the 1960s' England, history as a school subject was felt to be (was?) threatened. Indeed, it was suggested that there was "a real danger of history disappearing from the time-table as a subject in its own right."² One of the main concerns of history teachers was that with the growing emphasis on scientific and technological knowledge, history would have little or no future in schools. There was a real fear that history would be absorbed into integrated subjects and so disappear as a distinct and important school subject. In order to meet such challenges, teachers found it necessary to question the assumptions upon which traditional methods were based and to offer new ideas. History educators, most notably Coltham and Fines,³ influenced by the work of Benjamin Bloom,⁴ started to organize history learning into concepts and skills, and most importantly to introduce primary sources into the history classroom.

This led to the development of 'the Source Method' which was also linked to other developments including the advocacy and use of simulation games, role-play, and audio-visual material, with micro-computers introduced in the 1980s. Besides all the emphasis on active learning and use of a variety of teaching methods, 'New History' or 'Source Method' was also much concerned with reconsidering the aims and objectives of school history. In England, this interest and activity led to major curriculum initiatives in history teaching at a national level. In 1972, the Schools Council funded a project for history for 13–16 year-olds and by 1974 pupils were sitting for experimental pilot examinations. Eventually, in 1976, there emerged the 'Schools Council History Project' which emphasized the use of evidence and of problem solving, which was described by Ivar Goodson as "The major initiative in recent years seeking

² Mary Price, *History in Danger* (London: The Historical Association, 1968), 342.

³ Jeanette Coltham and John Fines, *Educational Objectives for the Study of History* (London: The Historical Association Publication, 1971), 32.

⁴ Benjamin Bloom, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1956).

to reform the secondary-school curriculum in history.”⁵ The Schools Council History Project used levels of sophistication in students’ responses as indications of levels of historical understanding and development, and proved to be very effective in producing highly analytical history thinking in pupils especially,⁶ when compared to other pupils’ responses who had not been taught by ‘New History’ methods.⁷ By September 1986, all GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) history candidates were expected to study a wide range of historical evidence. All these activities in the secondary sector filtered down to the primary schools; ‘The Place, Time, and Society 8–13’ was a Schools’ Council History project in the early 1970s specifically aimed at curriculum change in primary and middle schools.⁸

The teaching approach of ‘New History’ had its critics. By the late 1980s, it started to come under heavy attack, especially by the press. One criticism was that knowledge seemed no longer important and pupils were not expected to know as much as before. Furthermore, it was felt that the methods and content of ‘New History’ were politically motivated, particularly the emphasis on empathy and the history of groups like women, black people, and the working class which had previously been ignored. This led to assertions that ‘New History’ was dominated by left wing progressive causes and that the idea of teaching ‘bias’ in history had been carried too far. The new methods were accused of being used as an excuse for leaving out content of which ‘the Left’ did not approve of.

In the course of the heated debate that occurred between those in favor of ‘New History’ and those against, Peter Lee asserted in his review of Stewart Deuchar’s pamphlet *History and GCSE History*, 1987:

Only someone very confused about what is at issue, ignorant of recent research and examining developments and lacking recent practical history teaching experience would expect simple dichotomies between content and concepts, facts and understanding to be taken seriously.⁹

If one follows the debate on ‘New History’ (or what later became known as ‘the Source Method’) teaching methods that went on in the late 1980s and

⁵Ivar Goodson, “New Views of History; From Innovation to Implementation,” *History Teaching and Historical Understanding*, Ed., A.K. Dickinson and P.J. Lee (London: Heinemann, 1978), 48.

⁶Denis Shemilt “Adolescent ideas about evidence and methodology in history” in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*. Christopher Portal editor (England, Sussex: Falmer House, 1987), 39–61.

⁷Denis Shemilt, “Beauty and the Philosopher: Empathy in History and Classroom,” in *Learning History*, Eds., A.K. Dickinson, P.J. Lee and P.J. Rogers (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984).

⁸William Alan Lansdell Blyth., *Place, Time and Society, 8–13. Curriculum planning in history, geography and social science (Project)* (Bristol, London: Educational Systems for the Schools Council, Collins, 1976).

⁹Peter Lee, “Debate—Review of Stewart Deuchar, *History and GCSE History*,” *Teaching History*, no. 49 (1987): 38.

early 1990s, it is in many ways a revisitation of the Elton versus Carr debate on what is history.¹⁰

Despite the attacks on ‘New History’ in the classroom, this method continued to gather momentum and undoubtedly British history teachers have been at the forefront in this history teaching revolution. By comparison, history teaching in Europe lagged behind for years. It was only in the late 1990s that sources in history teaching began to be advocated.

For a long time, continental Europe seemed far more occupied with historical consciousness as the core of history education rather than the Source Method. As late as the early twenty-first century in Europe nationhood and nation identity dominated the academic discourse on history teaching as was/has been evident from conferences and papers published at this time, see for example Martin Roberts in 2004¹¹ and Joke Van der Leeuw-Roord in 2001,¹² two classical works on European history teaching of the period which showcase researchers’ concerns in history teaching and the research was all on citizenship, developing democracy, and the role of the nation and identity in schooling. The move toward the ‘Source Method’ was slow and had an uneven take off. Progress in history teaching occurred in different European countries but tended to be uneven and sporadic with Alexander Shevryev reporting:

there are countries in Europe, which have been developing new methods for some years and even decades. On the other hand, the former ‘socialist’ countries still use mostly the traditional methods and, in some cases, the teachers there, do not even know about alternative ways of teaching history.¹³

When it came to the British ‘Source Method,’ American research on history teaching lagged even further behind that of its European counterparts as Samuel Wineburg (1994) noted while looking at the British Schools Council History Project that “The research generated by this project, from its matched-pair comparisons to its extensive library of clinical interviews, has yet to witness parallels on this side of the Atlantic.”¹⁴ Interestingly Edwin Fenton’s work on ‘new Social Studies’ did include an inquiry approach in history teaching as well as advocating the use of primary history sources, back in the 1960s, but this did

¹⁰ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (England: Penguin edition, 1964) provoked many responses, notably Geoffrey R. Elton *The Practice of History* (Great Britain, Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co, 1967). It is famously known by all historiographers as the Carr/Elton debate.

¹¹ Martin Roberts, *After the Wall History Teaching in Europe Since 1989* (Hamburg, Germany: Die Deutsche Bibliothek, 2004).

¹² Joke Van der Leeuw-Roord, *History for Today and Tomorrow What Does Europe Mean for School History* (Hamburg, Germany: Die Deutsche Bibliothek, 2001).

¹³ Alexander Shevryev, “Is History Teaching up to Date?” in Ed., Joke van der Leeuw-Roord *The State of History Education in Europe* (Hamburg, Germany: Körber-Stiftung, 1998), 94.

¹⁴ Samuel Wineburg, “Introduction: Out of Our Past and Into Our Future – The Psychological Study of Learning and Teaching History” in *Educational Psychologist Special Issue: The Teaching and Learning of History* (New Jersey, United States: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 58.

not have much of an impact on history teaching in American schools.¹⁵ It was decades later, possibly with the launch of Barton and Levstik's book *Teaching History for the Common Good* in 2004, that 'the Source Method' started to gain some ground in the US.¹⁶ Prior to that, most American history textbooks as well as academic history journals like *The History Teacher* published by The Society for History Education all seemed to offer ideas on making history teaching more interesting and stimulating to the pupil but with real source work by the student hardly ever making a mention.¹⁷

It is true that some books used in American classrooms in particular Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*¹⁸ had long moved away from narrow narratives based on the achievements and lives of Kings, Queens, Presidents, and Generals and more toward social justice and equality. Still, their pedagogy rested on a given narrative, the narrative had changed but the pedagogy was still the same, and actual source analysis has been uncommon. This shortcoming was somewhat addressed in 2008 with The Zinn Education Project¹⁹ which does include source work in its pedagogy.

Meanwhile, a new phenomenon hit history teaching, and once again it all started in Britain, the birthplace of 'the Source Method' in schools. In the twenty-first century, with the battle against the 'traditionalist' approach safely won more than a decade before, history teachers settled down to teaching history using the pedagogical approaches of 'the Source Method.' However, this approach was once again under heavy attack, although this time not from those who wished to revert to traditional methods of factual recall but by those who wanted to actually take the 'Source Method' to a much higher level and develop it much further than anyone had ever imagined possible. A movement which I believe was instigated consciously or unconsciously by Christine Counsell. Many who have attended presentations by Christine Counsell are struck by her enthusiastic, articulate, down-to-earth pedagogical advice and knowledge, and her publications soon became extremely popular and her ideas emulated and copied all over Britain and all across Europe.

What made Christine Counsell special and an innovator in history teaching was that she made it unacceptable to just use sources and thinking history skills in history lessons to merely gain information and some analysis on a historical event. Instead, her approach demanded extreme in-depth scrutiny to understand

¹⁵ See, for example, Edwin Fenton *Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach* (United States: Thomson Publication 1966) and Edwin Fenton, *New Social Studies* (United States: Holt R & W, 1968).

¹⁶ Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New Jersey, United States: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

¹⁷ *The History Teacher* journal published by The Society for History Education, California State University, US.

¹⁸ Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (London and New York: Longman, 1980).

¹⁹ Bill Bigelow, *A People's History for the Classroom: The Zinn Education Project* (US: A Rethinking Schools Publication, 2008).

what is actually going on, while the student is interacting with the sources and how to get students to operate at higher and higher levels of thinking. Counsell attacked the assumption that educators somehow know how their pupils get better at skills and source analysis while in reality the educators only had a very loose and vague idea of what was happening.

Christine Counsell created activities, which targeted historical thinking and highly reflective teaching, which continually sought more significant ways on how to get the pupils to really be involved in the true understanding of the history skill being studied. This is how she describes one of her positive research teaching experiences:

The focus was on interpretation that had been subsequently constructed, and on taking it apart, not on examining its claims to truth. It is important to note that they were not examining whether this or that interpretation was true, accurate or right. Here they were simply asking how are they different? How does the sub-text, the hidden message and meaning in the arrangement of words reveal that difference? How did this interpretation *come to be constructed*? And what do these interpretations, these texts, tell me about the interpreter? Thirteen-year-olds can do that, 17-year-olds can do it better and so they become thinkers. With work on evidence we are looking for what can be substantiated and weighing the validity of claims. With work on interpretations the emphasis is different: it is how did this community, this historian, this government, this author, this novelist, this military leader, this film-maker come to view history in this way?²⁰

She attacked ‘New History’ or the ‘Source Method’ as a teaching method which could degenerate into a superficial process. For example, referring to the teaching of one of the fundamental history concepts, that of change and continuity, she said:

It is easy for work with ‘change over time’ to collapse into a content imperative rather than a conceptual demand. It seems that some history teachers perhaps feel that if they are teaching about a long period of time or a series of changes, then a curricular requirement to consider ‘change over time’ is thus covered. This may well be a useful criterion for selection of content, but ignores the conceptual role and intellectual demand, leaving us, at worst, with a mere transmission model of teaching history.²¹

²⁰ Christine Counsell, “Curiosity, Critical Thinking and Intellectual Independence: How have History Teachers Changed History Teaching? How does Historical Learning Change Students?” in Ed., Stavroula Philippou & Chara Makriyianni, *What Does it Mean to Think Historically? Approaches to Teaching and Learning History* (Nicosia, Cyprus: Association for Historical dialogue and research, 2004), 32.

²¹ Christine Counsell, “What do we want students to do with historical change and continuity? Re-connecting with subjective and temporal experience” in *History Teaching and Research: Bridging the Theory/Practice Divide Vol 2*, Eds. George Cassar and Yosanne Vella (Malta: History Teachers’ Association and University of Malta, 2011), 22.

Besides her own work, Counsell constantly highlighted real classroom activities of various practicing teachers, who were undertaking extremely complex tasks with school children, like for example Michael Riley, Rachel Foster, and Michael Fordham.²²

Counsell also raised awareness over the fact that somehow one can work with sources while ignoring content knowledge,²³ both were very important for in-depth understanding to occur. Soon all history educators began referring to skills in history teaching as 'procedural knowledge' and to content as 'substantive knowledge,' and much of the research, publications, and doctoral work on history teaching in Europe and across the world in the last decade involved the relationship between these two dimensions. Unfortunately this change instigated by Counsell in history teaching coincided with another education movement, the outcomes-based system of learning, which was gaining ground around the same time. The idea of 'outcomes-based learning' was based on a testing mania that spread globally and was also related to the neoliberal idea of subordinating school education to the claim of cost-effectiveness.

Today, outcomes-based learning is a very powerful concept in most European education set ups and imposed in most national curriculums including that of history. Most history curriculums nowadays have assessment stands based on learning outcomes and level descriptors. Unfortunately, 'the Source method' with its clear skills and now with Counsell's insistence on 'substantive knowledge' and demand for more rigor in history teaching provided what initially seems an ideal vehicle for outcomes-based learning. Approaches to history teaching in curriculums snowballed into frameworks of grids of levels subdivided into further levels and used as an indication of what level a child has achieved in his or her history learning, one that can be described as a 'jumping into the loop holes' exercise. Each skill including source analysis is subdivided into various levels, and pupils move up or down according to the level they are in and soon teachers started to drill pupils on how to get from level 1 to level 2.

This unforeseen development is unfortunate because it ignores the fact that history learning does not progress in a linear fashion, something I had noticed myself years back when I first started my research in history pedagogy. I had

²² See for example: Michael Riley, *Residual Knowledge* (London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London Advanced Studies Conference Paper online, 2012). <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/9047019.pdf>; Rachel Foster, "Using academic history in the classroom" in *Debates in History Teaching*, Ed., Ian Davis (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2010); Rachel Foster, "Speed Cameras, Dead Ends, Drivers and Diversions: Year 9 Use a Road Map to Problematised Change and Continuity" in *Teaching History no. 131, Assessing Differently* (England: Historical Association, 2008); and Michael Fordham, "Substantive Knowledge and Pupil Progression in History" in Eds., George Cassar, and Yosanne Vella, *History Teaching and Research: Bridging the Theory/Practice Divide* (Malta: History Teachers' Association and University of Malta, 2016).

²³ See, for example, Christine Counsell, Katharine Burn, and Arthur Chapman, Eds., *Masterclass in History Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Christine Counsell, "Historical Change and Continuity: How Are History Teachers Developing it?" in Ian Davies, Ed., *Debates in History Teaching, Second Edition* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 109–123.

reported that the conclusions of the data generated by my studies showed that it supports “a model of development for children’s history ideas which is non-linear and which has to consist of a ‘back and forth’ process. It would appear that one cannot create boundaries with clear demarcations regarding children’s history thinking.”²⁴ Terry Hayden, another history pedagogist and researcher, has also long criticized strict levels in history teaching and called such approaches as ‘the Curse of the 45 boxes,’²⁵ while Counsell herself recently described the process of every lesson becoming a test situation as an ‘atrocious’ and ‘abomination’²⁶; hopefully, this trend of over fixation with levels will soon reverse itself and the mastery of the history curriculum based on long-term goals will overcome the short-term gains of level descriptors and examinations.

MALTA

The Maltese Islands are a group of islands almost exactly in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. The majority of the 475,000 population live on Malta with around 22,000 of those living on Gozo. Both Malta and Gozo have been inhabited since 5900 B.C., and apart from short periods in prehistory and possibly in 870 A.D. when the island was depopulated, there has always been an indigenous local population. Malta has, throughout its history, been under the domination of another nation and until fairly recently was still a British colony. Malta became an independent country in 1964 and a Republic in 1974 and part of the European Union (EU) since 2004. Maltese is one of the European Union’s officially recognized languages.

In 1999, I gave a presentation at a Euroclio Conference (European Association of History Educators) in Edinburgh on *Heritage and National Identity* where I quite brazenly claimed: “It must be emphasized that Malta is not a multicultural society, on the contrary, it has a quite homogeneous population.”²⁷ Quite an uncompromising and straightforward statement but indeed, at least where my work place, that is, school classrooms, was concerned, it was so at the time and had been so, throughout my own childhood school experience. Up to the 1990s a teacher in any Maltese school faced a class of pupils who were ethnically Maltese, Roman Catholic, and usually hailing from the villages surrounding the school, and further segregated by gender since co-education in secondary schools only came into existence when a few new private schools introduced it in the 1990s and then in State (public)

²⁴Yosanne Vella, “The effect of intervention on children’s learning in History” in Ed., Martin Ashley, *Redland Papers* (England: University of the West of England, 2004), 11.

²⁵Terry Hayden, “The Case of History and the 45 Boxes; A Case Study of the Impact of the TGAT Testing Model” in *The Curriculum Journal* 5, no. 2 (1994): 215.

²⁶Quoted from Christine Counsell presentation entitled *Conquering Assessment Madness In history at Key Stage 3* given at The Historical Association Annual Conference on May 18, 2018.

²⁷Yosanne Vella, “Heritage and national identity in Maltese schools” in *Heritage and National Identity Bulletin Nr 12 – Summer 1999* (European Standing Conference of History Teachers’ Associations, Euroclio, 1999), 13.

schools as recently as 2014. Therefore, in many ways my statement that Malta was a homogeneous society at that point in time was very much a truism.

However, I was not to know back then that 1999 was a very significant year for it was the year preceding the twenty-first century when it all started to change in Malta as far as population is concerned. Initially, it happened very slowly with the first few hundred migrants arriving annually on boats and rafts from Africa but slowly it gained pace and the demand for asylum seekers in Malta has since increased significantly. After Malta joined the EU in 2004, EU members also started to trickle in, followed by Eastern Europeans mainly from the Baltic States. In schools today in 2018, 11% of school children are non-native and it is predicted that this number will increase to 13% in two years' time of school children who are foreigners.²⁸

This has now resulted in quite interesting classrooms; for example, a class I recently visited to see one of my student teachers during her teaching practice was a year nine class (13 year-olds) where only three were ethnic Maltese, the others were Russians, Pakistani, Italians, Nigerians, Serbs, and Libyans all not born in Malta and recent migrants. Perhaps, this was an extreme case and it is true that in some villages 90% of pupils would still be ethnic Maltese and Roman Catholic, but in other schools you can get a kaleidoscope of pupils in one classroom just like the one I visited. My 1999 statement is today no longer correct and Maltese society is gradually becoming a very multicultural one.

THE SOURCE METHOD IN MALTA

As a British colony, the Maltese education system tended for many years to closely follow any innovations in education coming from Britain although usually implemented around a decade after/later. 'New History' methods using sources which started in England in the late 1960s and early 1970s found their way into Maltese schools and history lessons by the early 1980s, thus making Malta probably one of the first countries outside Britain to use sources in the classroom and definitely the first one in Europe. Interestingly, in Malta, we still refer to this method as 'New History,' a term used in the 1970s in Britain but rarely anywhere else today, as the term 'the Source Method' takes precedence.

It was a slow beginning but by 1997 the President of Malta's History Teachers' Association reported "Today, it is not a rare occasion for our students to handle photocopies of official documents, letters, diaries or caricatures particularly those dealing with the 19th and 20th century."²⁹ This trend continued and was further confirmed in 2008 by James Degiorgio's study where he

²⁸ Statistics given by Sandro Caruana and Phyllisienne Gauci during presentation entitled *Multilingualism, Migrant Learners and Language Policy in Malta* in 2018 International Conference Teacher Education and Educational Research in the Mediterranean organized by TEERM and Faculty of Education University of Malta.

²⁹ Leonard Grech, "The use of sources in the teaching and learning of history in Maltese secondary schools" in *Interpreting the Past Using Sources in History Teaching Bulletin Nr. 11* (Euro Clio, 1999), 24.

observed “teachers who graduated prior to 1980 rarely, if ever, use *New History* methods, whereas almost all of those who graduated after 2000 often or always use *New History* methods in their classroom.”³⁰ This study indicated that 78% of history teachers were at this time strongly in favor of teaching history skills and, in particular, giving students an opportunity to practice the skills of analyzing historical primary sources.

As usual, history teaching in Malta soon also followed the British trend of level descriptors with a nationwide Learning Outcomes project taking place from 2014 to 2016 where new curriculums and new syllabi came into place based on strict level descriptors and history like most other subjects today have a curriculum based on such an approach.³¹ Hopefully, while using levels to create in-depth teaching and learning, Malta will avoid falling into the trap of too much constriction and ‘grid’ ticking.

SOME EXAMPLES OF TEACHING HISTORY WITH SOURCES IN MALTESE HISTORY CLASSROOMS

Example 1 Teaching Change and Continuity Using Color and Timelines

Counsell’s influence on the author of this paper was quite significant, and one research I conducted which produced an academic paper and a teacher’s resource pack *Teaching Change and Continuity in History; Religion in Medieval Malta*³² was the direct result of trying to use Counsell’s approach. It was my attempt at creating in-depth history teaching activities. To my mind (For me), it was now clear that in history teaching, handling historical sources was not enough, students needed to also gain an understanding of the interrelationships of the events in the past; understanding in history must be based on historical procedures and concepts. One of these main interrelationships is definitely ‘change and continuity,’ it is not an easy concept to teach and furthermore, whereas, other concepts are backed by a reasonable amount of pedagogical research, ‘change and continuity’ remain as so aptly described by Counsell the ‘elusive prey.’³³

³⁰James Degiorgio (2008) *History Education in School* (Malta unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) dissertation: University of Malta, 2008): 59.

³¹Ray Spiteri, “Learning Outcomes Framework,” <http://www.schoolslearningoutcomes.edu.mt/en/subjects/history>

³²Yosanne Vella, “The gradual transformation of historical situations: understanding ‘change and continuity’ through colours and timelines” in *Teaching History Issue 144* (England: The Historical Association, 2011); *Teaching Change and Continuity in History; Religion in Medieval Malta* Teachers’ Resource Pack History (Malta: Malta’s History Teachers Association).

³³Christine Counsell, “What do we want students to do with historical change and continuity? Re-connecting with subjective and temporal experience” in *History teaching and research: bridging the Theory/Practice Divide Vol 2*, Eds., George Cassar and Yosanne Vella (Malta: History Teachers’ Association and University of Malta, 2011), 19.

This was an opportunity to use levels and include them in a history lesson plan without letting them dominate the teaching. I decided to use Denis Shemilt's levels of thinking when it came to 'change and continuity.' Below is a summary of his findings as quoted by Sansom:

Change and Continuity: The Analytical Aspect of Time

Level 1

Changes are unrelated; they do not transform the story

Level 2

- a. Change is a series, a long causal chain extending back to a 'first cause.'
- b. Everything which happened in the past is an antecedent to the present.

Level 3

Historical change as the gradual transformation of a situation; only some aspects of a situation change, and then may do so trivially or radically.³⁴

These levels are graded, that is, level one thinking is the lowest level where pupils are not thinking in a historical way and Level 3 is the highest achievement of pupil reasoning with regards 'change and continuity.' Of course these are just patterns as Sansom warns "the boundaries between these levels are not precise – these are points on a continuum-and pupils are not consistent in their levels of understanding."³⁵ Similarly Peter Lee, Alaric Dickinson, and Rosalyn Ashby have also observed that in their research on pupils' thinking in history "some 7-year-olds perform at a higher level than some 14-year-olds on at least some of the tasks."³⁶ I also noticed this in my own work and from my experience, noting that I:

prefer an image of cognitive development in history, not as a sudden spark that triggers off an ability, but really as a process which may be compared metaphorically to a faded image that becomes sharper into focus the older the child gets. There is a specific role for the adult as well as for peers, and that is to make that already existing image come out brighter before.³⁷

I think this inconsistency revealed in research on history pupils' thinking is today familiar to both history teachers and researchers and is a strong argument against over obsessing with levels in history teaching. On the other hand, this

³⁴ Chris Sansom, "Concepts, skills and content: A development approach to the history syllabus," in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, editor Christopher Portal (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1987), 120.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

³⁶ Peter Lee, Alaric Dickinson and Rosalyn Ashby, "There Were No Facts in Those Days: Children's Ideas about Historical Explanation" in *Teaching and Learning in Changing Times*, Ed., Martin Hughes (England, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996), 191.

³⁷ Yosanne Vella, "Some general indications on pupils' historical thinking" in *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 9, no. 2 (2010): 98.

does not mean that a haphazard management of pedagogy is advisable; on the contrary, levels of achievement and structured teaching methods to address these levels are extremely useful. Therefore, with Shemilt's levels in mind I started to create activities which would support pupils' learning.

I wanted my strategies to be grounded in sound history pedagogical objectives and in the preparation of my approach I used many of Terry Hayden's suggestions on good strategies one can use when teaching 'change and continuity.' These are summarized below:

1. Emphasizing the overview.
2. Imaginative presentation of changes in the form of illustrated time-charts, timelines, diagrams, or graphs.
3. Comparative exercises on 'similarity' and 'difference.'
4. Comparison of the implication of change for identified people living at the time or at contrasting times.
5. Encouraging speculation.
6. Use of hypothetical questions.³⁸

Pupils were told that in medieval Maltese history we have a mystery which historians cannot agree upon. The big question is whether the Maltese remained Christian right through from the first century up to today or whether they became Muslim for a time and then reverted back to Christianity. How complete was this change and how long did it last? In Fig. 6.1, Maltese pupils engage with this historical debate (Fig. 6.2).

Fig. 6.1 Pupils filling in timeline according to what the sources say



³⁸Terry Hayden, Arthur James and Martin Hunt Martin, *Learning to Teach History in the Secondary School; A Companion to School Experience* (England: RoutledgeFalmer, 2015 edition), 107–108.

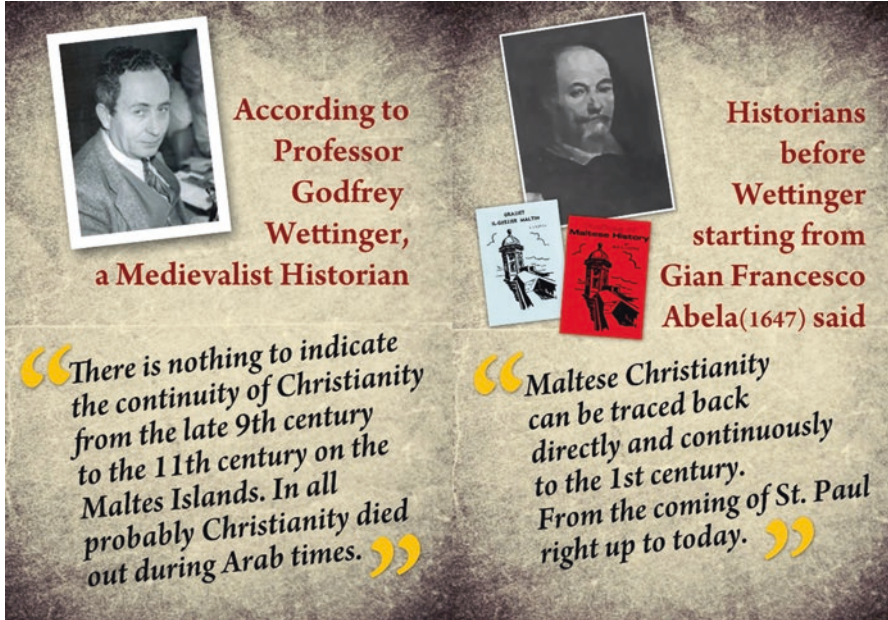


Fig. 6.2 Pupils presented with different historical interpretations

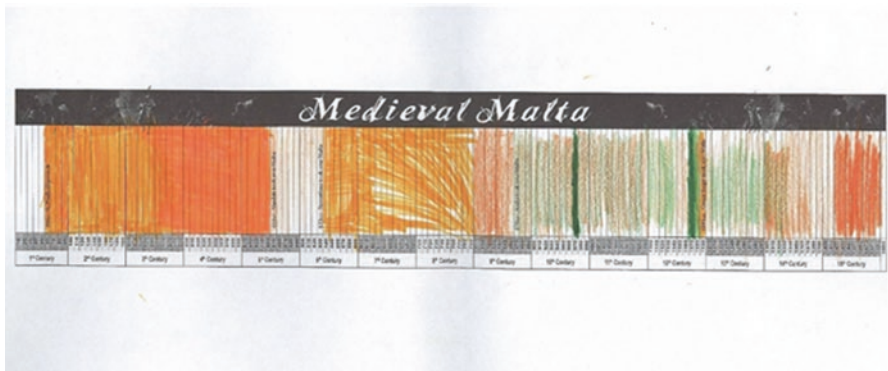


Fig. 6.3 One example of timeline created by pupils to show change and continuity of religious beliefs of the Maltese over centuries

The task was for pupils to create timelines by using Medieval primary sources (Fig. 6.3).

At the end of the lesson, as Fig. 6.4 shows, pupils decided on five possible interpretations on how Maltese religious beliefs were shifting as time passed.

If one wishes to emphasize ‘overview’ it is best to do it over an extended period of time, for history inquiries often flourish best when a topic is taught at leisure over a long period of time; however, even within the strict confines of one 45 minute history lesson and it did meet with success.

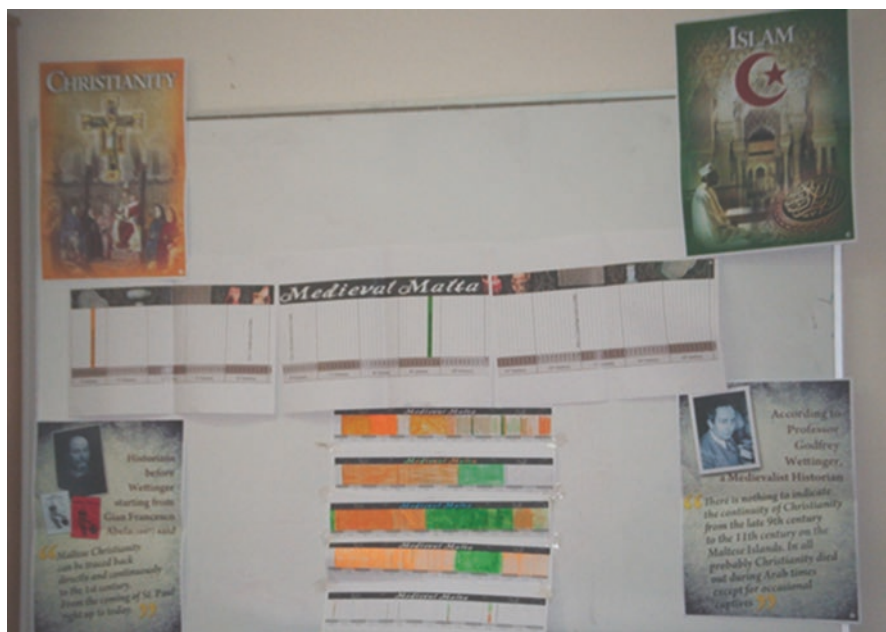


Fig. 6.4 Whiteboard display at the end of lesson

Example 2 Changing Approaches in Textbooks

‘The Source Method’ has long been used in Malta as previously explained; however, its development has not been as fast and as uniform as was desired in Maltese schools, and one of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the official State history textbook which for many years did not support the pedagogy taught in the classroom. *Grajjiet Malta* was written in 1975 and up to quite recently, the only history textbook in schools. There are no names of authors of this book, but the text was directly plagiarized from Andrew Vella’s history books ‘Storja ta’ Malta’ with very slight modifications and with added pictures while the original Andrew Vella history books contained no illustrations.³⁹

Grajjiet Malta is a perfect example of traditional history teaching. It is a comprehension exercise with questions at the end to confirm that pupils have learnt the information given.⁴⁰ This book’s appearance and teaching approach was poor; it had a clear socio-political agenda which seems to have been to “emphasise the various vicissitudes experienced by the Maltese people and how bad and nasty the ‘foreigner’ was.”⁴¹

³⁹ Andrew, Vella *Storja ta’ Malta (Malta’s History)* (Malta: Klabb Kotba Maltin, 1974).

⁴⁰ *Grajjiet Malta Vols 1, 2, 3 (the Stories of Malta)* (Malta: Malta’s Education Department, Malta Publication, 1975).

⁴¹ George Cassar and Pauline Cassar, *The Teaching of History in Maltese Secondary Schools* unpublished B.A. (Education) dissertation (Malta: University of Malta, 1981).

The influence of a textbook on the teaching approach used by a teacher can be huge, and unfortunately, for many years and quite possibly even today, somewhere on the island, the method used to teach history is still influenced by *Grajjiēt Malta*. So, on the one hand, in Maltese schools there were real efforts to follow Britain's example and introduce 'the Source method,' while on the other hand the textbook proved a constant temptation to revert to traditional teaching. For a long time while the word 'sources' did start to be used in classrooms, it was often used incorrectly to mean all pictures irrespective of whether they are actually a historical primary or secondary source and even when the pictures do happen to be historical sources, there was often no real attempt to get pupils to engage with them. History exercises usually followed the format of a text followed by a 'quiz' where pupils are asked a set of questions which normally take the form of 'fill in the blanks exercises' or 'crossword puzzles' to test the pupils' context knowledge. The format of a text followed by a 'quiz' where pupils are asked a set of questions which normally take the form of 'fill in the blanks exercises' or 'crossword puzzles' to test the pupils' context knowledge.⁴²

If one wants to change pedagogy, a good place to target is indeed textbooks, and, hence, the History Teachers' Association in Malta (HTAM) started to publish textbooks whose specific main learning objective was precisely the use of sources and the first attempt was *From the Coming of the Knights to EU Membership*.⁴³ As the editor/writer of this textbook, I was very careful to make sure that the objective of this textbook would not be to create an all-encompassing coverage of the syllabus, something to be regimentally followed by the class teacher. On the contrary, this textbook was meant only to offer a supplement to the syllabus to be used in conjunction with various other activities.

The practical examples found in this textbook purposely only touched a few of the topics in the syllabus. I co-ordinated and edited this book; however, I wrote it together with nine other writers. All these writers were experienced secondary school history teachers and most of the exercises we contributed were tried and tested tasks we created and used with our own classes, which produced exciting results. These tasks are really meant to act as templates, on which teachers can build similar interactive activities. This textbook was purposely structured not to upstage the teachers who must continue to be the innovators of active history learning.⁴⁴ Figures 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7 are just some of the tasks found in the book based on Source Method pedagogy.

The teaching approach adopted for this textbook has proved to be highly successful and effective in history teaching. It is an approach which challenges students' thinking and produces higher order thinking, all perfectly possible

⁴² See <http://schoolnet.gov.mt/history/Options/Options.htm>

⁴³ Yosanne Vella, *From the Coming of the Knights to EU Membership* (Malta: History Teachers' Association Publication, 2008).

⁴⁴ See detailed analysis of textbook in Yosanne Vella, "From the Coming of the Knights to EU Membership; an innovative Maltese history textbook based on history thinking skills and evidential work." in *Education Media Research* (Germany: Georg Eckert Textbook Institute Germany, 2010). See: www.edumeres.net

1

2

3

Using sources 1, 2 and 3, taken from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's web site record the following details

- How many men died at the age of

18	22	23	24	27	29	30	34	48	43	51
----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
- How many of the men have their ages marked as unknown? _____
- Complete the following graph

6										
5										
4										
3										
2										
1										
- Using the data collected from sources 1 and 2, calculate the average age of the Maltese Royal Navy personnel who died.
- From the 2 sources, in which year was there the highest casualties?
- Why do you think was there such a high casualty rate that year?
- Why is the nationality of the Maltese men marked as United Kingdom?

- Why do you think some of the Maltese men were buried abroad and weren't brought to Malta?
- Take a look of source 3, which rank do you first noticed?
- What do you think was this rank expected to do?
- From the 3 sources, in which rank were the majority of the Maltese victims enrolled as?
- Why do you think did the Maltese enroll with the British Services?

Fig. 6.5 Statistical data 1914. (Source CWGC (Commonwealth Grave Commission))

5.4 Mistroff vs the Church - another serious politics-religion crisis in the 1960s.

Two protagonists of 20th Century Malta were Anthony Gozzard and the MLP leader Dion Mistroff; these two leaders were constantly at loggerheads, a fact which impacted strongly on the political situation in Malta.

Sources A and B are newspaper articles that appeared in the early 1960s. Read carefully then answer the questions.

source B The Voice of Malta - Sunday, February 7, 1960

SLANDER CAMPAIGN CONTINUES

Sunday January 24 was Bishop's Day. On his way to the Balthazar Basilica, the Parish Priest saw the Catholic Action members at their usual place. The priest displayed a stern expression on his face. He said the priest was shocked to see the members of the Church who were supposed to be the 'outlet' for his noble sentiments. The incident was reported in an article in the 'Voice' on Friday 4 February. The article was signed 'Dion Mistroff' and was signed 'Dion Mistroff'.

After the March, a man informed the Priest: 'I saw the accident, the glass was accidentally broken by a letter carrier by a half-witted youth. It is said that another man committed the offence.'

On Wednesday, the main circulation newspaper 'The Voice' published the truth about the accident. Again on Friday 4 February a letter reporting the Priest to withdraw the impression that the Catholic Action members had committed the offence. It was the Priest's duty to do this, especially in view of what had happened during the Catholic Action protest march.

Did the Priest allow? Did he correct the impression? He did not. He remained silent. Surely this is not what the Church teaches us. We have been taught the least of a Priest must be filled with love, just as his mind must be strong with the doctrine.'

By J.A. Farr


- Both sources A and B are biased in favour of their cause. Both writers are trying to convince their readers in subtle and not so subtle ways that their point of view is the truth. Which source do you think supports Mistroff and the Labour Party? Which source do you think is against Mistroff and the Labour Party?
- One way of detecting bias is by looking at the adjectives being used by the writer. Look at source A. Write the adjectives used by the writer to describe the following issues: (i) referring to ecclesiastical structures, Catholics, Mistroff. There is more than one adjective for each issue. Another way to detect bias is to see how the writer uses sarcasm and how often he ridicules his enemy. The writer of source B uses this tactic often. Pick phrases in source B to show when the writer does this.
- A way to draw attention to your written argument is to use facts and punctuation marks that draw the attention and the emotions of your readers. For example capital letters, bold letters, question marks, inverted commas and exclamation marks. Look at source B and list down the phrases when she does this. Do you think this is effective?
- Source B mentions another newspaper, 'The Voice'. (a) Look at the adjective the writer uses to describe this newspaper. What facts does he use? (b) He also uses a noun to describe how it believes described the incident. What is it? (c) Do you think it believes in favour of Mistroff and the Labour party or against?
- And do you think the writer of source B and it believes believe in the same cause?
- Source A clearly states a directive which was one of the ecclesiastical structures. The writer makes his/her position clear about this directive in one strong sentence. Which sentence do you think this is and write it down.
- Three sentences were written in the early 1960s by the writer of source A. 'The need of unity is one of the ecclesiastical structures' also reveal the international political tensions of the times. What was happening internationally at this time?
- The story reported in source B reveals the local political tensions of the times. Would a broken ecclesiastical cause or such trouble today? Why do you think so much importance was given to this incident in 1960?

Fig. 6.6 Newspaper articles early 1960s

6.3 Emigration


Emigration is part of the history of Malta in the last 200 years. As early as 1830, Maltese people were emigrating to Tunisia and Morocco in search of work under the protection of the French. After the First World War emigration was more directed towards America and after the Second World War to the UK, Canada and Australia. It was only around 1975 that emigration decreased.

In this section you are presented with the lyrics of three songs that give the picture about emigration in the 1950s and 1960s. These are the photos of the original songs typed on a typewriter.



Gaetano Buttigieg better known as 'Gaetano Kanta' was a regular and popular singer on Maltese Broadcasting, the Radiofon during the years 1950s and 1960s. He was also engaged by MTV (Malta's television station) to present a programme for children every Saturday. Gaetano wrote several lyrics some of which were published in small booklets but various lyrics were sung at the time but were never published. While researching his manuscripts, many lyrics with the subject 'Emigration' were found.


Read the lyrics and then answer the questions.
 'Hey Gus' was published in the first of a set of seventeen song booklets.



1. How do the lyrics of this song contrast with those of 'Hey Gus'?

2. Do you think a Maltese emigrant nowadays would feel the same as an emigrant in the 1950s? Why?

Emigrant's Wish Request (Hawana) [An emigrant asking a request] This song was written on a special request from an emigrant. The song is dedicated to the letter's sender who was still living in Malta.



1. What are the lyrics, suggesting to the people listening to the Radiofon at the time?

2. What impression do the lyrics suggest regarding the economic situation in Malta at the time?

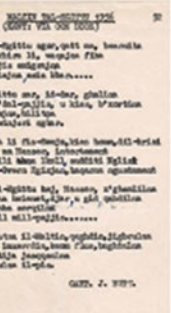
3. What destinations of emigration are mentioned in this song?

Song 'Hey Gus'
 This song was written on a special request from the radiofon to encourage people to emigrate.

1. Find some information on the internet about the Suez War of 1956.

2. According to the lyrics of this song, how were the Maltese emigrants affected by this war?

Malta in Egypt 1956
 (The Maltese in Egypt 1956)
 This song describes the situation of the Maltese Emigrants in Egypt.



WIEGHTI F'EGIPTU 1956
 (GUSI F'IL EGIPTO)

1. How do the lyrics of this song contrast with those of 'Hey Gus'?

2. Do you think a Maltese emigrant nowadays would feel the same as an emigrant in the 1950s? Why?

Emigrant's Wish Request (Hawana) [An emigrant asking a request] This song was written on a special request from an emigrant. The song is dedicated to the letter's sender who was still living in Malta.

Fig. 6.7 Early twentieth-century song lyrics

even with young pupils. For this to occur, *From the Coming of the Knights to EU membership* strove to help create a classroom environment which offers an active learning situation for the pupil, rather than one which presents the textbook as the giver of information.

Therefore, it is important to teach in history not just the factual knowledge, but what Bruner calls the 'structure' of the subject.⁴⁵ Historical method involves historical thinking and it is the analyses of sources in particular that provide the practice for a mode of thinking similar to what the historian goes through. This approach in history textbook writing is in fact based on constructivist teaching methods. Vygotsky emphasizes the role of the teacher as facilitator and this textbook emulates this role.⁴⁶ Absorbing skills and concepts on your own is a slow process; however, under structured guidance, a higher attainment level is reached. It is hoped that through the key questions found in the activities of this book, students' thinking will be supported and history skills and concepts in the learners start to emerge.

Primary sources provide evidence from the past, but sources and evidence are not one and the same, and Hinton explains the difference between them in the following way: "The distinction between evidence and sources is an important

⁴⁵ Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1966).

⁴⁶ Leo Vygotsky, *Thought and language* Translated E. Hamfnann and G. Vakar, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press and Wiley, 1978)

one because sources are merely the raw material of an historian; only when they are appropriately interrogated will they yield evidence.”⁴⁷ The chapters in this textbook start with a brief background summary of each topic but then this is followed by wide range of history source work on the particular themes and targeted three types of primary sources: written sources, pictorial sources, and oral sources.

This textbook not only focused on pedagogy but was also an attempt at dealing with Malta’s colonial past that Jeremy Black refers to when he says “Both curricula and textbooks also represent the changing use of history in terms of method. For Malta, *From the Coming of the Knights to EU Membership* (2008), edited by Yosanne Vella, and with the History Teachers’ Association owning the copyright, provided the first new textbook for decades and one that emphasized that documents were complicated and should not be taken at face value. This approach helped in the navigation of Malta’s partisan post-independence history.”⁴⁸ The textbook, however, depended very much on the school syllabus and while its methodology presented “a variety of learning approaches such as primary source analysis, photo/picture/cartoon appreciation, oral history, class discussions, mind-mapping and table formatting”⁴⁹ unfortunately there is still the problem that “history taught in Maltese school remained limited to Maltese history only.”⁵⁰

Example 3 Teaching History in a Multicultural

As previously explained, today Malta is a multicultural society and there is no question in my mind that any country, community, or agency that embraces democracy must also embrace multiculturalism. Inclusion of all and acceptance of diversity are fundamental to human rights and democratic values. However, this does not negate the challenges that exist and it is here that schools can make huge contributions in meeting these challenges. They are very real, and educators and schools in Malta as well as abroad grapple with the challenges resulting from the social and demographic changes brought about by immigration and multiculturalism.⁵¹

The worst possible teaching approach is to give a teacher-centered PowerPoint presentation on multiculturalism teaching in history class! Showing

⁴⁷ Chris Hinton, *What Is Evidence? Teachers’ Resource Book* (England: John Murray Publications, 1990), 7.

⁴⁸ Jeremy Black, *Contesting History Narratives of Public History* (England: Bloomsbury, 2014), 144.

⁴⁹ Vella, 2009.

⁵⁰ Simone Azzopardi and Emanuel Buttigieg, “Colonialism in the Mirror; An analysis of representations of Colonialism in School History Textbooks in Malta before and after Independence (1964)” in Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse and Pires Valentim, Joaquim, Eds. *The Colonial Past in History Textbooks; Historical and Social Psychological Perspectives* (Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing, 2018), 205.

⁵¹ Michalinos Zembylas, “Teachers’ Emotional Experiences Of Growing Diversity and Multiculturalism in Schools and the Prospects of an Ethic of Discomfort,” *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 16, no. 6 (2010): 703–716. See: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13540602.2010.517687>

and telling them what it is all about and 'they will get it'. A great temptation for many teachers but unfortunately that is not how pupils learn and absorb values and notions; one has to use much more effective strategies and 'the Source Method' once again comes to the rescue.

Wonderful ideas on multicultural teaching in history using sources come mostly from Britain mainly Levy and Smart's work on Multicultural Britain⁵² and various inspirational papers in *Teaching History*.⁵³ In history teaching, if one is using 'the Source Method' every statement needs to be backed up by evidence and pupils need to learn this. We can have different interpretations but to be valid, they need to be based on sources of evidence and one finds that 'the Source Method' with its emphasis of historical sources is perfectly suited to answer the very important historical question 'how do we know.'

I will now briefly describe a small research study which used 'the Source Method' to try and address multiculturalism in Malta.⁵⁴ I first used a number of paintings which while depicting everyday life in the past in Malta also included people of different ethnicities.

Pupils had a worksheet which they had to complete based on these paintings (see Fig. 6.8).



Fig. 6.8 Pupils working on paintings

⁵² See Roger Levy and Dean Smart's *Multicultural Britain Teacher Resource Book* (England: Nelson Thornes 2002).

⁵³ See Primary History Issue 65/Autumn *Historical Association publications 2000–2013 Diversity in History: Exemplar Lessons* (England: Historical Association, 2013), 12–13.

⁵⁴ See Yosanne Vella Strategies to learn about multiculturalism and diversity through Maltese history in Chris Bezzina and Sandro Caruana (Editors.) *Teacher Education Matters: Transforming Lives ... Transforming Schools* (Malta: Gutenberg Press, 2019), 344–364.

Apart from this visual evidence, I also wanted to include evidence from pre-history as well as classical times. One illuminating presentation given by Ilona Aronovsky at a Heirnet Conference in London in September 2015 gave me the idea on how to focus on one historical site which brings together a number of artifacts belonging to different civilizations.⁵⁵ This would show that people were constantly on the move, traveling, immigrating, bartering, trading, and generally mixing together in societies that can only be described as multicultural and diverse. One impressive pedagogical tactic used by Aronovsky is that of using maps in such a way as to show the interconnectivity presented by the artifacts found in the Sutton Ho site. They show where the things came from and their multicultural aspect. For Malta I similarly used one multiperiod site which brings together a huge number of primary sources and that is, the Tas-Silg site at Marsaxlokk, a village in the South of Malta (see Fig. 6.9).

This is a large complex where archeologists have found remains of Megalithic Temples, Bronze Age settlements, Punic, Hellenistic, and Roman Temple, as well as Byzantine remains, with one particular interesting artifact found in the Greek layer from Mesopotamia.



Fig. 6.9 Tas-Silg site courtesy of the Department of Classics and Archaeology, University of Malta

⁵⁵ Presentation at Heirnet Conference London 2015 by Ilona Aronovsky *Sri-Lanka to Sutton Hoo Tracking the Garnet Trail. What Can We Learn from Gold and Garnet Artefacts 5th to 7th Centuries CE? Designing an Enquiry for KS2.*

Fig. 6.10 Pupils placing photos of artifacts chronologically one on top of another



The tasks were over two lessons and pupils were given artifacts from Megalithic, Bronze Age, Hellenic, and Roman Byzantine found at Tas-Silg and were instructed to place them in chronological order one on top of another (see Fig. 6.10).

After all the tasks were completed pupils were asked to answer the following question.

People have made the following comments on Facebook, Twitter, and newspaper blogs.

What would you say to them? Write your answer under each comment and you must use historical evidence to back your answer.

1. *It is not natural for people to mix. It goes against nature to have a multicultural society.*
2. *The greatest cultures and nations only had one race of people.*
3. *In Malta everyone has always been exactly the same. There was no diversity.*

There were no students who agreed with the statements on the handout, and while some of the pupils' answers were simple straight forward comments as to why they were against the statements, there were others who also backed their arguments with evidence from the past which they had come across during their activities in these lessons or sometimes even using evidence from their own personal history knowledge. The pupils' statements were all valid arguments even those that fall within the weak brief response category, but, of course, we as educators should aim for getting responses, which fall within the 'Reasoning which make direct reference to sources with detailed explanations' category, and there were a number of them which did reach this level.

It is evident that the class activities and teacher support had a very direct influence. This means that teaching approaches do indeed affect pupils' performance for the better. I had two main aims in this whole exercise, first I wanted to pass over the concept of multiculturalism being a phenomenon that is as old as humankind and not a modern one at all and by using historical sources from different centuries I believe this was achieved. This concept is of course one interpretation in history but a valid one for it is not a mere statement but one backed by historical sources that give us the evidence. This leads us to the second aim of this study, which was to transfer this precious history idea to the class, that is, that in history one can have a valid interpretation only as long as it is based on evidence. Similarly, attitudes, values, and opinions should only be formed after looking at the evidence rather than mere unfounded emotions. Through historical evidence one is also in a position to challenge incorrect information on social media today. From the pupils' responses, this concept was clearly understood by those who did not just pass comments but backed them up with specific historical evidence.

This short study was not based on one particular topic from the Curriculum but purposely used model tasks from various historical periods which can easily be adapted to any topic or title. The tasks were closely linked to the objective of the lesson and this together with the interaction and pupils' attention during the lessons show it was a successful exercise, further validated by the pupils' written feedback, which shows that a sizeable number did in fact back their arguments with examples from the past. Diversity and multiculturalism cannot be taught in one history lesson or by giving a lecture using particular topics which are deemed to be appropriate like for example 'Human Rights' and 'Immigration.' On the contrary, strategies, similarly to those employed in this study, should be integrated in whatever the historical topic and time period being taught is and should become an integral part of the repertoire of skills of a competent and effective history teaching.

CONCLUSION

One interesting personage missing from my narrative is Jörn Rüsen who was pivotal in some European and especially Central American historiography, especially with regards historical inquiry and social history. However, for a long

time his work was rarely, if ever, encountered in British studies on history pedagogy and indeed my own research was never based on his work. None of the research work and studies mentioned in this paper were influenced, at least not directly by Rüsen. This in itself, I think, reflects how academics work within paradigms of thought, the research of history teaching being no different.

'The Source Method' or 'New History' is definitely no longer 'new' since this history pedagogy method has now been around for over 50 years! And while it is not without its critics, from the first time I became acquainted with 'the Source Method' in the 1980s as a trainee teacher, I have been fascinated at how effective and meaningful history teaching becomes using this approach. In this chapter, I tried to describe its development from its start in England and how it moved on and influenced other countries; and in particular, how my own country, Malta, adopted it in its history classrooms. I also included a few practical examples of history teaching using 'the Source Method' which I personally implement as part of my pedagogical research and teaching. I strongly believe that one has to cross the "theory and practice" divide for 'the Source Method' to be a real success, something which I have strived to do over the past 30 years.

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Form or Substance? Weighing Critical Skills Against Identity Narratives in History Education

Sirkka Ahonen

INTRODUCTION: EDUCATORS SEEKING DEFENSES FOR HISTORY

Facing a looming decline in the role of history in school curricula, history educators from Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland convened in 1981 to discuss the future of history education. Convincing arguments were sought for defense of history. The convention became a continuous institution.

The educators looked at the scene of international history didactics and found themselves at the crossroads of two solutions to the question about the future of history. The British educators advocated the critical working methods of a historian as the core of the necessary reform, while their German colleagues stressed the potential of history in answering existential questions of individuals and communities. The British regarded critical work on sources as ‘new history,’ while historical consciousness was the catchword of the German reformers. The Nordic educators soon became divided into proponents of each of the two trends. The British researcher of history education, Peter Lee, and the German philosopher of history, Jörn Rüsen, were invited to explicate their ideas to the Nordic educators, who adapted their arguments to the Nordic context. The basic controversy in the two approaches was between the form and the substance of historical knowledge, and educators sought a viable balance between them.¹

¹ Peter Lee, “None of us Was There,” *Historiedidaktik I Norden* 6, *Historiemedvetandet—teori och praxis*, ed. Sirkka Ahonen et al. (Institut for Humanistiske Fag, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole, 1996); Jörn Rüsen, “Functions of Historical Narration—Proposals for a Strategy of Legitimizing

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The form of historical knowledge and the ethos of historical consciousness have been since the 1980s debated internationally as alternative defenses of history. In the debates, the advocates of the ‘form of knowledge’ approach adhered to the conventional criteria of truth, derived from epistemological positivism adopted from empirical sciences and accommodated to the study of man and society. According to the approach, the presentations of history had to correspond to the empirical evidence of the historical sources. The sources were to be dealt with critically, and the explanation of past events conducted objectively in the terms of evidence. In school, lessons had to be dedicated to hands-on work on sources and to the practice of multiperspective explanation.

The approach of historical consciousness, for its part, was an inheritance from European humanistic philosophy, and implied the human experience of change in time as the substance and narrative as the mode of historical presentation. Historical consciousness encompasses the integrated process of explaining the past, understanding the present, and making aspirations of the future. The consciousness supports a quest for historical identity, which is based on the continuity of experience. In a community, historical consciousness appears as shared identity narratives.

The British positivistic and the German humanistic approach developed in isolation from each other, until becoming engaged in a dialogue in the course of the 1990s, thanks to American Historical Association (AHA), which in 1998 brought together, in a conference, 25 leading history educators from North America and Europe. Among them were Peter Lee and Jörn Rüsen, the representatives of the two approaches.² The dialogue has continued ever since. However, in the course of the 2000s, the dichotomy between the positivistic and humanistic approaches has been extended by new alternative ideas of history education. Australian history educator Robert Parkes, influenced by social constructivism, advocates the teaching of history as historiography. School students, at least on the upper grades, shall be made familiar with the advances of historical literature. Instead of the history of events as such, history is learned as a mental and cultural construction.³

American educator Keith Barton takes the constructivist view of history even further. According to Barton, history shall be approached as a socio-cultural phenomenon. History is mediated and studied in the context of prevailing time, the needs and aspirations of which decide which meta-concepts guide the discourse. For Barton, the umbrella concepts for American history education in the 2000s are constituted by participatory democracy and societal

History in School,” in *Historiedidaktik I Norden 3*, ed. Nils Grubberger et al. (Bergen Lærerhøgskole, 1987), 19–40.

²The conference resulted in the anthology, *Knowing Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

³Robert J. Parkes, “Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative.” *Diversity in the Curriculum. International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–132.

pluralism. The meta-concepts will guide the choices of substance and form in a history curriculum.⁴

Despite of the prevailing pluralism of the discourses of history education, the alternative approaches of critical skills and identity narratives remain prominent in the discussion about the essence of history education. Although the alternatives are not mutually exclusive but offer a continuum of possible approaches, a tension between them prevails.⁵

Therefore, I will, in this chapter, deal with the dichotomy of skills and substance. My material consists of historical-didactical literature from the 1980s to the present day. I will refer to results from empirical classroom research and use Nordic discussion as my main focus.

THE 'FORM OF KNOWLEDGE' APPROACH AS 'NEW HISTORY' IN EDUCATION

We do not just think, we think of something. The realization has stimulated history educators to search for subject-specific theories of how to study the past. While the crude positivism inherited from the late nineteenth century made historians imitate physical scientists and pile 'pure' data in their works, in the course of the twentieth century historians acknowledged the difference between the physical data and meaning-loaded historical facts. For a historian and history educator, a historical source is invested with meaning that is attributed to the source by its composer.

The particular criterion of critical thinking in history is basically the following: a student shall be aware of his/her right to ask, where knowledge is derived from. Moreover, he or she shall acknowledge that in case of two diverging accounts on an event, one is not necessarily right and the other wrong, as the accounts depend on the different perspectives taken by the authors. On these premises, classroom studies of historical evidence shall be conducted.

History education in terms of teaching and learning critical skills is known by several names: 'new history,' 'historical literacy,' 'source method,' and 'critical skills.' The most influential projects of introducing the approach to schools were the British 'Schools Council History Project,' developed by Denis Shemilt, Peter Lee, and Rosalyn Ashby since the 1970s and the North American project of historical literacy led by Samuel Wineburg, since the 1990s.⁶

⁴Keith, C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the common Good* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁵Larry C. Cuban, *Teaching History Then and Now. A Story of Stability and Change in Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2016).

⁶In the 1970s the British educators, starting with Denis Shemilt, used the term 'new history' to indicate the critical skills as the core of history curriculum, while the North Americans like Jerome Bruner meant by 'new social studies' the view of history as a social science. Later, Americans adopted the term 'historical literacy' to indicate the 'form of knowledge' approach. See Larry Cuban, *Teaching History Then and Now. A Story of Stability and Change in Schools* (Cambridge: Harvard Education Publishing Group, 2016).

Denis Shemilt, a social scientist, laid the theoretical foundations of the Schools Council History Project by setting meta-concepts like interpretation, explanation, and change as the framework of history curriculum. The purpose of the conceptual framework was to help history students to see how history is being done and shaped. The concepts were derived from the prevailing theories of historical knowledge.⁷

Interpretation, instead of mere observation, purports the catching of the meaning invested in the sources by their authors. The meaning is used to construct the evidence for establishing a fact about what had happened in the past.⁸

Explanation in history is essentially based on human actors' reasons instead of external causes. To discover the reason of action, empathic thinking is required. Shemilt was particularly keen on defining historical empathy. Everyday empathy does not suffice to make sense of past acts, as the skill of historical empathy has to be taught and learned. When studying the past, a student has to learn to culturally contextualize the intention behind a past human act. The act may, from a contemporary point of view, look foolish or cruel but appear as acceptable behavior in the cultural context of the past. By means of empathy, the student would be able to understand the past act in authentic terms, instead of anachronistically applying the norms of a later time to the past.⁹

Cultural psychologists like Jerome Bruner support the assumption of human and social phenomena being explainable by pragmatic reasons rather than external causes. According to Bruner, the reasons need to be presented as narratives, as the narrative form helps to make sense of human action.¹⁰ Moreover, the narratives work as tenets of historical identity, as the human actors of a narrative are identifiable to a reader.

Historical literacy, the term customarily used by North American history educators to indicate 'the form of knowledge' approach, was pioneered in the 1990s by Samuel Wineburg. In line with the British scholars like Shemilt, Wineburg claimed that the skills of reading history need to be learned in school, as they are 'unnatural acts.' He proved his claim by means of a test which revealed how far students were able to read sources critically. He let young school students, 'novices,' on the one hand, and university students 'experts,' on the other hand, to 'think aloud' what they did when encountering a historical source. While the 'experts' would ask, who and in which context the source had been written, the school students plunged straightaway into the explicit message of the source. Some just recited the text of the source while a few rephrased it in their own words. As a rule, the students did not suspect the

⁷ Denis Shemilt, *History 13–16 Evaluation Study* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1980); Denis Shemilt, "The Caliph's Coin: The Currency of Narrative Frameworks," in *Teaching History. Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 84–85.

⁸ Shemilt, "The Caliph's Coin."

⁹ Shemilt, *History 13–16 Evaluation Study*.

¹⁰ Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 11–43.

validity of a source as information; what was written was regarded as a true statement. The test proved that historical literacy was a matter of learning.¹¹

To compare ‘the form of knowledge’ approach to the ‘identity narratives’ approach in concrete terms, below, I sketch crude prototypes of how the approaches would appear in classroom work. ‘The form of knowledge’ lesson would consist of intriguing sources and controversial historiographical texts to stimulate critical thinking, while in ‘the identity narratives’ lesson the identification with the past would be triggered by means of an engaging story and local memories (Fig. 7.1).

INVESTIGATION INTO THE PROMISES AND DEFICITS OF THE APPROACH TO HISTORY AS ‘A FORM OF KNOWLEDGE’

Empirical investigations into school students’ critical skills have mushroomed since Shemilt, Lee, Ashby, and Wineburg. The adolescent sense of the form of historical knowledge has been studied by questionnaires and interviews. The results have triggered debates among history educators.

Lee and Ashby conducted longitudinal empirical research into the historical thinking of 13–16 year olds over two decades. The research project, known as CHATA [Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches], uses a standardized test to evaluate the benefits of teaching the form of knowledge instead of the substantive contents of history. The learning results of the students studying along in ‘the Schools History Project’ curriculum are compared to the achievement of students studying along a traditional substance-based syllabus. As expected, the Schools History Project students show convincing results in knowing how to deal with contradictory historical evidence. Instead of straightforwardly regarding one source as true evidence and another source as a lie, they know how to judge the sources against the different contexts of their authors. In regard to explaining a past event, they are able to question the reasons of the actors. They have also learned to mobilize their empathic potential by means of cultural contextualization. In contrast, the students of traditional substance-based curricula tend to suggest unfounded external causes to events and condemn past actors as primitive or uncivil.¹²

Compared to the students of traditional history classes, the Schools History Project students acknowledge the questionability of historical explanations. They feel rather stimulated than frustrated by an explanation left open for a

¹¹ Sam Wineburg, *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts. Charting for the future of teaching the past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

¹² Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby “Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14.” in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History. National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 199–222; Peter Lee “Historical Thinking and Transformative History,” in *The Future of the Past. Why History Education Matters*, ed. Lukas Periklous and Denis Shemilt (Nicosia: Association for Historical Dialogue and Research, 2001), 129–154.

'Form of knowledge' lesson.

The topic: witch hunts in the early modern Europe

Stages:

1 A study of an intriguing document, followed by discussion: What information do we need to make sense of the story?



An etching from the 17th century: a witch subjected to a floating test

2 A study of a document that provided context for the story of (e. g. an extract from a witch trial)

3 Historian 1: James Sharp 1996: *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England*.

4 Historian 2: Barbara Ehrenreich & Deirdre English 1973: *Witches, Midwives and Nurses. A History of Women Healers*.

5 Assignment for pupils: What different perspectives may you apply to the history of witches?

Historical identity lesson.

The topic: Norwegian resistance movement during World War II)

Stages:

1 Watching an intriguing extract from film 'Max Manus'. (M. M. was a resistance fighter during the occupation of Norway, 1940–45)

2 Pupils' interviews at home: What did their great grandfathers do during the occupation?

3 The stories from the interviews are exchanged and discussed in classroom.

4 Assignment for pupils: What does the history of the occupation time mean to my community?

Fig. 7.1 Examples of lessons structures for the approaches 'the form of knowledge' and 'the identity narratives'

student. They have learned to doubt mono-causal explanations and are able to deal with historical contingency.¹³

Sam Wineburg, for his part, proved empirically that the achievement of high standards of critical historical thinking requires effort.¹⁴ American schools have since the constructivist revolution of the 1970s pursued transparency in the lessons of history.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Wineburg found that school students rarely ask about the context of the writing of a source. Most often they assume that the source offers an unquestionable fact, instead realizing the need of interpreting the source. Like Lee and Ashby, Wineburg finds critical thinking in history a matter of teaching and learning.¹⁶ Bruce VanSledright and Peter Afflerbach came to the same conclusion after monitoring the reading of a variety of sources by high school students.¹⁷

The example of the Anglo-American advocates of ‘the form of knowledge’ approach has stimulated research in numerous other countries. Below, I will present Finnish followers of the approach.

In their recent research, Jukka Rantala and Marko van den Berg tackle the dimensions of the procedural meta-concept ‘historical explanation.’ Would students seek external causes for a past act or pursue an empathic understanding of the internal motives of the actors? The researchers found that historical empathy is difficult for upper secondary school students. Students resort to what Peter Lee calls ‘everyday empathy,’ that is, project their mundane personal emotional responses to historical actors. They are incapable of establishing the motives of the past actors by means of historical contextualization. Instead, they regard what is reasonable for themselves as equally reasonable for past persons.¹⁸

Rantala and van den Berg suggest that an explanation to the missing empathic skills among students lies in the tradition of teaching history with the scaffold of conventional meta-narratives of history. One of them was the myth of human progress from bestiality to rationality. For example, students credit

¹³ Lee and Ashby, “Progression in Historical Understanding.”

¹⁴ Wineburg, “Historical Thinking and other Unnatural Acts.”

¹⁵ Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised. What History Textbooks Have Taught our Children about their Country, and How and Why those Textbooks Have Changed in Different Decades* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

¹⁶ Wineburg, “Historical Thinking and other Unnatural Acts.”

¹⁷ Bruce VanSledright and Peter Afflerbach, “Assessing the Status of Historical Sources. An Exploratory Study of Eight US Elementary Students Reading Documents,” in *International Review of History Education, Vol: Understanding History, Recent Research in History Education*, ed. Rosalyn Ashby, Peter Gordon and Peter Lee (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 1–19.

¹⁸ Jukka Rantala and Marko van den Berg, “Lukiolaisten tekstitaidot arvioitavana” [Historical Literacy of the Upper Secondary School Students]. *Kasvatus* 44, no. 4 (2013): 394–407; Jukka Rantala, Marika Manninen and Marko van den Berg, “Stepping into Other People’s Shoes Proves to be a Difficult Task to High School Students. Assessing Historical Empathy through Simulation Exercise,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 3 (2016): 323–345.

past acts of collective violence to primitive hate instead of explaining the aggression by means of social and political contextualization.¹⁹

Anna Veijola analyzes history educators' choices between the approaches of 'historical consciousness' and 'the form of knowledge.' She acknowledges the ambiguity of the teachers at the crossroads of the Anglo-American positivistic tradition and the Central European humanistic tradition. She emphasizes the pedagogical necessity of applying epistemological meta-concepts to the acquisition of historical knowledge, but simultaneously acknowledges the social need of collective historical identity. According to her observation, the balance between the two debated goals of history education has in the curricula of the 2010s shifted in favor of the skills of dealing with evidence and played down the identity function of history.²⁰

The classroom investigations in Finland encompass both the skills of dealing with sources and making sense of the motives and meaning of historical action. Najat Quakrim-Soivio and Marko van den Berg used a simulation exercise, designed to test the skills in upper secondary school, and found that the capabilities of dealing with contradictory sources and establishing the significance of historical events differ widely among students. Explanations of events are often poorly argued and left shaky by the students. The researchers found the result disturbing, as teachers had been encouraged to promote the use of sources in the classroom since the 1990s, when the constructivist view on learning was introduced to teacher education. A questionnaire used by the researchers produced a puzzling finding that the experience of the role of source exercises differs between teachers and students. Teachers regarded source exercises a routine, while students experienced them as just occasional deviations.²¹

Official history curricula indicate that in Finland the Anglo-American 'skills' approach has taken over the European 'consciousness' approach. Today, the Finnish educational authorities prioritize the skills over consciousness, even though historical consciousness and historical identity no more need to be regarded as obsolete, ideological, and nationalistic pursuits but as philosophically and socio-psychologically founded modern choices. The Finnish choice in favor of the 'skills' leads me return to the general arguments behind the alternative approaches of 'skills' and 'consciousness.' To end my pondering on the form of knowledge approach, I will weigh its promises against some essential caveats against it.

The necessity of trustworthiness in the presentations of history cannot be denied. Trust is achieved by the public being able to judge whether a

¹⁹ Rantala and van den Berg, "Lukiolaisten tekstitaidot arvioitavina."

²⁰ Anna Veijola, "Historiatietoisuus, historiallinen ajattelu ja historian tekstitaidot: Uuden opetus suunnitelman moninaiset lähtökohdat" [Historical Consciousness, Historical Thinking and Historical Literacy]. *Kasvatus & Aika* 10, no. 2 (2016): 16–18.

²¹ Najat Quakrim-Soivio and Marko Van den Berg, "Lukiolaiset historian lähteiden tulkitsijoina" [Upper Secondary School Students Making Sense of History]. *Kasvatus & Aika* 12 no. 3 (2018): 33–48.

presentation is truthful. The capability comes as a result of familiarity with the form of historical knowledge. When Sam Wineburg speaks of historical thinking as an ‘unnatural act,’ he maintains that people, albeit being endowed with reason, are not born with critical skills. The skills have to be learned. In an era of wildly and uncontrollably emerging new modes of communication, critical skills are vital. Therefore, the bulk of teaching time is spent in the curricula of many countries to critical work on sources. Young people are taught to rebuff fake histories.

However, doubts are justified in regard to the aim of making pupils into young historians. There is a disparity between time-consuming source work and the availability of teaching time in schools. To manage the disparity, teachers may keep giving students just simple tasks of comparing a couple of sources with obviously contradictory contents. The assignments will not support the progress of the critical skills. The students are not challenged, and the educative value of the exercises is poor. The source method will not serve as a proper introduction to the form of historical knowledge. Moreover, the transfer effect of the classroom work on sources is not guaranteed despite history educators expecting an effective transfer from source exercises to civic life, which would assure the societal significance of their subject. Ideally, the pupils would apply the critical skills, learned in the context of history, to public information in everyday life.

Another caveat is embedded in excessive source practice in history lessons. ‘The past shall be embraced, not vivisected,’ is an argument against the source method. Using history lessons overwhelmingly to the work with sources restricts the use of the potential of the narrative substance of history to build young people’s human and social identity. To conclude my analysis of the educational significance of ‘the form of knowledge’ approach in history, I claim that learning to critically deal with evidence undoubtedly builds a defense against abuses of history. The setback is that lessons of handling evidence do not serve the existential pursuit of historical consciousness. History is being vivisected instead of embraced.

IDENTITY NARRATIVES RECLAIMED IN THE NAME OF HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Historical consciousness was adopted as an educational term by the nineteenth-century idealist philosophers. According to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), ‘consciousness’ enables the growth of a rational and moral personality. For a community, the consciousness of the interconnectedness of the past, present, and future implies a shared collective identity. At the core of the identity there are moral values, testified by history.

Traditionally, history education has been used to foster virtue. Classical writers like Plutarch in the ancient Rome focused on great men as examples of rational morality. History education was regarded particularly necessary for

rulers to enhance their capacity for moral choice. After giving up the rigorous positivism of previous decades historians have since the 1960s re-recognized the ethical dimension of history and historical consciousness.²²

While positivist philosophers regarded the concept of consciousness as fuzzy and therefore obsolete, in the 1960s, the Frankfurt school of thought revived it. According to Jürgen Habermas, one of the School's protagonists, mankind is moving toward a universal emancipation from the chains of repressive power, and people are expected to acknowledge themselves as agents of history. The sense of agency is regarded crucial element in historical consciousness.

Philosopher of history Jörn Rüsen re-legitimized identity narratives by accommodating the Habermasian concept of emancipatory historical consciousness into history didactics. The essential elements in historical consciousness were the following:

- Sense of the interconnectedness of the past, present, and future. A person wants to make sense of the past, understand the present, and make aspirations for the future. The thinking is two-directional; explanation of the past phenomena affects the aspirations of future, and, reciprocally, what is aspired in future has an impact on what is asked and known of the past. Historical consciousness helps people to orientate in time.
- Building of identity, both for an individual and his or her community
- Moral judgment. Members of a community want to judge the guilt and the moral tenability of the choices made by their ancestors and find moral arguments for future choices.
- Narrative mode of knowledge implies the attribution of meaning, including the moral aspect, to facts that as such are inert pieces of information.²³

In order to deal with historical consciousness as a procedural educational concept, Rüsen constructed a theoretical scheme for the pedagogical progression of historical consciousness. As human beings are anthropologically endowed with the capacity to think back and forth in time, basic historical consciousness is owned by everybody. Nevertheless, according to Rüsen, historical consciousness can be categorized into developmental stages, along which a person's competence to give his or her experience a narrative form grows.²⁴

²² Keith Jenkins, *Why History? Ethics and Postmodernity* (London: Routledge, 1999).

²³ Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development." In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas. (Toronto University Press, 2004); see also Frank R. Ankersmit, *Historical Representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); see also Frank R. Ankersmit, *Sublime historical experience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

²⁴ Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development," In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto University Press, 2004).

Narratives develop from primitive to historically informed forms. On the basis of this argument, Rüsen defined historical narratives as appearances of developing historical consciousness into the following stages:

- Traditional narratives present the past as a course of evolving values and institutions. Grand narratives of nations are examples of this stage of historical consciousness.
- Exemplary narratives are composed by using elected contemporary values and institutions as the keyhole to the past. The narratives offer examples of historical actors reifying the elected values.
- Critical narratives question the values and institutions of the past. A critical narrator refutes authoritative interpretations of the past and seeks alternative ones.
- Genetic narratives seek the roots of the present institutions from the past, but deal with the roots in their own right. Albeit the present has evolved from the past, the values of the present are not projectable onto the past. A genetically oriented narrator is capable of explaining the differences between the past and the present.²⁵

In order to stress the societal and cultural relevance of history, Swedish historian and history educator Klas-Göran Karlsson has added another category to the stages of historical consciousness:

- Genealogical narratives are constructed by a historian starting from contemporary challenging issues and making sense of them by means of the past. For instance, the past is studied to make sense of the contemporary issue of racism. A narrative that historicizes the issue is expected to support its solution in the future. Genealogical narratives enhance the life-relevance of history.²⁶

The categories created by Rüsen and Karlsson support the efforts to make historical consciousness into a societally relevant educational goal. Unlike the hands-on skills, consciousness is not easy to evaluate as a learning result. However, the categories serve the monitoring of the development and social significance of identity narratives.

²⁵ Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness."

²⁶ Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Historien är nu. En introduktion till historiedidaktiken* [History Is Now. Introduction to History Didactics] (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004), 29–30.

RESEARCH INTO THE PROMISES AND RISKS OF TEACHING 'HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS'

The pedagogical feasibility of historical consciousness was empirically researched by two pivotal international surveys in the 1990s. The data for the project 'Youth and History' was collected from 27 European countries, and the data for 'The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life' from the United States. 'Youth and History' proved that in Europe there were, indeed, different communities of historical consciousness. In Eastern Europe, young people identified strongly with ethnicity and national narratives, while in the West, students were more keen on the history of liberal political values and institutions. Among the Nordic historical communities, the Finns identified with nationhood stronger than (more strongly than) their Scandinavian neighbors.²⁷

The American survey focused on the vernacular use of history. The researchers were themselves surprised to find that Americans, far from restricting their life experience to the present, actively conducted different vernacular history-related activities like memorial gatherings, historical pageants, and visits to historical sites. Ethnic minorities were especially keen on narratives reaching to the ancient origins of their communities.²⁸

The two mega-surveys of the 1990s keep stimulating repeated research projects. 'Youth and History' is at present being re-run by scholars from Hamburg University, and Canadian history educators use Rosenzweig's and Thelen's example to survey young people's identification with history in their multicultural country.²⁹ The theoretical frames of 'Youth and History' and 'The Presence of the Past' are in different countries being accommodated to studies of national identity. Longitudinal investigations into the changes of historical consciousness are in great demand, as societies and cultures are transformed due to intensified migration and intercultural rapprochement. In Finland, Pilvi Torsti used the Youth and History questionnaire to track the change between 1995 and 2010 and found that the ethnic nationalism witnessed by/in 'Youth and History' had been substituted by a civic understanding of the state in 2010.³⁰

Apart from student responses, researchers have studied the reifications of historical consciousness in curricula, textbooks, classroom interaction, and examination texts.

²⁷ Bodo von Borries and Magne Angvik, ed., *Youth and History. A Comparative European Survey on Historical Consciousness and Political Attitudes Among Adolescents* (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 1997).

²⁸ Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

²⁹ The Pasts Collective, *Canadians and their Pasts* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 2013).

³⁰ Pilvi Torsti, *Suomalaiset ja historia* [The Finns and their History] (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2012).

Nordic countries provide an example of the history educators' struggle to have historical consciousness recognized in teacher education and national curricula. In Denmark, historical consciousness has become an integral element in history teachers' education.³¹ Sweden was the first country to explicitly introduce the concept into the national curriculum. In 1994 the curriculum stated: 'the students shall acquire historical consciousness to enable them to understand the events and phenomena of their own time and make them capable of preparing themselves for the future'³² (Swedish National Agency for Education 1994, p. 76). Finland has been hesitant to anchor history education to the concept of historical consciousness. The recent curricula of the 2010s introduced the ideas of the usefulness of history in the thinking of future and of individuals as actors of change.³³

European curricula differ from each other with regard to the recognition of critical skills and identity narratives. In Eastern and Central Europe, national identity tends to constitute the core of history curricula, while in Western Europe the curricula stress on the critical thinking skills. However, the default line tends to move due to political changes: a conservative government may pursue identity politics and favor the elements of historical consciousness while liberal leaders prefer critical skills and multiperspectivity in curricula.³⁴

History textbooks are potential tenets of historical consciousness. Niklas Ammert investigated Swedish textbooks in regard to their support to historical consciousness, tracing the change from the post-World War II period to the post-Cold War era. While the textbook authors in the auspices of a social democratic era in Sweden, that is in the 1950s and 1960s, regarded their pedagogical-political mission to be writing the history of the democratic welfare society, in the post-1990 situation the authors rather dealt with global problems and sought from history perspectives to future. Using the genealogical mode of narrative, they bolstered the relevance of history.³⁵

Student responses to history lessons with genealogical orientation were in Sweden investigated by Lars Andersson Hult by means of the analysis of school students' examination papers. He found that students rarely constructed genealogical narratives that would have included reflection on the relationship between history and contemporary concerns. He claims that the atmosphere of

³¹ Andreas Rasch Christensen, "Historiebrugdidaktik" [The didactics of the use of history] in *Historiedidaktik i Norden 9*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Malmö Högskola, 2012), 199–215.

³² Swedish National Agency 1994, *Curriculum and assessment criteria, lower secondary school*, (Stockholm: Swedish National Agency, 1994), 76.

³³ National Board of Education 2014, *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education*. Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2014; National Board of Education 2015, *National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools* (Helsinki; Finnish National Board, 2015).

³⁴ See, for example, Claus Haas, "Den danske folkskoles historieundervisning som statsstyret erindringspolitik" [History Education as Memory Politics in Danish High Schools] in *Historiedidaktik I Norden 9*, ed. Per Eliasson et al. (Malmö Högskola, 2012), 182–198.

³⁵ Niklas Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet. Historiemedvetande i svenska historieläroböcker under hundra år* [Simultaneity of the Non-Simultaneous], Historiska Institutionen, Lunds Universitet. (Lund: Sisyfos förlag, 2008).

a school determines whether students attribute social and political relevance to the lessons. Open and socially active environment supports critical reflection on the past and encourages the attribution of meaning to past events.³⁶

Sirkka Ahonen studied Finnish history books from the point of view of collective historical identity. She traced the demise of traditional and historically based national myths in textbooks. Among them are the myths of common ethnic, primordial origins and the inevitability of nation-state. The myths were created during the nation-building era, and became obsolete in the welfare state, as civic virtues substituted the national coherence and became the new elements of historical identity. Above all the approach ‘history from below’ supported identification with the societal and cultural developments. The textbooks have given up the canon of the national myths, and encouraged the students to perceive themselves as actors in history.³⁷

Moral judgment as a dimension of historical consciousness was studied in Finland by Jan Löffström in the context of a history classroom; Löffström monitored upper secondary school students’ discussions of morally sensitive topics like the ordeal of the victims of the Finnish civil war in 1918, the role of Finland in the Holocaust, and European colonialism. According to him, the students’ responses can be categorized in two opposite modes of historical morality. The first mode is constituted by the denial of transgenerational historical responsibility, and the second mode of the expansion of responsibility even to the people only intermediately involved in unjust acts.³⁸

In regard to Rüsen’s developmental stages of historical consciousness, Löffström considers the students’ responses representative of both the exemplary and critical uses of history. The students seek moral examples from the past, but at the same time subject past people’s choices to multiperspectival scrutiny. In pragmatic terms, Löffström expects the multiperspectival judgment of the past to be the standard goal of history curricula.³⁹

The core elements of historical consciousness, comprising a sense of the interconnectedness of the past, present, and future, historical identity, and transgenerational moral responsibility, were in the above examples researched both quantitatively, by von Borries and Angvik and by Rosenzweig and Thelen, and qualitatively, by Hult Andersson and Löffström. The researchers were frank to admit that higher spiritual echelons of historical consciousness may appear unachievable but, regarding the societal potential of historical consciousness, worthy of pursuit.

³⁶ Lars Andersson Hult, *Historia i bagaget. En historiedidaktisk studie om varför historiemedvetandet uttrycks i olika former* (Umeå universitet, 2016).

³⁷ Sirkka Ahonen, *Suomalaisuuden monet myytit. Kansallinen katse historian kirjoissa* [Myths about the Finns. National Gaze in History Textbooks] (Helsinki, Gaudeamus, 2017).

³⁸ Jan Löffström, “How Finnish Upper Secondary School Students Conceive Transgenerational Responsibilities and Historical Reparations,” *The Journal of Curriculum Studies* 46, no. 4 (2014), 515–539.

³⁹ Löffström, “How Finnish Upper Secondary School Students Conceive Transgenerational Responsibilities.”

Historical consciousness is a viable tool of orientation to life and society. History provides individuals with vicarious life-worlds and helps communities to share experiences with other communities. However, a risk is connected to the educational potential of historical consciousness. The building of collective identity tempts political leaders to use history for political purposes, that is, practice politics of history. In George Orwell's dystopia '1984,' the civil servant Winston Smith from the Ministry of Truth refers to the official slogan of his party: 'Who controls the past, controls the future. Who controls the present, controls the past.' The cynical statement is an excellent definition of the politics of history. The holders of power positions use history to impose their future aspirations on people and thus make people governable. Albeit, the demise of the old ideologically persuasive narratives, history is still used politically unclear; the reappearance of ethno-national narratives in Eastern Central and South Eastern European societies is due to the politics of history.

Authentic historical consciousness is an all-human faculty and constitutes a potential of moral community. Communities search historical identity for empowerment in the work for a better future. However, people are forced to acknowledge that history does not predict the future. Identities may need to be swapped depending on changing situations. As people, nevertheless, do not want to lose the past from their sight, European societies still in the twenty-first century have, with varying intensity, fostered identity narratives in some cases at the cost of critical historical thinking. If historical consciousness is fostered as exclusive identity narratives, its knowledge-base is not sustainable.

In the previous sections and paragraphs, there are several summaries, but it would be good to analyze them rather than presenting a collection of these key summaries. The flow should also be considered. It can sometimes be challenging to follow the messages as the ideas lack strong connections and transitions.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: WEIGHING FORM AGAINST SUBSTANCE IN HISTORY EDUCATION

'Form of knowledge' and 'narrative substances' are essential dimensions of history as it exists as a cultural phenomenon in human societies. In education the two dimensions appear as competing approaches to history curriculum: the first one stressing critical work on evidence and the other one empathic immersion in the experience of past people. Above, the role of the two approaches in the presentations of history was analyzed. Below, the focus will be on the significance of the approaches to the social ethics of history.

In their book, *Truth Decay. The Diminishing role of Facts and Analysis in American Public Life* (2018), Jennifer Kavanagh and Michael D. Rich claim that in the current culture of communication, facts have been replaced by opinions. Civil discourse consists of opinions about opinions instead of opinions against facts. As result, people may end up in polarized echo chambers without exits. Rich regards this as a threat to liberal democracy. Authoritarian leaders

use opinions as tenets of power, and prefer to spread beliefs rather than facts among the citizens.⁴⁰

Apart from political leaders, public media may be pointed out as a culprit of ‘truth decay.’ Ambitious journalists regard style more important than substance. Doing that, they fortify the echo chambers. According to Rich, truth decay has advanced since the introduction of social media, which are free from the ethical obligations of traditional journalism.

For society, people without the critical skills needed for dealing with information constitute a risk. They are unarmed against manipulation and agitation. Therefore, citizens urge school lessons to teach young people to ask for evidence and skills to handle it. Liberal democracy depends on citizens that are able of intellectually defend themselves against fake news and power-fused silence.

Epistemological realists assume an existence of a real past as the reference point of history and advocate valid procedures for interpreting sources and explaining events. However, after the constructivist turn in humanities and social sciences, historical knowledge is regarded as narrative rather than analytical as to its true nature. Facts as such are inert knowledge as they become meaningful only in a narrative context. However, the narrative and dialogical view of history does not imply that ‘anything goes.’ Neither historians nor laymen are justified to select their own facts, and one narrative can be judged to be more truthful than another. The sense of the form of historical knowledge, implying skills of critical handling of evidence and critical judgment of accounts, gives a community a stake against opportune falsification of its past. This argument strongly bolsters ‘the form of knowledge’ as the core of history curricula. Apart from being intellectually stimulating, the critical classroom work produces indispensable societal benefits.

After the recognition of the social ethical significance of the form of knowledge in history education, I return to the social value of the narrative substances. The value is undeniable: people want to have roots in the past. However, serious reservations are connected to identity narratives as the core of a history curriculum. In opposition to the time of their grandparents, the students of the twenty-first century are bound to encounter a multitude of narratives around them, and identities are multiple and volatile. If narratives are socially and ethnically exclusive, they will rather harm than help the coexistence of different cultural and ethnic groups in a community, while a dialogue of narratives is an asset for the coexistence.

In liberal democracy, previously silenced and marginal groups are encouraged to seek historical identities of their own. Since the rise of the ‘history from below’ movement, local communities and different affinity groups write their histories, often as author-collectives.⁴¹ Historians may act as mentors of the lay

⁴⁰ Jennifer Kavanagh and Michael D. Rich, *Truth Decay. An Initial Exploration of the Diminishing Role of Facts and Analysis in American Public Life* (Rand Corporation, 2018).

⁴¹ Raphael Samuel, “History Workshop. A Collectiana 1967–1991” *History Workshop* 25 (1991).

historians and maintain the epistemologically valid standards of the work.⁴² Lay history represents emancipatory use of history, as they help ordinary people to acknowledge themselves as actors of history.

Moreover, the right to historical identity is owned by the new minorities, brought into a community by global migration. In school, history classrooms provide young people a space and time to listen to each other's narratives and relate them to their own historical experience. The young people will be freed from the restricting national gaze and open the view of history as a dynamic interactive 'human web.'

Popular quest of historical identification is at risk of being misused by history politics. An example is constituted by neo-nationalist politicians in Eastern and Central Europe of the 2010s, who exercise symbolic power by reviving national myths in support of their political agendas. In Russia, a history committee nominated by Vladimir Putin in 2012 wants to order history textbook writers to prove the historical supremacy of Russia.⁴³ In Hungary, the head of the state Viktor Orbán included claims of Hungarian historical greatness in the constitution of 2012. The claims were pointed at the neighboring states, which, according to Orbán, unjustly owned Hungarian lands.⁴⁴ Such mythical claims without a critical reference to evidence do not comply with the ethics of history, if their purpose is to bolster political supremacy.

In history education, the mastery of the form of knowledge is a stake for history as a societal asset. When the critical thinking skills are firmly established, the narrative substance of history will be a positive resource for the thinking of the future.

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⁴²Jorma Kalela, *Making History. The Historian and Uses of the Past* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁴³Masha Gessen, *The Future is History. How Totalitarianism Reclaimed Russia* (New York: Penguin Random House, 2017).

⁴⁴Heino Nyssönen, *Tasavallan loppu? Unkarin demokratian romahdus* (Jyväskylä: Atena Kustannus, 2017).

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PART III

Teacher Education



Between Historical Consciousness and Historical Thinking: Swedish History Teacher Education in the 2000s

Karl Gunnar Hammarlund

INTRODUCTION

For almost a century, from 1907 to 2001, Swedish upper secondary teacher education followed a similar structure. Students started with subject studies, ending in a BA exam, to which were added modules intended to prepare them for their profession as teachers. Until 1969, this meant one semester of courses in educational theory followed by a probationary year. From 1969, subject studies were followed by a one-year course in the theory and practice of teaching, with school placement integrated, and from 1992 subject courses and educational courses became parts of a cohesive initial teacher education program. However, the structure remained the same: 3–3½ years of subject studies, followed by one year of educational courses, with school placement included.

All through the latter half of the twentieth century, this model faced increased and twofold criticism. The subject courses were perceived as insufficiently adapted to a professional education: students gained profound insights in their subject, but not much was said (or taught) about subject-specific teaching and learning issues. The courses dealing with theory and practice of teaching were seen as lacking in academic rigor with practice training following a master–apprentice model, demonstrating best practice with a weak or even non-existent theoretical foundation.

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These and other issues were to be addressed by a parliamentary commission set up in 1997, whose final report was published in early May 1999. A government bill putting forward the commission's proposals was tabled in May the following year and was passed by parliament in October 2000. A completely restructured teacher education program was to be introduced at the beginning of the academic year 2001/02.

At first glance, nothing much was changed. For an upper secondary teacher degree, students still had to take courses in their subject as well as courses in what was now labeled the General Field of Education. However, the new structure called for fundamental changes in the subject studies, changes that raised new challenges for the departments responsible for the respective subjects and thus were received with skepticism or even reluctance. The commission's report and the government Bill both stressed that subject-specific teaching and learning issues (or subject didactics) should henceforth be an integrated part of the subject studies. Furthermore, a total of 30 weeks' school placement was to be divided equally between the subjects and the general field of education,

NEW DEMANDS ON HISTORY DEPARTMENTS

So, what were the consequences for, say, a history department? Traditionally, prospective upper secondary teachers followed the regular undergraduate courses within the field, which at most institutions consisted of:

- 1st semester (20 weeks): A historical overview from early civilization to modern times, supplemented with seminars giving an introduction to historical methodology;
- 2nd semester (20 weeks): Two thematic modules, one module in historical theory and methodology, and a shorter essay where the student was to make use of primary sources to answer a historical question;
- 3rd semester (20 weeks): One thematic module, one module in historical theory and methodology, and a longer essay where the student discusses a historical problem making use of relevant theoretical and empirical research as well as primary sources.

Within this tradition, issues related to the teaching and learning of history, both in practice (good examples) and in theory (the epistemology of history, the relation between history as school subject and academic subject) were seldom or never given attention. At some institutions, complementary seminars, running alongside the ordinary course, were offered. At others, all teaching and learning aspects were left to the program's final educational course.

The new, completely restructured teacher education of 2001 forced history departments to reconsider curricula and course syllabi. Not only did it become necessary to make room for ten weeks of school placement within the total of 60 weeks, it was also necessary to address history didactics—either by replacing existing modules with new ones, or by integrating elements of subject didactics

into existing modules, or both. Either way, existing modules were no longer usable.

The unsurprising reaction from the history departments was that the change jeopardized the quality of history education, giving students of teacher education a shallower subject knowledge than previously. This, of course, was a reflection of how the departments viewed their subject, and their reactions to the demands that arose from the belated recognition that teacher education is a professional education. Subject didactics was definitely not seen as part of the subject—and school placement even less so. The proposition that history didactics, or the experience gained from practicing as a history teacher, could contribute to knowledge and competencies rightfully belonging to the field of history was not readily accepted. Departments also faced practical challenges: new modules and seminar activities addressing subject didactics had to be developed, and existing courses needed to be scrutinized to ascertain that the subject matter covered was relevant when compared to the school curriculum. As a result, parallel seminar series and/or modules had to be created, leading to an increase in teaching hours—and hence to a cost increase—for the courses. Furthermore, since few historians had engaged in issues concerning history teaching and learning, many departments had to build up competence in the field. In some cases, this was done through borrowing lecturers from the education departments for certain modules or seminars. In other cases, lecturers/professors (often junior lecturers/professors) took on the task, developing their competence through participation in networks and conferences.

Considering the short time given for implementing the new course structure, it is not surprising that the first formal evaluation of the new teacher education, undertaken in 2005, found a number of weak points, not least regarding the subject departments' implementation of subject didactics. Added to this was increasing criticism of what was seen as a weakening of subject matter knowledge among newly qualified teachers. This in turn was coupled to the Ministry of Education's obsession with Sweden's decline in the OECD Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) rankings (even though PISA only covers reading, math, and science, its focus on easily measurable and comparable learning outcomes had (and has) an impact on wider educational discourse). In 2007, the government, therefore, appointed a new commission with the task of, once again, reviewing Swedish teacher education.

A government Bill based upon the new commission's recommendations was tabled in February 2010 and passed by parliament in April. For upper secondary teacher education, three major changes were made.

- The program section "General Field of Education" was re-labeled "Core of Educational Science" and reduced from three semesters to two.
- Subject studies in the student's first subject were extended to four semesters. The logic behind this change is not entirely clear since it does not matter whether a student has taken history (or math, or English) as first

or second subject—in either case he/she is qualified to teach the subject.

- Finally, school placement was reduced from 30 to 20 weeks and was no longer integrated in the subject courses. This was a direct response to the voiced concerns that subject matter knowledge was not being given enough time and was, therefore, deteriorating.

As a result of the changes, the total length of the program was increased from 4½ to 5 years. What did not change, however, was the inclusion of subject didactics as part of subject studies. Instead, it was given more weight than in the previous model. A division line thus became apparent between subject didactics, the responsibility of subject departments, and general teaching competencies, dealt with in courses given by departments of teacher education or education science.

How, then, have history departments in Sweden dealt with this task? To what extent and in which forms have perspectives on and examples of history teaching and learning formed part of history courses for teacher students? And which approaches, theoretical as well as practical, have been chosen? In the following, I will first provide an overview of Swedish scholarly discourse on history teaching and learning, and secondly, analyze course syllabi from the 16 institutions that provide secondary teacher education programs, focusing on (a) the degree of integration of history didactics, (b) course literature covering didactic perspectives, and (c) the degree of correspondence between course content, literature, and learning outcomes.

SWEDISH DISCOURSE ON HISTORY DIDACTICS: A FOOT IN BOTH CAMPS

The obvious assumption to be drawn from the previous paragraphs is that neither Swedish historians nor Swedish educationalists, have cared much about subject didactics. To an extent that is true. Educationalists have often tended to view didactics as a generic concept rooted in theories of educational science, while historians seldom have given a thought to the whys and hows of history teaching. Thus, the rather small group of Swedish scholars that have engaged in history didactics have often been regarded (or at least often felt themselves to be regarded) as dilettantes who muddy the clear waters of history or educational science.

Notwithstanding, an undercurrent of history didactics had begun to trickle through Swedish academic institutions in the early 1980s. An important factor was the series of Nordic conferences on history didactics that were held between 1982 and 1999. During the last two decades, sessions around history didactics have become a regular feature of both the Nordic and the Swedish historians' conferences—a change that probably reflects a growing interest in the topic among history lecturers and professors, which in turn is a consequence of the demands, following the teacher education revisions of 2001 and 2008, to integrate didactics into history courses.

During the 1980s and 1990s, research in the field of history didactics had its main focus on the conditions of history teaching (curriculum studies, textbook studies) as well as on the use (and abuse) of history, not only in a school context but also in public history (popular history, heritage, and film and TV). History teaching and learning as school practice was seldom addressed, however. This, too, has changed during recent decades. The Swedish national library database, Libris, lists 36 PhD and Licentiate dissertations tagged with “history didactics” published between 2006 and 2018, with the majority dealing with teachers’ or pupils’ handling of history teaching and learning.

No matter whether the focus has been on conditions or practice of history teaching and learning, a theoretical foundation is necessary. This foundation can be built from educational theories of young learners’ cognitive and emotive capabilities, from sociological and cultural studies theories of the role played by history and heritage in society, and from epistemological theories—What is historical knowledge?

Within all these fields, two schools or traditions of history didactics have, for almost 50 years, influenced Swedish academic discourse: an Anglo-American tradition with a strong focus on the development of historical thinking with Rosalyn Ashby, Peter Lee, Peter Seixas, Denis Shemilt, Bruce VanSledright, and Sam Wineburg among the important names; and a German tradition focusing on the concept of historical consciousness, represented by, among others, Bodo von Borries, Karl-Ernst Jeismann, Andreas Körber, and Jörn Rüsen.

Due to their different foci, these two traditions have not always lived harmoniously alongside each other. This tension is also present within the Swedish National Curriculum, since influence from both traditions left significant traces in the revisions of 1994 and 2011.

The National Curriculum of 1994 was marked by an ambition to wipe out the last remnants of the old rote-learning culture. In the opening chapter, “Fundamental values and tasks of the school”, a definition of knowledge was introduced which stressed the importance of thinking skills, understanding, and the transferability of knowledge:

Knowledge is a complex concept which can be expressed in a variety of forms—as facts, understanding, skills and accumulated experience—all of which presuppose and interact with each other. Education, therefore, must not stress one or other of these different forms of knowledge.¹

For the history syllabus, this meant that the content was no longer prescribed in detail. One learning outcome for history in upper secondary school was that students should be familiar with “the fundamental traits of development

¹Skolverket, *1994 års läroplan för de frivilliga skolorna*, Lpf 94 (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet 1994), 6. Here and in the following all translations from non-English texts are my own.

through history from a chronological perspective,”² although teachers were given considerable leeway in deciding which traits should be seen as “fundamental.” After completing the course, students were expected to understand the meaning of central historical concepts as well as being able to analyze historical problems, interpret causal connections between events, and assess, in a critical and balanced way, historical statements by making use of historical sources and narratives.

Such an approach toward history education resembles the idea put forward by Denis Shemilt—that history should be seen as a form, rather than as a body of knowledge.³ The emphasis placed upon critical analysis, causal explanations, historical concepts, and the use of sources is another link to British history didactics of the 1970s and 1980s, represented by the Schools Council’s History Project.

One would expect this change to be applauded both by school history teachers and lecturers in teacher education. In fact, the reaction was mixed. Concerns were voiced that, although in itself a good thing, a focus on promoting thinking skills would be too time-consuming, reducing the time deemed necessary for providing a sufficient base of substantive facts. Another strand of criticism was that the aim of school history should not be to shape the pupils into “little historians.” Rather, school history ought to focus on promoting the capabilities that pupils needed in order to cope with their own lifeworld—both their present, as adolescents, and their future, as adults.

This latter view drew from the concept “historical consciousness” as developed in German, Danish, and—to an extent—Swedish history didactics. The concept had made its entry into the National Curriculum of 1994, although without being explained in detail or being more closely defined. The opening paragraph of the history syllabus for the upper secondary school simply stated: “The aim of history education is to develop a historical consciousness, thus giving insights to one’s own identity as well as the identities of others and their cultural heritage.”⁴

The syllabus went on to state “Knowledge of history should contribute to pupils’ understanding of the present and strengthen their preparedness for the future.”⁵ This juxtaposition of past, present, and future, was undoubtedly inspired by Karl-Ernst Jeismann’s definition of the concept “historical consciousness,” where one of the fundamental elements, perhaps the most fundamental, of the concept was described as:

² Skolverket, *Samhällsvetenskapsprogrammet. Program mål, kursplaner, betygs kriterier och kommentarer* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet 1994), 38.

³ Denis Shemilt, “The Devil’s Locomotive.” *History and Theory* 22, no. 4, (1983): 1–18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*

More than being just knowing or taking an interest in history, historical consciousness comprises the relations between interpretations of the past, understanding of the present, and perspectives on the future.⁶

Central to Jeismann's definition is, obviously, his view of the relation between "history" and "the past." History does not merely reflect the past, it is an interpretation of the past, a (re-) construction. This, too, was expressed in the syllabus:

Men and women, as well as different generations, social classes, nations, and entire cultures, view historical courses of events from different perspectives and frameworks of values. Perspectives shift constantly, and new perspectives are actualized by new events and social challenges.⁷

"Historical consciousness" is a concept that lends itself to various interpretations. A lowest common denominator that most participants in the debate probably would agree on might be that historical consciousness, just as Jeismann underlined, has to do with linking together the past, the present, and the future. What those links consist of, however, often remains unclear, and this lack of clarity may, at least partly, be explained by the vagueness of the word "consciousness." Is there a difference between consciousness and awareness? Between having a consciousness and being conscious?

Swedish historian Peter Aronsson has distinguished between three possible interpretations. *Awareness of history* is the awareness of a past which has affected the present, which in turn will have consequences for the future. It thus captures the often-expressed thought that we should learn from the past in order to understand the present and prepare for the future. *Consciousness of history* focuses on an emotion-based and individual understanding: history is about me and my place in a complex temporal dimension. This definition implies that our identities are inescapably embedded in time. Here, historical knowledge becomes a tool for self-understanding. *Historical consciousness*, finally, can be seen as a state of having (more or less developed) perceptions of how past, present, and future relate to each other, allowing for a meta-perspective on historical consciousness.⁸

The first interpretation, awareness of history, corresponds to the rather vague and imprecise, but widely accepted, idea that the past, the present, and the future are somehow connected to each other. The third, historical consciousness, represents a more sophisticated approach to history, resting on a theory-based understanding of both subject-specific and general epistemological issues. This approach is hardly controversial in itself, although opinion may

⁶Karl-Ernst Jeismann, "Geschichtsbewußtsein." *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik, Vol. 1*, edited by Klaus Bergmann et al. (Düsseldorf: Schwann 1979), 42.

⁷Skolverket, *Samhällsvetenskapsprogrammet. Program mål, kursplaner, betygskriterier och kommentarer* (Stockholm: Utbildningsdepartementet 1994), 38.

⁸Peter Aronsson, *Historiebruk* (Lund: Studentlitteratur 2004), 68.

vary as to whether it is realistic to introduce it as part of school history. The most challenged interpretation has been the second, consciousness of history, which focuses on a personal relationship (in a school context: the student's personal relationship) to history.

The most provocative, and also often the most well-founded and profound defense of this interpretation, often drawing on a wide range of literature within the fields of philosophy, psychology, education, and cultural studies, can be found in the contributions to the discourse made by Danish scholars. This can at least partly be explained by the fact that Danish educational research and debate have been influenced by the German educationalist Wolfgang Klafki.

Condensed to the extreme, Klafki's views on education (not history education specifically, but education in general) are captured in the concept "categorical learning" (*kategorialer Bildung*). Through working with well-chosen examples, students acquire a generalized and transferable knowledge of aspects and dimensions that may be put to use in new contexts.

At the same time they become familiar with, and acquire the ability to apply, new ways of structuring, new approaches, new methods for problem-solving, and new perspectives of action; what Klafki calls a "working knowledge."⁹

Alongside neo-Marxist critical theory, the writings of Jeismann, and (to an extent) Jörn Rüsen, Klafki influenced a notable current in the Danish discourse of history teaching and learning, aiming at an education that is experience-based and action-oriented. Not in a Deweyan "learning by doing" sense, where experiences and actions are part of the classroom learning, rather in a sense where past experiences and future actions outside of school are taken into consideration. One of the most unrelenting and radical advocates for this approach has been Bernard Eric Jensen, a proponent of the view that school history ought to be redefined: school history should not be about teaching and learning *history* (what happened in the past) but about teaching and learning *historical consciousness*.

A fundamental part of Jensen's reasoning is the conviction that historical consciousness, as defined by Jeismann, is constitutive of being human. He compares it to language: both can be seen as sociocultural preconditions for our functioning as individuals and members of a community. Both consist to a large part of "silent" knowledge; we can be link past, present, and future without knowing exactly how the links are forged, just as we can use language without a formal knowledge of grammar.¹⁰ Education can help us improve our language skills as well as our historical consciousness by telling us about established rules, or offer us concepts that facilitate a meta-understanding; but it will always build on the capabilities that we already possess.

In everyday life we constantly struggle to understand the present, and in doing so we interpret the past. This understanding, as well as these interpretations, are both influenced from and influencing our perspectives of the future.

⁹Wolfgang Klafki, *Dannelsesteori og didaktik: nye studier* (Århus: Klim 2002), 165 f.

¹⁰Bernard Eric Jensen, *Historie – livsverden og fag* (København: Gyldendal 2006), 358.

For Jensen, the only reasonable consequence is to make the ability to understand the present the fulcrum of school history. Interpreting the past, hitherto at the center of history education, is thereby assigned a purely instrumental role, and knowledge of the past is valuable only to the extent that it contributes to, or facilitates, our understanding of the present.¹¹ Jensen, thus, draws a sharp dividing line between school history and history as an academic subject. It is perfectly acceptable, he says—it is even commendable—for the academic historian to inquire into apparently “useless” historical problems.¹² What Jensen opposes is the “trickle-down-model,” in which academic history, with its established facts and its acknowledged methods, should be handed down, often in a simplified and watered-down version, to students.¹³

If the past is seen as the proper field of history, students’ everyday life experiences, their uncertainties and questions, as well as their understanding of the present, become more or less irrelevant. If academic history is seen as a role model for historical thinking, the students’ own historical consciousness may be discarded as irrelevant or erroneous, something that should be put right or replaced by “the real thing.” For Jensen, this view is absurd. Instead, he sees it as vital that students’ everyday experience and everyday understanding are made part of history teaching and learning. This does not imply, however, that he advocates some kind of vulgar postmodernism where “my story is as true as yours”; on the contrary—he points out that if the educational system expects the students to learn not only *about* history but also *from* it, then the teaching must be solidly founded upon sound disciplinary knowledge. Students should become acquainted with established findings, methods, and theories—but not in order to turn them into little historians or to teach them what “real” historians do. The rationale should always be to enhance their abilities to deal with present and future challenges through developing what Jensen calls “scenario competence”:

When people link their interpretations of the past to their understanding of the present and their expectations of the future, they create and develop a “scenario competence”—an ability to set up, play through, and evaluate socio-cultural scenarios. Such an ability is vital in order to live and work with others, and it is important not only on the small scale of everyday life, but also when societal change on a macro level is imminent.¹⁴

¹¹ Bernard Eric Jensen, “Europa som historiebevidsthed.” *Historiedidaktik i Norden Vol. 5* (eds.) Sirkka Ahonen et al., (København: Danmarks Lærerhøjskole 1993), 168, 183 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, 184.

¹³ Bernard Eric Jensen, “Historie i og udenfor skolen.” *Historiedidaktik i Norden Vol. 4* (eds.) Sirkka Ahonen et al. (Kalmar: Högskolan i Kalmar 1990), 137.

¹⁴ Bernard Eric Jensen, “Historiebevidsthed og historie – hvad er det?” *Historieskabte såvel som historieskabende: 7 historiedidaktiske essays*, edited by Henning Brinckmann and Lene Rasmussen (Gesten: OP-forlaget 1996), 12.

To sum up Jensen's critique: history teaching and learning must distance itself from a tradition where:

- (a) direct links are forged between school history and academic history;
- (b) the methods and approaches used in academic history become role models for school history—students should become little historians;
- (c) history education is seen as diffusion, as transferring knowledge from the expert to the (ignorant) layman;
- (d) history teaching becomes a one-way communication that does not consider approaches toward history that the layman finds important or interesting, and
- (e) history teaching is about telling students the right way of thinking; qualifying becomes disciplining.¹⁵

Instead, school history must build on history's relevance in everyday life: history as examples, history as narratives, and history as action-oriented.¹⁶ For the layman, the vital role of history is to make the present intelligible. Once again, we find a connection to Jeismann's thoughts that historical consciousness is a mode through which the past, as imagination and experience, is made part of our own time. Jeismann here quotes the French philosopher Raymond Aron: "History is the reconstruction of the lives of the dead, by and for the living. The interests of times present are what make man—thinking, suffering, acting man—explore the past."¹⁷

Jörn Rüsen expresses a similar viewpoint when writing that historical consciousness entails "being able to utilize the temporal whole, with its experiential content, for the purposes of life orientation."¹⁸ A similar view is expressed by Andreas Körber in his definition of the overarching aims of history education:

History teaching needs to address the plurality and multiplicity of handlings of the past and of orientations drawn from history (...) History teaching in this sense is not about forming a society by creating uniformity, but about forming social coherence by enabling people to handle multiplicity and diversity through responsible reasoning.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid., 86 f.

¹⁶ Ibid., 91.

¹⁷ Raymond Aron, *Dimensions de la conscience historique* (Paris 1961), quoted in Jeismann, Karl-Ernst. "Geschichtsbewußtsein." *Handbuch der Geschichtsdidaktik, Vol. 1*, edited by Klaus Bergmann et al. (Düsseldorf: Schwann 1979), 42.

¹⁸ Jörn Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness, Narrative Structure, Moral Function and Ontogenetic Development." *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, edited by Peter Seixas (Toronto: Toronto University Press 2006), 70.

¹⁹ Andreas Körber, "German History Didactics: From Historical Consciousness to Historical Competencies – and beyond?" *Historicizing the uses of the past: Scandinavian perspectives on history culture, historical consciousness and didactics of history related to World War II*, edited by Helle Bjerg, Claudia Lenz and Erik Thorstensen (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag 2011), 162.

Such viewpoints could be interpreted as choosing a “practical” over a disciplinary, “historical” past as the true focal point of school history. Rüsen’s words seem hard to reconcile with Peter Lee’s and Jonathan Howson’s warning against pushing history education “along a continuum that ends with the practical past, ultimately reducing its contents to the storehouse of virtues and vices....”²⁰ Arguably, however, this is nothing more than an apparent conflict. As mentioned above, Jensen recognizes the need for a history education solidly founded upon sound disciplinary knowledge. Rüsen underlines that the development of a historical consciousness includes “articulating human identity with *historical* knowledge, and interweaving one’s own identity into the concrete warp and woof of *historical* knowledge.”²¹

Nevertheless, relations between the Anglo-American and German discourses during the 1980s and 1990s could be described as slightly uncomfortable. One reason was that the concept of “historical consciousness,” although thought-provoking, was seen by many as lacking practical relevance. The German historian and educationalist Bodo von Borries found the concept affected by four decisive shortcomings:

- lack of “elementarization” (i.e. reducing the scope and complexity of the subject content covered, adapting content and structure to students’ age and previous knowledge, structuring lessons for optimal learning);
- lack of progressional thinking (taking into consideration students’ individual capabilities and needs);
- lack of consideration of the actual conditions for school history (e.g. the number of lesson hours available); and
- lack of empirical trials (e.g. testing the feasibility of lesson plans and exercises, collaboration with best-practice teachers).²²

However, during the last decades important steps have been taken to overcome these weaknesses. One example is the research done in the German FUER (*Förderung und Entwicklung von reflektiertem Geschichtsbewusstsein*) project during the first decade of this millennium by, among others, Bodo von Borries, Andreas Körber, and Waltraud Schreiber.²³ Maybe the most important part of the project was Andreas Körber’s important writings on the competencies

²⁰Peter Lee and Jonathan Howson, “Two Out of Five Did Not Know That Henry VIII had Eight Wives.” History Education, Historical Literacy, and Historical Consciousness.” *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*, edited by Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers 2009), 250.

²¹Jörn Rüsen, “Historical Consciousness, Narrative Structure, Moral Function and Ontogenetic Development.” *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, edited by Peter Seixas (Toronto: Toronto University Press 2006), 70. my italics.

²²Bodo von Borries, *Historisch Denken Lernen – Welterschließung statt Epochenüberblick. Geschichte als Unterrichtsfach und Bildungsaufgabe* (Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2008), 3.

²³In English, FUER may be rendered as “Promotion/ nurturing and development of a mature/ reflective historical consciousness.” For more information about the FUER project, see the project website <http://www1.ku-eichstaett.de/GGF/Didaktik/Projekt/FUER.html>

crucial for developing a historical consciousness and how school history can promote them—an approach that shares common ground with Peter Seixas’ and Tom Morton’s work, not least the importance they ascribe to concepts as well as the recognition of the ethical aspects of history.²⁴

This reconciliation of the Anglo-American and German traditions is also reflected in the revision of the history syllabus of 2011, which states:

Teaching in the subject of history should aim at helping students broaden, deepen and develop their historical consciousness through knowledge of the past, the ability to use historical methods and an understanding of how history is used. Students should thus be given the opportunity to develop their understanding of how different interpretations and perspectives on the past influence our views of the present and perceptions of the future....

Teaching should provide students with the opportunity to work with historical concepts, questions, explanations and different relationships in time and space to develop an understanding of historical processes of change in society. Use of historical methods should be a part of teaching. This means that students should be given the opportunity to search for, examine, interpret and assess different types of sources, and use different theories, perspectives and tools to explain and illustrate processes of historical change.²⁵

Obviously, Swedish history teacher education must prepare the students for teaching in the Swedish school system in accordance with the National Curriculum and the history syllabus. Students, therefore, must be acquainted with, and develop an understanding of, both the concept of “historical consciousness” and its role in history education, and of the Anglo-American “historical thinking” tradition, with its focus on concepts.

HISTORY DIDACTICS IN HIGHER EDUCATION SYLLABI

How, then, do history departments respond to this demanding task? An analysis of course syllabi gives an answer, or at least part of an answer. Course syllabi state expected learning outcomes and contain descriptions of course module content and course literature. They do not, however, give information on the amount of time to be allocated to various topics. They do not indicate whether works listed among the course literature are intended for recommended reading, giving a background or overview, or if they are meant to be used extensively through the course. They give no information on how lecturers plan and

²⁴ Andreas Körber, “German History Didactics: From Historical Consciousness to Historical Competencies – and beyond?” *Historicizing the Uses of the Past: Scandinavian Perspectives on History Culture, Historical Consciousness and Didactics of History Related to World War II*, edited by Helle Bjerg, Claudia Lenz, and Erik Thorstensen (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag 2011); Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2012).

²⁵ Skolverket. *Läroplan, examensmål och gymnasiegemensamma ämnen för gymnasieskola 2011* (Stockholm: Skolverket 2011), 66.

carry through individual lectures and seminars, nor about whether the course literature is supplied with handouts in the form of articles and shorter texts. For a full picture it would be necessary to conduct in-depth interviews with lecturers and students as well as observe lectures, seminars, and workshops.

Still, analyzing a syllabus will say something about the intentions of a course and the respective weights given to history and to history teaching and learning. Listed course literature also indicates whether students will meet a broad and deep or a more limited introduction to the field of history didactics.

During the academic year of 2017/2018, 16 Swedish universities and university colleges offered history courses as part of an upper secondary teacher program. A comparative analysis shows many similarities, but also a number of distinctive differences. Three issues will be discussed here:

- Is history didactics integrated with other modules in the history course or placed in separate modules?
- Which perspectives of history didactics are covered by the listed course literature?
- Is there a reasonable correspondence between expected learning outcomes on the one hand, and module descriptions and course literature on the other?

Integration and Separation

As to the first issue, the short and simple answer is: both. Syllabi from 14 of the 16 universities contain at least one module devoted to history didactics, and 15 universities offer history modules where some aspects of didactics are integrated. However, the number of integrated modules varies greatly, and it is not always clear which aspects of history didactics are given priority. The following examples illustrate the wide range of treatment of history didactics.

At three universities—Karlstad, Malmö, and Umeå—syllabi show a consistent and well-thought-out ambition to integrate didactics throughout the courses. Karlstad and Umeå are also exceptions from the general pattern in that they do not offer any specific modules on history didactics. Didactical elements are present in all modules, all through the four semesters of study, and these elements are often chosen so that they connect to the periods or themes dealt with in the modules. A first semester module at Karlstad University, “Age of Extremes,” dealing with twentieth-century history, thus gives room for “questions about ethical considerations related to the use of history as a school subject.”²⁶ At Malmö University, a fourth-semester module on gender history has as one learning outcome “the ability to plan, evaluate, and comment teaching of historical change from a gender perspective, by pointing out alternative strategies within the framework of the school curriculum.”²⁷ Along the same

²⁶ Karlstads universitet. *Historia med didaktisk inriktning 1*, 30.0 hp. 2011.

²⁷ Malmö universitet. *Historia och lärande*, 2017.

lines, a second-semester module at Umeå University, “History of Everyday Life 1500–2000” integrates, as didactic aspects, “historical understanding and empathy through the use of primary sources and historical narratives (school textbooks, popular history).”²⁸ All syllabi from these universities also contain clear and detailed learning outcomes with a clear bearing on history didactics.

At the other end of the scale, the study of history and that of history didactics are often kept separated throughout the course. At Stockholm University, during semesters 1 and 3 teacher students take the same history courses as students studying history for a BA exam. The second semester is devoted solely to subject didactics, and the courses are given not by the history department but by the department of humanities and social sciences education. During the fourth semester, when students have returned to the history department, the course contains two modules specifically aimed at history didactics, and also a module on history and heritage that also has some connection to the field of didactics.²⁹

At Uppsala University, teacher students and other undergraduates also take the same courses, although the teacher students attend supplementary learning and teaching hours alongside the regular lectures and seminars.³⁰ During the second semester, teacher students also take a module on history didactics and the use of history.

At Mid Sweden University, history didactics is also separated, with a specific module as part of the third-semester course.³¹

Other universities fall in between those examples, with elements of history didactics present in some, but not all modules. Which elements, and how they are integrated in the coursework, are not always outlined in detail.

A rigorous separation of history and history didactics has obvious drawbacks. If the students spend their first semester studying history, often in the form of an overview from early civilizations or ancient Greece and Rome to present time, not becoming acquainted with aspects of history teaching and learning until the second or third semester, they may find it a challenge to create necessary links between the two parts. On the other hand, if thematic or chronological history modules also contain workshops and/or exercises devoted to the ways to teach these topics in secondary schools, parts of history must be left out or treated superficially since the allocation of hours for a course has its limits.

At the same time, specific modules for history didactics have advantages in that they enable a deeper and broader understanding of the field. If teaching and learning exercises hand down “best practice” in a master–apprentice

²⁸ Umeå universitet. *Historia I*, 30.0 hp. 2016.

²⁹ Stockholms universitet. *Historia I inom ämneslärarprogrammet, årskurs 7–9 och gymnasieskolan*, 2018.

³⁰ Uppsala universitet. *Kursplan för Historia A för ämneslärare*. 2017.

³¹ Mittuniversitetet. *Historia GR (C), Ämneslärarutbildning för gymnasieskolan*, 30 hp. 2013.

approach, without addressing the theoretical foundations, students might find it hard to transfer the insights gained to new situations and problems.

The range of different models chosen by Swedish universities can be seen as different strategies for managing the tightrope-walking that follows from the necessity of combining studies in the subject with studies in subject-specific teaching and learning. Three semesters of studies in history *and* history didactics can never cover the same amount of subject knowledge as three semesters devoted solely to “pure” history. Some parts of the traditional BA courses must be replaced. Adapting a well-established academic subject into the narrower framework of a professional education has forced history departments to reconsider the *sine qua non*s of their subject. In this process, various departments have reached different conclusions, as this overview shows.

Course Literature: From Standard Textbooks to Scholarly Texts

As already mentioned, conclusions from listed course literature in a syllabus must be drawn with great caution. There are titles that are referred to frequently during lectures and seminars, titles that examiners expect to be referred to in papers, and titles included for orientation and inspiration. Most often, lists include the sentence “Additional literature will be provided by the department” or similar, in which case students may encounter a lot of (shorter) texts and handouts, especially in connection with seminars and workshops. Keeping these reservations in mind, a scrutiny of listed course literature should at least give an indication of a department’s ambitions.

Swedish is a small language, mother tongue of not more than 10 million people. It is therefore no surprise that English-language course literature plays an important part at Swedish universities. Of the institutions studied here, 12 out of 16 use McKay et al., *A History of World Societies* as a textbook during the first-semester course.

However, when it comes to history teaching and learning, especially when related to a professional education where students are preparing for a future as teachers in Swedish schools, relying on books written from, say, a British, Canadian, or US perspective can be somewhat problematic. It is, therefore, no surprise that all institutions have chosen one or more of the four available Swedish handbooks and anthologies in the field.

Most frequently used (by nine universities) is the anthology *Historien är närvarande* (History is Present), edited by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander (first edition 2014). Carrying the subtitle “History didactics as theory and application,” it is divided into four parts. The first gives an overview of history didactics as scholarly discourse, its theoretical foundation, its central concepts and so on. Both the Anglo-American “Historical thinking” and the Continental/ German “Historical consciousness” traditions are covered. The second part deals with public history—film, monuments, and heritage. The third part is centered on school textbooks and how they contribute to shaping

not only our view of history but also our identity. The fourth part deals with the Swedish curricula and assessment of/grading historical knowledge.

Six universities have chosen another anthology, edited by Klas-Göran Karlsson and Ulf Zander, *Historien är nu* (History is Now), first published in 2004. Just like *Historien är närvarande*, it gives a thorough introduction to history didactics, and the slightly nebulous concept “Historical consciousness” is analyzed not only from a theoretical viewpoint but also with regard to its practicability in a school or classroom context.

What those volumes do not offer is examples or tips how to plan lessons and activities—the kind of content that teacher students often ask for and tend to appreciate. The handbook *Historieundervisningens byggstenar* (Elements of History Teaching) by Magnus Hermansson Adler (first edition 2004) is just that kind of book. Hermansson Adler has lengthy experience as a secondary school teacher and a university lecturer, and his book contains many well-thought-out examples closely aligned to the school curriculum. Based on educational science and a social constructivist approach, it does not, however, offer extensive theoretical overviews or insights in the scholarly discourse on history teaching and learning. Hermansson Adler’s book is used by nine universities.

Four universities have chosen *Att undervisa i historia* (Teaching History) by Bengt Liljegren et al., first published in 2012. Compared to Hermansson Adler’s book it is more of a downright collection of good examples, including ready-to-copy handouts; theoretical perspectives on history teaching and learning are almost entirely absent.

Orientating overviews, such as the anthologies edited by Karlsson and Zander, are indispensable tools in education. But it can also be argued that students ought to meet directly with scholarly texts. Many (but not all) departments have added such titles, both Swedish and English-language, to the listed course literature. Since there is a plethora of works to choose from, there is a variation in titles or authors selected. Among the authors found on more than one of the lists are Keith Barton, Andreas Körber, Stéphane Lévesque, Peter Lee, Avishag Reisman, Jörn Rüsen, Peter Seixas, Denis Shemilt, and Sam Wineburg.

Which text students meet (and at which stage) may vary a lot from institution to institution. At Malmö University, the course literature for the first semester course includes two chapters from Karlsson and Zander, *Historien är närvarande*, one chapter from Ericikan and Seixas, *New directions in assessing historical thinking*, plus articles from the *Canadian Journal of Education* (Peck and Seixas), *Curriculum Inquiry* (Seixas), and *Teaching History* (Axelsson Yngvéus). At Södertörn University, first-semester students encounter only one volume, Hermansson Adler’s *Historieundervisningens byggstenar*, while *Historien är närvarande* is part of the reading for the fourth-semester course. And despite the fact that issues related to history didactics are among the learning outcomes for the first-semester course at Uppsala University, the listed course literature does not include any texts in the field.

Three universities do not include any works other than one or more of the four handbooks and anthologies mentioned: Jönköping University, Mid Sweden University, and Uppsala University. Two universities add other texts, but only by Swedish authors (Linköping University and Södertörn University).

However, and as already mentioned, lists of course literature can be (and most often are) supplemented with articles, book chapters, and various hand-outs—syllabi alone will never give a complete picture.

Correspondence Between Content, Literature, and Outcomes

In every academic course there is—or should be—a correspondence between module content, course literature, and stipulated learning outcomes. How, then, is such a correspondence discernible in the syllabi?

Traditionally, Swedish academic course syllabi have been input-oriented, describing the content of the course (“the course consists of ...,” “the course aims at ...”). It was not until the implementation of the so-called Bologna Process, around the turn of the millennium, that output-oriented learning outcomes were introduced as central elements of the syllabus (“after successfully completing the course, the student will be able to ...”). Stating outcomes for the course became a mandatory requirement in a revision of the Higher Education Ordinance in 2002.³²

Formally and legally, every Swedish university and university college is an autonomous governmental authority. As such, they have a high degree of constitutionally guaranteed independence; they are subject to decisions made by the government as a whole, but they cannot be given orders by the Ministry of Education. Thus, they have complete freedom to design their syllabi as long as the basic formal demands set in the Higher Education Ordinance are met. Universities (and departments) have handled the task of formulating learning outcomes in different ways. In some cases, learning outcomes are given for the course as a whole, and may be limited to between five and ten; but one may also find syllabi where learning outcomes are given for every module, reaching a total of 25 or more learning outcomes to be attained during the semester.

Looking solely at the first-semester courses, one finds a huge variation. At Jönköping University, nine out of 13 learning outcomes explicitly link to history didactics, while at Stockholm University and Mid Sweden University not one learning outcome does so (although in both cases such learning outcomes are included in the syllabi for the second, third, and fourth semester). For the other universities, the number of learning outcomes that can be linked to history didactics varies: seven at Karlstad and Linköping, six at Gothenburg, Malmö, and Södertörn, four at Luleå, three at Halmstad and Linnaeus University, two at Dalarna and Umeå, and one at Lund University. This difference is, of course, related to the fact that modules of history didactics are not always evenly spread over the four semesters of history studies. When looking

³² SFS 2002:761. *Förordning om ändring i högskoleförordningen (1993:100)* (Stockholm, 2002).

at the total amount of learning outcomes related to history didactics, they range from eight (Luleå and Umeå) to 23 (Malmö), with 15 as the mean value.

Formulating learning outcomes is one thing. Creating the necessary conditions for attaining them is another. Not all syllabi demonstrate alignment between outcomes, literature, and module content.

The first-semester course at Jönköping University is one example. As mentioned, nine out of 13 learning outcomes of the course relate to didactic competencies such as “adopt a perspective of history didactics when facing issues of teaching and learning,” “critically evaluate textbooks and learning material in relation to current curricula,” and “discuss ethical aspects of the subject of history as well as its role in society.”³³ Module descriptions do mention history didactics, but in a general and formulaic way (the same three sentences are repeated for all four modules). And, as noted above, the course literature only lists one title dealing with history didactics. If one looks solely at the syllabus, it is not entirely clear how the demanding learning outcomes are to be attained—or, for that matter, assessed.

A more convincing alignment can be found in the syllabus for the first-semester course at Karlstad University, with seven learning outcomes linked to history didactics. They are not necessarily less demanding—after the course, students should be able to “give arguments for standpoints on assessing pupils’ historical understanding,” as well as to “describe, using theories of history didactics as a starting point, how teachers can help pupils develop an ability to interpret historical narratives and conceptions.”³⁴ The difference is that the module descriptions give space to course content directly related to the learning outcomes. And even if the course literature on history didactics is limited to one title (Karlsson and Zander (eds.), *Historien är nu*), that particular book does cover the topics that are represented in the learning outcomes and module content.

CONCLUSIONS

The 2001 revision of Swedish secondary teacher education, which made subject studies an integrated part of a coherent program leading to a professional academic exam where subject didactics were integrated into the subject courses, was marked by both strengths and weaknesses.

The most obvious strength was the commitment to integrate subject studies and subject didactic studies. Profound knowledge of history, physics, or English does not in itself turn you into a good teacher of the subject. Taking modules in didactics alongside the subject studies, therefore, makes sense. So does further integration (as chosen by many departments), where a chronological or thematic module comprises both subject and didactics studies. When studying sixteenth-century colonization, or World War 2, or gender perspectives in

³³ Jönköpings universitet. *Kursplan, historia för ämneslärare 1–30*. 2017.

³⁴ Karlstads universitet. *Historia med didaktisk inriktning 1, 30.0 hp*. 2011.

history, integration gives the opportunity to focus on those aspects of the object that have particular relevance when related to the prescribed learning outcomes and content in the school curriculum.

The greatest weakness was the short time allowed for implementing the new structure: approved by Parliament in October 2000 to be introduced in September 2001. Program curricula and course syllabi had to be revised, and many departments also found it necessary to recruit lecturers for dealing with the new demands.

Perhaps the greatest challenge was the need for departments to reconsider their own views of what history and historical knowledge is. The alignment of course content and activities to fit into the demands of a professional academic education was a new and unfamiliar task, the more so since making room for history didactics required the removal of parts of the existing courses that were seen as important, if not indispensable, elements. Having to take into account the way that history and historical knowledge was described in the school curriculum has been another challenge. History as a school subject not only deals with what history *is*, but also with what it *does*. This approach allows for meta-perspectives on history, such as how history affects our identity, our perspectives on the future, and our social affiliations—perspectives rarely touched upon in traditional undergraduate courses.

As the overview given in this chapter shows, all departments have developed new syllabi, creating space for history didactics as part of their history courses. All departments formulate ambitious learning outcomes. There are, however, differences when it comes to the breadth and depth of history didactics studies. At some universities, the syllabi suggest that the main focus is to give students examples of best practice. At others, students encounter an extensive sample of texts, giving an introduction (and sometimes a profound orientation toward) the theoretical foundations of history didactics, encompassing both the Anglo-American tradition of historical thinking and the German tradition centered on historical consciousness. Finally, there is a wide variation in the degree of integration between history studies and study of history didactics, and the number and scope of specific modules focusing on history didactics. The findings suggest that some institutions, for instance Karlstad University and Malmö University, have been more successful in aligning course content, literature, and learning outcomes than, for example, Stockholm University and Mid Sweden University. In some cases, a possible explanation might be that larger and well-established history departments, fostering a traditional view of what academic history is (and should be), have found it harder to adjust to an integrative study of history as comprising both the subject and its teaching. In other cases, especially at institutions where the history departments are small, weak alignment may be explained by lack of competence in the field of subject didactics. And as mentioned previously, history didactics has been a somewhat contested field marked by a lack of understanding—sometimes even mistrust and suspicion—between educationalists and historians, making collaboration in developing course content more difficult.

That change as fundamental as the Swedish teacher education reforms of 2001 and 2011 should cause teething troubles is not particularly surprising. Nor should it overshadow the fact that Swedish history departments have gradually adjusted to the demands arising from the reforms. In many institutions, one finds sections and/or research groups where historians and educationalists cooperate in course development and research. A growing number of post-graduate students and postdoctoral scholars engage with the field of history teaching and learning, publish articles and book chapters, and participate in national and international conferences. What in the 1980s was a very small group of scholars has grown into a thriving community. There is generally a high awareness of the importance of subject-specific teaching and learning perspectives, and also a high degree of acceptance that issues related to history teaching and learning have their place within the field of history. It might be regretted by some and embraced by others, but it cannot be denied: history is no longer what it used to be.

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Historical Thinking, Epistemic Cognition, and History Teacher Education

Christian Mathis and Robert Parkes

INTRODUCTION

Historical Thinking has become an important touchstone in History education research and practice. Anna Clark describes historical thinking as “the skills of scholarly historical practice and disciplinary method.”¹ In the classroom, this often takes the form of building students’ understanding of historical methodology by introducing them to the source method, the examination, analysis, and interpretation of evidence of a particular person, place, or event from the past. There is a widespread consensus in the field that teaching historical thinking should be the key focus of history education, rather than simply a matter of teaching historical content (i.e. names, dates, events, etc.).² Though Christine

¹Anna Clark, “Scholarly Historical Practice and Disciplinary Method.” In *Historical Thinking for History Teachers: A New Approach to Engaging Students and Developing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Tim Allender, Anna Clark and Robert Parkes (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2019), 47.

²See for example: Stéphane Lévesque. *Thinking Historically: Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century*. (Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press, 2008); and Karl-Ernst Jeismann. “Geschichtsbewusstsein als zentrale Kategorie der Didaktik des Geschichtsunterrichts.” In Jeismann, Karl-Ernst, *Geschichte und Bildung. Beiträge zur Geschichtsdidaktik und zur Historischen*

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Counsell certainly cautions us to recognize that both historical knowledge and disciplinary concepts are necessary in order for students “to reach or challenge claims about the past.”³ Certainly, the move to an emphasis on historical thinking follows a general turn in the academy toward understanding history as a construction, the product of historical method applied to the problem of understanding the past. According to Gorzycki, Elder, and Paul, teaching historical thinking develops students’ understanding that historical narratives are interpretations of the past, constructed by historians (who have their own biases) from whatever sources (of varying degrees of credibility and validity) were available, or selected by them.⁴

In this chapter, we start by exploring the turn toward historical thinking, placing it in a contemporary context in which critical literacy has become a required skill of the intelligent citizen. We examine the specific form of historical thinking taken up in the recently formed Australian Curriculum (as an example from the Anglosphere), and the related idea of historical competencies influencing curriculum in Switzerland (as an example from the German-speaking world). We then turn to the research on epistemic cognition, and argue that scholarship demonstrating the impact of teachers’ epistemic beliefs on their teaching practice makes attending to pre-service History teachers’ epistemic cognition important in the development of history teachers. We then revisit the notion of “historical consciousness,” as understood in the Germanic hermeneutic tradition, and argue that it offers an important supplement to the focus on historical thinking, given its theorization that our prejudices or judgments are necessary to the process of interpreting the narratives we encounter, and that turning the “historiographic gaze” upon ourselves, in order to come to an understanding of these prejudices, is a key aspect of achieving historical consciousness.⁵ We link this specific notion of historical consciousness, with the idea of epistemic cognition, and propose that pre-service teachers ought to be engaged in explorations of the historical cultures they bring into the classroom, and their individual epistemological cognitions, and

Bildungsforschung, edited and introduced by Wolfgang Jakobmeyer and Bernd Schönemann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), 48.

³Christine Counsell, “Historical Knowledge and Historical Skills: A Distracting Dichotomy.” In *Issues in History Teaching*, edited by James Arthur and Robert Phillips. (London: Routledge, 2000), 52–71.

⁴Meg Gorzycki, Linda Elder, and Richard Paul. *Historical Thinking: Bringing Critical Thinking Explicitly into the Heart of Historical Study*. (Tomales, California: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press, 2013); Günther-Arndt, Hilke and Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting. *Geschichtsdidaktik: Praxishandbuch für die Sekundarstufe I und II*, 6th fully revised edition. (Berlin: Cornelsen Scriptor, 2014).

⁵On the “historiographic gaze,” see Robert J. Parkes, *Interrupting History: Rethinking History Curriculum after ‘the End of History.’* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011). On “historical consciousness,” see Hans-Georg Gadamer. *Truth and Method*. Translated by J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall. (New York: Crossroad, 1992); Rüsen, Jörn. *Historik: Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft*. (Köln: Böhlau, 2013); and Jeismann, Karl-Ernst “Geschichtsbewusstsein als Zentrale Kategorie der Didaktik des Geschichtsunterrichts.” In Jeismann, Karl-Ernst, *Geschichte und Bildung. Beiträge zur Geschichtsdidaktik und zur Historischen Bildungsforschung*, edited and introduced by Wolfgang Jakobmeyer and Bernd Schönemann (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2000), 46–72.

that this is a necessary aspect of developing their historical thinking as “historically conscious” History teachers for the twenty-first century. We offer a very preliminary sketch of the kinds of areas that would need to be considered to develop such an epistemic cognition of history, as a supplement to “historical thinking” as a set of skills.

THE HISTORICAL THINKING TURN

Seldom does a day go past where we are not confronted with “alternative facts” or “fake news.” This appears to be the latest problem in a postmodern or, as many now describe it, a “post-truth” world, where the circulation of conspiracy theories, hoaxes, moral panics, and the operation of filter bubbles, alongside cultural relativism, and a general loss of confidence in the knowledge produced by our public institutions have been argued to have led to the proliferation of revisionist histories, and provided fertile ground for historical denial, and may have even unseated our trust in the discipline of history itself.⁶ Arguably, the emergence of social history in the 1970s and its strategy of “telling history from below,” and the interjection of the stories of the marginalized into public historical discourse, destabilized the official histories of many nations, triggering reactionary conservative backlashes that have resulted in “politicized controversies” over “societal imaginings and depictions of national, cultural, racial, ethnic, tribal, and religious pasts.”⁷ Canadian History Education scholar Peter Seixas has argued that left unaddressed, the teaching of rival narratives in a climate of cultural relativism may leave history students unable to know what to believe.⁸ A shared concern with this post-truth situation has resulted in a general consensus that designing curricula for the purpose of teaching historical thinking is an important antidote to the lure of fake history and/or the seductive news story, and essential for a critical engagement with the historical narratives we encounter in filmic and the online web-based

⁶Two influential discussions documenting the loss of confidence in institutional knowledge come from Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Translated by G. Bennington and B. Massumi. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1979); and Jason Harsin, “Post-Truth and Critical Communication Studies.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. December (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.757>. There is also a body of work that addresses this same issue in relation to historical knowledge specifically, including: Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past*. (New York: The Free Press, 1996); Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History*. (London: Granta Books, 1997); Lipstadt, Deborah E. *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Memory and Truth*. (New York: Plume, 1994); C. Behan McCullagh, *The Logic of History: Putting Postmodernism in Perspective*. (London: Routledge, 2004).

⁷Tony Taylor and Robert Guyver, eds. *History Wars in the Classroom: Global Perspectives*. (London: Information Age Publishing, 2011), xii.

⁸Peter Seixas, “Schweigen! Die Kinder! Or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?” In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, edited by Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg, (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.

history culture we regularly encounter, as well as being an important tool we need to navigate the complex societies in which we all live out our lives.⁹

The idea of a critical history education that arms students with historical thinking tools that can be used to critically engage with the history culture they encounter is not a completely new idea.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in the German speaking and in the Anglophone world, with some exchange and interaction between the two scientific communities which can't be outlined here, historical thinking is now understood as a practice which applies a set of competencies. Thus, a person can be called "historically literate" directly in relation to their ability to apply these competencies. Generally speaking, competencies have been defined as the integration of knowledge and skills while solving a specific task.¹¹ Competencies can be evaluated or diagnosed by observing an individual while performing a task. Therefore, competency-based approaches have claimed a more activity-oriented way of teaching which can bring forward the students' performances and—also to the students themselves—make learning visible.¹² A lot of western countries have adopted in their educational curricula the idea that pupils should learn that history involves interpretation.¹³ In this process, the students' epistemic understanding of history as a discipline, with its specific form of knowledge and knowing, had been claimed as important by several history education scholars from around the globe. Performing historical thinking or reasoning is understood by these scholars to be the interplay of a set of historical competencies, that is, thinking skills which can be applied to a specified content knowledge.¹⁴ Today, most of the curricula in countries such as

⁹In the English literature, see Rob Siebörger, "Fake News, Alternative Facts, History Education." *Public History Weekly* 5 (2017): 8. <https://doi.org/10.1515/phw-2017-8548>; and Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone)*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); and Bruce A. VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*. (New York: Routledge, 2011). In the German language literature see Moller, Sabine. *Zeitgeschichte sehen: Die Aneignung von Vergangenheit durch Filme und ihre Zuschauer*. (Berlin: Bertz+Fischer, 2018); and Jan Hodel, *Verkürzen und Verknüpfen: Geschichte als Netz narrativer Fragmente: wie Jugendliche digitale Netzmedien für die Erstellung von Referaten im Geschichtsunterricht verwenden* (Bern: hep, 2013).

¹⁰Jörn Rüsen, *Historische Orientierung: Über die Arbeit des Geschichtsbewusstseins, sich in der Zeit zurechtzufinden*, 2., überarb. Aufl., Forum Historisches Lernen (Schwalbach/Ts: Wochenschau, 2008).

¹¹Franz E. Weinert, ed. *Leistungsmessungen in Schulen* (Weinheim& Basel: Beltz, 2001).

¹²John Hattie, *Visible Learning: A Synthesis of over 800 Meta-Analyses Relating to Achievement*. (London: Routledge, 2008).

¹³Elisabeth Erdmann, and Wolfgang Hassberg, eds. *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity, Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education*, 1 (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2011).

¹⁴See for example: Carol Bertram, "Exploring an Historical Gaze: A Language of Description for the Practice of School History," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 44, no. 3 (2012): 429–42; Anna Clark, "Teaching the Nation's Story: Comparing Public Debates and Classroom Perspectives on History Education in Australia and Canada," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no. 6 (2009): 745–62; Carla van Boxtel, and Jannet van Drie, "Historical Reasoning: A Comparison of How Experts and Novices Contextualise Historical Sources," *International Journal of Historical*

Canada, the Netherlands, the UK, the USA, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, and Sweden, all propose a focus upon doing history as an act of interpretation, that is, students should know the difference between historical accounts and sources and the systematic analysis and interpretation of the same.

Much of the movement from historical content to historical thinking in British Commonwealth nations, particularly, is a legacy of the British Schools History Project reforms of the 1980s, and the research that accompanied it, or grew out from it.¹⁵ In North America, the shift toward historical thinking can be traced to the significant influence of a number of researchers in the field, such as VanSledright, Wineburg, Levstik & Barton, Seixas, and his collaborators, and, in Western Europe, to the generative work of researchers such as van Boxtel and van Drie.¹⁶ The official History syllabus used in New South Wales, the only state in Australia to maintain history as a discrete subject in schools from the 1950s onward, and made mandatory for all students in junior high school in 1993, has promoted some form of “historical thinking” since the 1970s.¹⁷ However, during the era of the Howard government (1996–2007), conservative journalists, politicians (including the Prime Minister himself), and sympathetic social commentators sought to use the school curriculum as a vehicle for social cohesion, challenging revisionist histories of the nation that depicted the European colonization of Australia as “invasion.” The conflicts over depictions of the nation’s past that occurred at this time have become known as Australia’s “history wars.”¹⁸ The Prime Minister’s 2006 Australia Day speech inaugurated the movement to a historic national curriculum, in which a single national narrative was argued to be an important antidote against

Learning, Teaching and Research 4, no. 2 (2004); and VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education*.

¹⁵ See Dennis Shemilt, *Evaluation Study: Schools Council History 13–16 Project*. (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1980); and Dennis Shemilt, “Adolescent Ideas About Evidence and Methodology in History.” In *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, Christopher Portal, Ed. (London: Falmer, 1987) 29–61; and Peter Lee and Dennis Shemilt, “A Scaffold, Not a Cage: Progression and Progression Models in History.” *Teaching History*, no. 113 (2003): 13–23.

¹⁶ As a sample of their work, see VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories and Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001); Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (USA: Nelson, 2012); Carla van Boxtel and Jan van Drie. “Historical Reasoning: A Comparison of How Experts and Novices Contextualise Historical Sources,” *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 4, no. 2 (2004).

¹⁷ Robert J. Parkes and Debra Donnelly. “Changing Conceptions of Historical Thinking in History Education: An Australian Case Study.” *Revista Tempo e Argumento* 6, no. 11 (2014): 113–36.

¹⁸ On the politics of history curriculum change in Australia, see Robert J. Parkes, “Teaching History as Historiography: Engaging Narrative Diversity in the Curriculum,” *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 8, no. 2 (2009): 118–32; and on the “history wars” Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

home-grown terrorism. However, Howard was unsuccessful in achieving the kind of curriculum he was after.¹⁹ Instead, the left-wing Labor government that followed Howard in 2007 successfully established a national History curriculum that certainly offered a chronological view of the national past, but required throughout the explicit teaching of historical thinking skills and concepts. This did not stop conservatives from conducting a review of the fledgling curriculum that followed the successful re-election of the Liberal–National Coalition to power in 2013; however, little has changed as a consequence.²⁰

Based on the Australian Curriculum: History, the syllabus produced for the implementation of the national curriculum in New South Wales schools required attention to the following historical thinking skills: (1) Chronology, Terms and Concepts; (2) Historical Questions and Research; (3) Analysis and Use of Sources; (4) Perspectives and Interpretations; (5) Empathetic Understanding; and (6) Explanation and Communication. Likewise, a continuum of concepts was also developed, consisting of: (1) Continuity and Change; (2) Cause and Effect; (3) Perspectives; (4) Empathetic Understanding; (5) Significance; and (6) Contestability. The influence of the Canadian Historical Thinking Project is clearly evident. According to the Canadian work, to think historically a student needs to be able to: (1) Establish historical significance; (2) Use primary source evidence; (3) Identify continuity and change; (4) Analyze cause and consequence; (5) Take historical perspectives, and (6) Understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations. Further, it is argued on their website that taken as a whole, these aspects of historical thinking become a set of competencies that must be achieved in order for a person to be considered “historically literate” (as stated earlier). As an historically literate person, the student will be able to interrogate sources and evaluate historical knowledge claims. Importantly, the scholars behind the Historical Thinking Project do not see their competencies as a set of abstract skills, but a practice that is applied to substantive content.²¹ In that sense, the Australian Curriculum: History can be seen to be strongly aligned with a Commonwealth trend, although the idea of “competencies” is not explicitly addressed in the Australian or New South Wales state curriculum policies.

Over the last two decades in the field of history education (Geschichtsdidaktik) in German-speaking Europe, several models of historical competencies have

¹⁹To read the Prime Minister’s Australia Day speech, see John Howard, “Unity Vital in Battle against Terrorism.” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), 26th January 2006, 1st, 11; and to understand its political and practical consequences in an attempt to shape curriculum, see Tony Taylor, “Howard’s End: A Narrative Memoir of Political Contrivance, Neoconservative Ideology and the Australian History Curriculum,” *Curriculum Journal* 20, no. 4 (2009): 317–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585170903424765>

²⁰Robert J. Parkes, “What Paradigms Inform the Review of the Australian Curriculum: History? What Does This Mean for the Possibilities of Critical and Effective Histories in Australian Education?” *Curriculum Perspectives* 35, no. 1 (2015): 52–54.

²¹See Peter Seixas, “The Historical Thinking Project.” Accessed: 25 July 2019. <http://historicalthinking.ca/about-historical-thinking-project>

been developed.²² The similarities and differences across the models have been discussed by the scientific community and common shared ideas have been highlighted.²³ All models share both the idea of a “historical question competency” and a “historical method competency.” The first deals with the ability to raise a historical question about the past. The second starts after having formulated the question. When it generates a narrative based on sources, a “process of re-construction” is triggered. Inversely, when the question focuses on a given narrative, the analytical process is called a “process of de-construction.” The ability to perform both processes is called the “historical method competency” which brings forward either a self-constructed historical narrative or a critical opinion on a given historical account. However, in the center of the diverse models lies the “historical orientation competency” (Orientierungskompetenz) which enables an individual to orientate themselves in time, that is, to connect in a meaningful way, the past, present, and future, and to develop a historical consciousness understood as “Sinnbildung über Zeiterfahrung” which Körber translates as “formation of meaning over experience of (changes within) time.”²⁴

Over recent years in German-speaking Switzerland, a curriculum reform started out that will have final implementation in 2021. This new “curriculum21”—in German called “Lehrplan21” (www.lehrplan.ch)—distinguishes three cycles over 11 years of mandatory schooling, that is, kindergarten to year 2 (first cycle), years 3–6 (second cycle), and years 7–9 (third

²² See the following: Waltraud Schreiber, Andreas Körber, Bodo von Borries, Reinhard Krammer, Sybilla Leutner-Ramme, Sylvia Mebus, Alexander Schöner, and Béatrice Ziegler, “Historisches Denken. Ein Kompetenz-Strukturmodell (Basisbeitrag).” In *Kompetenzen: 2. Kompetenzen Historischen Denkens: Ein Strukturmodell als Beitrag zur Kompetenzorientierung in der Geschichtsdidaktik*, edited by Andreas Körber, Waltraud Schreiber and Alexander Schöner (Neuried: Ars Una, 2007), 17–53; Andreas Körber, *Kompetenzen Historischen Denkens. Ein Strukturmodell als Beitrag zur Kompetenzorientierung in der Geschichtsdidaktik* (Neuried: Ars Una, 2007); Peter Gautschi, *Guter Geschichtsunterricht* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2009); and Ulrich Trautwein, Christiane Bertram, Bodo von Borries, Nicola Brauch, Matthias Hirsch, Kathrin Klausmeier, Andreas Körber, Christoph Küberger, Johannes Meyer-Hamme, Martin Merkt, Herbert Neureiter, Stephan Schwan, Waltraud Schreiber, Wolfgang Wagner, Monika Waldis, Michael Werner, Béatrice Ziegler, and Andreas Zuckowsky. *Kompetenzen historischen Denkens erfassen. Konzeption, Operationalisierung und Befunde des Projekts “Historical Thinking – Competencies in History” (HiTCH)* (Münster: Waxmann, 2017).

²³ Marko Demantowsky, “Jenseits des Kompetenzkonsenses.” In: Handro, Saskia, & Bernd Schönemann (Eds.): *Aus der Geschichte lernen? Weisse Flecken der Kompetenzdebatte* (Berlin: Lit, 2016) 21–35; Thünemann Holger, “Probleme und Perspektiven der geschichtsdidaktischen Kompetenzdebatte.” In *Aus der Geschichte lernen. Weisse Flecken der Kompetenzdebatte*, edited by Saskia Handro and Bernd Schönemann (Berlin: Lit, 2016) 37–51; Andreas Körber, *Historical Consciousness, Historical Competencies – and Beyond? Some Conceptual Development within German History Didactics* (Deutsches Institut für Internationale Pädagogische Forschung, 2015). Retrieved from http://www.pedocs.de/volltexte/2015/10811/pdf/Koerber_2015_Development_German_History_Didactics.pdf

²⁴ For the original concept, see Jörn Rüsen, *Lebendige Geschichte. Grundzüge einer Historik III: Formen und Funktionen des historischen Wissens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989) 94; and its take up, see Körber, *Historical consciousness, historical competencies – and beyond?*

cycle). For the cycles 1 and 2, the FUER model of Schreiber et al. was applied with minor modifications derived from the GDSU and Kübler, whereas, for the third cycle, the development of the competencies was based on the model of Gautschi.²⁵ Therefore, there is no overarching model of progression over the 11 years of mandatory schooling. However, common competencies such as “perception competency,” (Wahrnehmungskompetenz), “question competency,” (Fragekompetenz), “methods competency,” (Methodenkompetenz), “orientation competency,” (Orientierungskompetenz), and “content competency” (Sachkompetenz) are due to be developed and fostered over German-speaking Switzerland’s mandatory schooling.²⁶

Implications of Competency-Based School Curricula for History Teacher Education

Arguably, a history teachers’ core activity is the design of teaching units around a theme, involving one or more competencies. In these units’ core lie the learning tasks which trigger the students’ competencies to solve it. This activity is often called a performance. By observing and analyzing their students’ products and performances, teachers are able to interpret and, subsequently, diagnose and plan their teaching to develop, enhance, and foster their students’ competencies. To understand historical thinking competencies, history teachers need not only to have subject matter knowledge in terms of substantive content and procedural concepts of history but also knowledge of the epistemology of history as a discipline. According to Hofer, this understanding depends on an individual’s personal theory of historical knowledge and knowing, and thus on one’s domain-specific personal epistemology. Hofer and Pintrich go further to argue that personal epistemology can be defined by intertwined dimensions that cluster into two areas: first, the “nature of knowledge” (what one believes knowledge is), which includes the dimensions certainty of knowledge and simplicity of knowledge, and second, the “nature or process of knowing” (how one comes to know), which includes the two dimensions of (1) the source of knowledge and (2) justification of knowledge.²⁷

²⁵The German acronym “FUER” stands for “Research and Development of Reflexive and Self-Reflexive Historical Consciousness” and gathers history education scholars from Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Ulrich Trautwein, et al. (2017); Gesellschaft Didaktik des Sachunterrichts (GDSU); M. Kübler, “Historisches Lernen von vier- bis zwölfjährigen Kindern im Deutschschweizerischen Lehrplan 21.” In: Monika Fenn, Ed. *Frühes Historisches Lernen. Projekte und Perspektiven empirischer Forschung* (Frankfurt: Wochenschau, 2017) 296–314; and P. Gautschi, *Guter Geschichtsunterricht* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2009).

²⁶Nadine Fink and Peter Gautschi, “Geschichtsunterricht in der Schweiz.” *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, no. 3/4 (2017): 154–71.

²⁷Barbara K. Hofer, “Epistemological Understanding as a Metacognitive Process. Thinking Aloud During Online Searching.” *Educational Psychologist* 39, no. 1 (2004): 43; and Barbara K. Hofer and Paul R. Pintrich, “The Development of Epistemological Theories: Beliefs about Knowledge and Knowing and their Relation to Learning.” *Review of Educational Research* 67 (1997): 88–140.

Over the last three decades, a growing body of research related to epistemic beliefs has been identified as crucial for understanding teaching and learning. The discussion about domain-specific versus general epistemic beliefs was launched by Schommer and Walker in the mid-1990s and joined later by Hofer. Questions have also been raised about the influence of culture on epistemic beliefs about the nature of knowledge and knowing.²⁸ In history education, the field is still young.²⁹ Recently, researchers in the Netherlands and Switzerland have taken up the thread of research on domain-specific epistemic cognition with interesting findings that contribute to the further debate about epistemic cognition in history.³⁰ Importantly, several studies have shown that teachers' epistemological beliefs about the nature of history can impact their teaching of

²⁸See Mariene Schommer and Kiersten Walker, "Are epistemological beliefs similar across domains?" *Journal of Educational Psychology* 87, no. 3 (1995): 424–432; and work from over the past decade including: Jeffrey A. Greene, William A. Sandoval, and Ivar Bråten, Eds., *Handbook of epistemic cognition* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016); Joanne Brownlee, Gregg Schraw, and Donna Berthelsen. (Eds.) *Personal Epistemology and Teacher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Joanne M. Brownlee, Sue Walker and Julia Mascadri, "Personal Epistemologies and Teaching" In Helenrose Fives and Michael Gregoire-Gill, Eds., *International Handbook of Research on Teachers' Beliefs* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

²⁹Michael Weinstock, Dorothe Kienhues, Florian C. Feucht, and Mary Ryan, "Informed Reflexivity: Enacting Epistemic Virtue" *Educational Psychologist* 52, no. 4 (2017): 284–298.

³⁰From the Netherlands, see: Michiel Voet and Bram De Wever, "History Teachers' Conceptions of Inquiry-Based Learning, Beliefs about the Nature of History, and their Relation to the Classroom Context," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 55 (2016): 57–67; Bjorn G. J. Wansink, Sanne F. Akkerman, Jan D. Vermunt, Jacques P. P. Haenen and Theo Wubbels "Epistemological Tensions in Prospective Dutch History Teachers' Beliefs about the Objectives of Secondary Education," *Journal of Social Studies Research* 41, no. 1 (2017): 11–24; Bjorn G. J. Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, and Theo Wubbels "The Certainty Paradox of Student History Teachers: Balancing Between Historical Facts and Interpretation" *Teaching and Teacher Education* 56 (2016): 94–105; and Gerhard Stoel, Albert Logtenberg, Bjorn Wansink, Tim Huijgen, Carla van Boxtel, and Jannet van Drie, "Measuring Epistemological Beliefs in History Education: An Exploration of Naïve and Nuanced Beliefs," *International Journal of Educational Research* 83 (2017): 120–134. From Switzerland see: Martin Nitsche, "Geschichtstheoretische und -didaktische Überzeugungen von Lehrpersonen. Begriffliche und empirische Annäherungen an ein Fallbeispiel" In *Historisches Erzählen und Lernen. Historische, theoretische, empirische und pragmatische Erkundungen*, eds. Martin Buchsteiner and Martin Nitsche (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2016) 159–196; Martin Nitsche, "Geschichtstheoretische und -didaktische Beliefs angehender und erfahrener Lehrpersonen. Einblicke in den Forschungsstand, die Entwicklung der Erhebungsinstrumente und erste Ergebnisse." In *Geschichtsunterricht – Geschichtsschulbücher – Geschichtskultur. Aktuelle geschichtsdidaktische Forschung des wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchses* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Geschichtsdidaktik 15), edited by Uwe Danker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 85–106; Martin Nitsche, *Beliefs von Geschichtslehrpersonen. Eine Triangulationsstudie* (Bern: Hepverlag, 2019); and Martin Nitsche and Monika Waldis, "Geschichtstheoretische und -didaktische Beliefs von angehenden Geschichts Lehrpersonen in Deutschland und in der Deutschschweiz. Erste Ergebnisse Quantitativer Erhebungen" In *Forschungswerkstatt Geschichtsdidaktik 15. Beiträge zur Tagung "Geschichtsdidaktik Empirisch 15"* (Geschichtsdidaktik heute 08), edited by Monika Waldis and Béatrice Ziegler (Bern: hep, 2017), 136–150.

history as a subject in school.³¹ Further, their epistemic beliefs also have impact on their students' learning and an influence on the development of their students' own epistemic cognition of the subject.³² Furthermore, some studies show that limitations or deficiencies in teachers' subject matter knowledge can hinder their confidence in teaching difficult epistemological questions, which could have consequences for their students in the form of a null curriculum that ignores epistemic questions altogether and thus leads to an impoverished notion about the nature of historical knowledge. Also of interest is the evidence that student teachers declare that they find it difficult to recognize pupils' disciplinary thinking.³³

THE NEED FOR EPISTEMIC COGNITION AND HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The substance of History teaching in the standard "historical thinking" proposal involves a focus upon historical methodology as a form of critical thinking (or "media" literacy), drawing upon a long tradition of source criticism that inaugurated the emergence of the profession of the Historian as we know it today. But is this all that is required to equip our students for their futures? What happens when we encounter a fake news story or an "alternate" historical account that aligns with our existing biases? According to James Wertsch, "the narrative tools we employ to make sense of the past introduce a particular perspective" or "ethnocentrism" that motivates us to view the past in a biased way; our appreciation and comprehension of the past is at least partially formed through our ethnic group identifications, and that these "tribal" affiliations and ethnic commitments, that make us participants in particular "mnemonic communities," affect the way we read the narratives we encounter, whether

³¹ See Liliana Maggioni, Bruce VanSledright, and Patricia Alexander, "Walking on the Borders: A Measure of Epistemic Cognition in History," *The Journal of Experimental Education* 77, no. 3 (2009): 187–213; and Jeremy D. Stoddard, "The Roles of Epistemology and Ideology in Teachers' Pedagogy with Historical 'Media,'" *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 16, no. 1 (2010): 153–171.

³² Barbara K. Hofer, "Personal Epistemology Research: Implications for Learning and Teaching," *Journal of Educational Psychology Review* 13, no. 4 (2001): 353–383.

³³ On the issues for student teachers, see Christopher C. Martell, "Learning to Teach History as Interpretation: A Longitudinal Study of Beginning Teachers," *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 37, no. 1 (2013): 17–31; Jennifer H. James, "Teachers as Protectors: Making Sense of Preservice Teachers' Resistance to Interpretation in Elementary History Teaching" *Theory and Research in Social Education* 36, no. 3 (2008): 172–205; Susan M. Johnson and S. Birkeland, "Seeking Success with Students." In Susan M. Johnson (ed.), *Finders and Keepers: Helping New Teachers Survive and Thrive in Our Schools* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2004) 69–90; and Chauncey Monte-Sano and Melissa Cochran, "Attention to Learners, Subject, or Teaching: What Takes Precedence as Preservice Teachers Learn to Teach Historical Thinking and Reading?" *Theory and Research in Social Education* 37 no. 1 (2009): 101–135. On the Problem of the Null Curriculum, see the classic text by Elliot W. Eisner, *The Educational Imagination: On the Design and Evaluation of School Programs* (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1979).

“fake” or not.³⁴ Likewise, in a study of how religious and skeptical historians navigated a text from the Bible and a secular account of the origins of American Thanksgiving, Gottlieb and Wineburg found that trained historians navigate between the competing commitments of their intellectual discipline on the one hand and their social identification, allegiances, and affiliations on the other; this results in what they describe as “epistemic switching” such that the religious historians could switch from their historical thinking modalities to a faith-based religious mindset when approaching the Biblical text and switched back to a disciplinary mindset when reading the secular account of the first Thanksgiving.³⁵

Non-religious historians applied the same historical thinking mindset to both texts. This suggests an important lesson for the history teacher. It is not enough to develop a student’s capacity to engage in historical thinking, if our goal is to have the student critically examine every historical narrative they encounter. They need to be encouraged to develop an epistemic reflexivity that helps them become aware of the prejudgments that arise from their understanding of how historical knowledge claims are produced. Thus, there is a clear link between epistemic cognition, the concerns of constructivism, and historical consciousness as understood in the German hermeneutic tradition.³⁶

From a constructivist perspective, history is a mental construction. Because the past is gone and not directly accessible, historical accounts are constructed by drawing together evidence derived from traces, sources, artifacts, and accounts and attempting to make sense of them (typically in the form of an explanatory narrative).³⁷ Constructivists argue that “historiography is the imposition of meaningful form onto a meaningless past,”³⁸ that “the straightness of any history is a rhetorical invention,”³⁹ and that history is best thought of as “an artifice, the product of individual imagination.”⁴⁰ This kind of

³⁴James V. Wertsch, “Texts of Memory and Texts of History,” *L2 Journal* 4, no. 1 (2012): 10–11.

³⁵Eli Gottlieb and Sam Wineburg, “Between Veritas and Communitas: Epistemic Switching in the Reading of Academic and Sacred History,” *Journal of the Learning Sciences* 21, no. 1 (2012): 84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10508406.2011.582376>

³⁶Karl-Ernst Jeismann, “Geschichte und Bildung. Beiträge zur Geschichtsdidaktik und zur Historischen Bildungsforschung,” 2000. Rösen Jörn, *History: Narration – Interpretation – Orientation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).

³⁷Hans J. Goertz, *Unsichere Geschichte. Zur Theorie Historischer Referentialität*. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2001); and Rösen, “Historik: Theorie der *Geschichtswissenschaft*,” 2013.

³⁸Keith Jenkins, *On “What Is History?”: From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (London: Routledge, 1995) 173. See also Reinhart Koselleck, “Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Geschichte.” In Reinhart Koselleck. *Vom Sinn und Unsinn der Geschichte: Aufsätze und Vorträge aus vier Jahrzehnten*, ed. Carsten Dutt (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2014), 9–31.

³⁹Hans Kellner, *Language and Historical Representation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), x.

⁴⁰Louis O. Mink, “Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument.” In *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 1978/2001), 211–20.

thinking is what we might call “narrative impositionalism.”⁴¹ It carries the idea that human beings turn the traces of the past into meaningful stories rather than those stories being present in the past itself. Making sense of the past through the construction of meaningful narratives is an important aspect of orienting ourselves in time.⁴² However, we might also consider our personal history as the lived experience of discourse (or our inscription within conversations that stretch across time and human societies, in which we are both interlocutors and subjects), and interpellated (hailed and called to account) by discourse, with a consequent shaping effect on individual cognition, marking us as part of the “mnemonic communities” discussed in relation to the work of James Wertsch above.⁴³ Thus, one must concede that historians are themselves historical beings located in time and space, who draw on specific traditions of historiography that are historically and spatially locatable, each with its own conventions, methodologies, discourses, standards, and preferred forms of representation.⁴⁴ Thus, the adoption of a specific time-and-place-affected perspective is inevitable,⁴⁵ though the degree of its determinism on our thought is obviously debatable. If we accept such perspectivalism, then we must also accept the inevitability of a plurality of interpretations and accounts; and if there is not one interpretation but a plurality, then there has to be negotiation of meaning, and, perhaps even, a struggle for acceptance of any particular interpretation.

⁴¹ To understand the narrative impositionalist view, see Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge, 1997), 96; and Andrew P. Norman, “Telling It Like It Was: Historical Narratives on Their Own Terms,” *History and Theory* 30, no. 2 (1991), 119–135. For the alternative view, see David Carr, “Narrative and the Real World: An Argument for Continuity.” In *The History and Narrative Reader*, edited by Geoffrey Roberts (London: Routledge, 2001), 143–56.

⁴² See: Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration – Interpretation – Orientation* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005); or Jörn Rüsen, “Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development.” In *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 63–85.

⁴³ See Foucault’s claim that we are “totally imprinted by history” in Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History.” Translated by Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, In *Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, ed. James D. Faubion (London: Penguin Books, 1971/1994) 376; or Althusser’s notion of interpellation in Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation).” Translated by B Brewster. In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, edited by Louis Althusser (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 127–86. On mnemonic communities, see James V. Wertsch, “Texts of Memory, Texts of History,” 2012: 10.

⁴⁴ Avner Segall, “What’s the Purpose of Teaching a Discipline, Anyway?” In *Social Studies – the Next Generation: Re-Searching in the Postmodern*, edited by Avner Segall, Elizabeth E. Heilman and Cleo H. Cherryholmes (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), 125–39; Reinhart Koselleck, “Standortbindung und Zeitlichkeit. Ein Beitrag zur historiographischen Erschliessung der geschichtlichen Welt.” In Reinhart Koselleck. *Vergangene Zukunft: zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 176–207.

⁴⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, ““Erfahrungsraum” und “Erwartungshorizont” – Zwei Historische Kategorien.” In Reinhart Koselleck. *Vergangene Zukunft: zur Semantik Geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 349–75; Christophe Bouton, “The Critical Theory of History: Rethinking the Philosophy of History in the Light of Koselleck’s Work.” *History and Theory* 55, no. 2 (2016): 163–84.

This position is consistent with claims made by Gadamer, whose work has an important place in the German hermeneutic tradition. Gadamer theorizes that the interpreter, that is, the person who is seeking to understand, is always operating out of a historical context and that this context is itself formed by the interaction of prejudice, authority, and tradition.⁴⁶ In making his claim, Gadamer returns to the pre-Enlightenment notion of prejudice as prejudgment, not in the sense of an unreflexive bigotry but as the very precondition of understanding that arises from our inculcation within specific historically located traditions; the “pre-reflective involvements with the world that stand behind judgements and in fact make them possible.”⁴⁷

For Gadamer, we should consider the “hermeneutic productivity” of tradition.⁴⁸ He does not believe we are able to “separate in advance the productive prejudices that enable understanding from the prejudices that hinder it and lead to misunderstandings.”⁴⁹ Rather, he argues that during the process of attempting to interpret the past, such prejudices help us to generate our own unique understandings. In his exploration of the work of Dilthey, one of the important figures in the secular hermeneutic tradition, Gadamer argues that historical consciousness, which might be most simply defined as the awareness of oneself as a finite historical being (and not so much understood as it is in the contemporary literature as something that seems to be more akin to awareness of the past), does not involve the naïve assimilation of tradition, but “a reflective posture toward both itself and the tradition in which it is situated. It understands itself in terms of its own history . . . [and operates as] a mode of self-knowledge.”⁵⁰ For Gadamer, “understanding is to be thought of less as a subjective act than as participating in an event of tradition,”⁵¹ and this is because “historical consciousness is itself situated in the web of historical effects.”⁵² To make clear what this means for history teaching, we draw your attention to the Remembering Australia’s Past (RAP) study conducted by the HERMES History Education group at the University of Newcastle.

This study was conducted following two decades of public struggle over the national narrative; concerns over whose history is being taught in schools; reports that teachers and school students find Australian history of little interest; and anxieties over what the public knows about the nation’s past. Such anxieties arguably motivated the well-supported and successful move to a

⁴⁶ Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Truth and Method,” 1992: 278. Although much work has been done in the German tradition since Gadamer, we return to Gadamer here as the touchstone for a particular line of thought in the hermeneutic tradition that is readily accessible in English translation, and the starting point for work that has come since.

⁴⁷ Chris Lawn and Niall Keane, *The Gadamer dictionary* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011): 115.

⁴⁸ Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Truth and Method,” 1992, 284.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 300.

national History curriculum, and continue to motivate conservative angst about the curriculum's structure and content. Much of the concern has been driven by survey research that expects an encyclopedic knowledge of the past and is intensified by politically motivated battles over the shape of the national story. Young people studying to be History teachers in Australian universities today developed their understandings about Australia's history in the crucible of these public and pedagogic struggles over the national past. This motivated the Newcastle group to ask 105 first year pre-service history teachers to "Tell us the history of Australia in your own words," adopting the methodology developed by Jocelyn Létourneau.⁵³ The aim was to explore what pre-service History teachers know, understand, and believe is important about Australia's past. As future History teachers, the views they hold about the nation's history are undoubtedly significant; and as a cohort who developed their views in the aftermath of the history wars, their views were deemed to be especially interesting. For the majority of our participants, the request to produce a narrative of the nation resulted in the telling of what Jörn Rüsen would describe as a *traditional* narrative that seeks to use the past as cultural heritage and a source of identity.⁵⁴

This was particularly the case when the participants were discussing myth-histories about the revelation of an Australian spirit in the Gallipoli campaign of WWI. Likewise, often in the same text, a *critical* narrative was presented that interrogates and challenges the received wisdom of the past from the standpoint of present "truths" whenever narrations were offered of the early colonial period and its treatment of Indigenous peoples. Thus, it could be argued that "politically correct" views of the past dominated the narratives generated by the participants.

Only rarely did a "historiographic gaze" emerge that established a *genetic* narrative in which both the past, and perspectives on it, were historicized.⁵⁵ The narratives shared by the participants underscore the importance of understanding historical consciousness as a complex phenomenon that includes not only how we understand and relate, both cognitively and affectively, to the past as Seixas declares, but also the critical capacity we have to understand the ways we "use" history for particular purposes in the present, influenced by practices we have inherited through participation in everyday "historical cultures."⁵⁶ This empirical work especially highlights the important role teacher education

⁵³ Jocelyn Létourneau, "Remembering Our Past: An Examination of the Historical Memory of Young Québécois." In *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, & Citizenship in Canada*, edited by Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 70–87.

⁵⁴ Jörn Rüsen, "History: Narration – Interpretation – Orientation." 2005.

⁵⁵ Robert J. Parkes (2011: 99–126).

⁵⁶ See Peter Seixas, *Benchmarks of Historical Thinking: A Framework for Assessment in Canada* (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia: Vancouver, CA, 2006); and for the uses of history, Robert Thorp, "Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness," *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (2014): 20–31.

should play in assisting pre-service History teachers to develop reflexive possibilities of understanding their own consciousness as historically effected⁵⁷ and how this impacts the stories about the past that they have available.

As early as the 1980s, Peter Lee argued that “philosophy of history is necessary in any attempt to arrive at a rational way of teaching history, even if it is not sufficient.”⁵⁸ A growing body of literature has argued that relocating histories within the interpretive and methodological traditions that direct historical inquiry is essential for equipping history teachers and their students with evaluative frames of reference for appreciating how diverse and competing historical narratives were produced.⁵⁹ This understanding of the multiperspectivity of history should be taught in schools, and practiced or exercised regularly. In German-speaking Europe’s history education, notably Bergmann systemized and theorized the idea of a multiperspective teaching approach in history including historical controversies and outlining plurality of interpretation.⁶⁰ For example, in Switzerland, Mathis proposes, for the teaching of the French Revolution, that the understanding how different schools of historical thought construct historical explanations is a precondition for history teachers to help pupils to gain a more sophisticated and differentiated understanding of the past. The teacher’s cognitive modeling, first, of the conscious switching from one historiographic school or approach to explanation, to another; and secondly, of confronting the students’ historical explanation with one in accordance or opposition is, as Mathis has suggested, crucial to teach according to such a “multiperspective pluralistic” stance toward history.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Hans-Georg Gadamer, “Truth and Method,” 1992, 306 and 336.

⁵⁸ Peter Lee, “History Teaching and the Philosophy of History.” *History and Theory* XXII, no. 4 (1983): 48.

⁵⁹ See for example, Thomas D. Fallace, “Once More unto the Breach: Trying to Get Preservice Teachers to Link Historiographical Knowledge to Pedagogy.” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 35, no. 3 (2012): 427–46; Hilke Günther-Arndt and Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting, 2014; Andreas Körber, Waltraud Schreiber, and Alexander Schöner. (Eds.). *Kompetenzen Historischen Denkens. Ein Strukturmodell als Beitrag zur Kompetenzorientierung in der Geschichtsdidaktik* (Neuried: Ars Una, 2007); Michael G. Lovorn, “Historiography in the Methods Course: Training Preservice History Teachers to Evaluate Local Historical Commemorations.” *The History Teacher* 45, no. 4 (2012): 569–79; Robert J. Parkes (2009); John Whitehouse, “Teaching the Historians: How Might Historiography Shape the Practice of Teachers?” *Agora (Sungraphó)* 43 (2008): 4–8; and Kaya Yilmaz, “Social Studies Teachers’ Conceptions of History: Calling on Historiography,” *The Journal of Educational Research* 101, no. 3 (2008): 158–76.

⁶⁰ Klaus Bergmann, *Multiperspektivität. Geschichte selber denken* (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2000); Martin Lücke, “Multiperspektivität, Kontroversität, Pluralität.” In Michele Barricelli and Martin Lücke. *Handbuch Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 2nd edition (Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau, 2017), 281–88.

⁶¹ Christian Mathis, “Irgendwie ist doch da mal jemand geköpft worden”: *Didaktische Rekonstruktion der Französischen Revolution und der historischen Kategorie Wandel*, 44, Beiträge zur Didaktischen Rekonstruktion (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren, 2015) 233–237; and Christian Mathis, “The Revolution Is Not Over Yet.” German Speaking Ninth Graders’ Conceptions of The French Revolution,” *History Education Research Journal* 14, no. 1 (2016): 81–92.

Similarly, in Australia, Parkes proposes a “critical pluralist” stance toward history. The Critical Pluralist stance recognizes “that multiple accounts of the past are inevitable, given that every historian is themselves a historical being, and the product of a specific historical culture.”⁶² He argues that recognition that multiple narratives are inevitable and an empirical fact does not prevent the student historian or the History teacher critically interrogating rival narratives of the same event, and in fact is more likely to encourage students to do the same.

Exploration of narrative diversity is thus likely to encourage students to make value judgments about these historical narratives, particularly where each narrative is examined as more or less plausible based on an evaluation of the (formal or naïve) methodologies that produced it, and in the case of academic histories, how well these methodologies were used. Thus, to truly engage in a critical, pluralist, multiperspectival approach to history teaching, one that places importance on historical thinking, requires students (and their teachers) to engage in epistemic reflection. However, despite the importance of epistemic cognition and its influence on teaching practice, when it comes to the question of the nature of history, student teachers often fail to demonstrate complex epistemic knowledge.

CULTIVATING EPISTEMIC REFLEXIVITY IN HISTORY TEACHER EDUCATION

This raises an important question. How can student teachers find out where they stand in regard of the concept of history, its purpose and function, the re-presentation of history, the structure and certainty of historical knowledge, and the justification and the sources of knowing historically? They have to reflect on their epistemic cognition in relation to history as a form of knowing and knowledge. With Barbara Hofer, the importance of epistemic reflexivity for teachers’ professional development can be emphasized as follows:

Reflection on practice is a core principle for guiding improvement in professional work such as teaching and can be enhanced by reflection on epistemic cognition, the way we think about knowledge and knowing. Viewed as an intellectual virtue, a habit of mind, and a learnable skill, epistemic reflection can help teachers learn to critically question the source, certainty, reliability, and veracity of their own knowing.⁶³

Student teachers’ development in regard to an interpretational, critical, pluralist, and multiperspectival history teaching needs self-reflectiveness (or epis-

⁶² Robert J. Parkes (2009); and Robert J. Parkes, “Developing Your Approach to Teaching History.” In Tim Allender, Anna Clark and Robert Parkes, Eds., *Historical Thinking for History Teachers: A New Approach to Engaging Students and Developing Historical Consciousness* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2019), 72–88.

⁶³ Barbara K. Hofer, “Shaping the Epistemology of Teacher Practice Through Reflection and Reflexivity.” *Educational Psychologist* 52, no. 4 (2017): 299–306.

temic reflexivity). Teaching pupils to deal with uncertainty, multiperspectivity, and critical pluralist perspectives requires teachers and student teachers to be reflective and aware of their position in terms of knowing what historical knowledge and knowing is, how history can be presented and disputed, and—above all—where they as a teacher stand and why. Thus, our assumption is that student teachers have to know where they stand in terms of the epistemology of history. Student teachers should develop an “epistemic virtue (of informed reflexivity)” as Weinstock et al. have argued.

Informed reflexivity is the learned disposition to reason about one’s knowledge-related actions, entailing context-specific epistemic characteristics. It involves an intentional stance about the need to reason about oneself and the context.⁶⁴

They go on to make the point that such an “epistemic virtue” can be built up by giving student teachers a tool to explore their epistemic cognition of history, that is, their beliefs about historical knowledge, according to a specific context of teaching. Furthermore, by providing novice teachers or student teachers with a tool to reflect on their epistemic beliefs of history, mentors and lecturers could use it in their work with student teachers which could—referring to a study of Achinstein and Fogo—promote their historical reasoning.⁶⁵ We propose that teachers’ views of the following help us to gain insight into their epistemic cognitions about history, and operate as areas to consider when attempting cultivating epistemic reflexivity in pre-service history teachers:

- Nature of history as subject
- The perceived purpose of history
- View about the certainty of historical knowledge
- Understanding of the structure of history as a way of knowing
- Beliefs about the reliability of source material

Of course, these assumptions need empirical verification. Therefore, we currently are developing a multidimensional framework of epistemological beliefs of history based on Hofer and Pintrich’s and Nitsche’s framework taking account of the domain specificity of historical knowledge.⁶⁶ This matrix shall

⁶⁴Michael Weinstock, Dorothe Kienhues, Florian C. Feucht, and Mary Ryan, “Informed Reflexivity: Enacting Epistemic Virtue,” 2017: 284.

⁶⁵Betty Achinstein and Bradley Fogo, “Mentoring Novices’ Teaching of Historical Reasoning: Opportunities for Pedagogical Content Knowledge Development through Mentor-Facilitated Practice,” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 45 (2015): 45–58.

⁶⁶Barbara K. Hofer and Paul R. Pintrich, “The Development of Epistemological Theories: Beliefs about Knowledge and Knowing and their Relation to Learning,” 1997: 88–140; Barbara K. Hofer, “Shaping the Epistemology of Teacher Practice Through Reflection and Reflexivity,” 2017: 299–306; Martin Nitsche, “Geschichtstheoretische und -didaktische Beliefs angehender und erfahrener Lehrpersonen. Einblicke in den Forschungsstand, die Entwicklung der Erhebungsinstrumente und erste Ergebnisse,” 2017: 85–106; Martin Nitsche, “Geschichtstheoretische und - didaktische Überzeugungen von Lehrpersonen. Begriffliche und empirische Annäherungen an ein Fallbeispiel,” 2016: 159–196; Martin Nitsche, “Beliefs von Geschichtslehrpersonen. Eine Triangulationsstudie,” 2019.

help student teachers to reflect more soundly on their epistemic beliefs about history and the knowledge of history. As this work takes shape, what remains is for history teacher-educators to challenge their students to consider how they, and the historians they read, have come to the conclusions they hold to be true. This requires reflection on their own personal philosophies of history and historical work and an understanding of the schools of historiography that have informed the historical narratives they encounter. Developing such epistemic virtue becomes an important supplement to the focus on “historical thinking” as a set of competencies and becomes a means of developing “historical consciousness” in the German sense of the concept.

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More than a Methods Course: Teaching Preservice Teachers to Think Historically

Lindsay Gibson and Carla L. Peck

Throughout the past two decades, historical thinking has become a standard in history education theory, research, and curricula in many countries.¹ Although there is no single agreed upon definition of historical thinking and great diversity in historical thinking cognition models developed between and within different contexts, it is commonly agreed that historical thinking focuses on interpreting and assessing historical evidence with the aim of understanding, evaluating, and constructing historical narratives. Despite increased attention to historical thinking in research and curricula, scholarly literature suggests that informational and transmissive approaches to history teaching dominate, and the majority of history classrooms are sites of memorization rather than questioning, analysis, and interpretation.²

¹Stéphane Lévesque and Penney Clark, “Historical Thinking: Definitions and Educational Applications,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Scott Alan Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 119–148.

²S. G. Grant, “Teaching Practices in History Education,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Scott Alan Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 419–448.

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Alan Sears argues that one of the reasons teachers do not regularly utilize historical thinking approaches in their practice is because they have strong cognitive frames about the discipline of history and how history should be taught.³ Teachers' preconceived and powerful mental representations or schemata about history and history teaching filter and shape their learning, and are persistent and resistant to change. In Canada, at least, most teachers' interactions with history are with the products of historical thinking such as books, films, documentaries, and textbooks, and few teachers have experienced "doing history" or thinking historically themselves. It seems unlikely that most teachers will be able to teach students the substantive and procedural knowledge needed to think historically if they have only been passive observers of others' attempts to think historically and are probably not very good at it themselves.⁴

Changing teachers' cognitive frames about history teaching and learning is not impossible, but it is a significant challenge that requires what Alan Sears refers to as a "long view" of teacher education. This includes systematic and sustained attention to teachers' learning experiences prior to entering teacher education, their teacher education program, and ongoing in-service teaching and professional development.⁵ Research suggests that teacher education can play an important role in reshaping preservice students' beliefs and cognitive frames about history teaching and learning, and developing the expertise needed to teach historical thinking.⁶ This research is of the utmost importance given that an effective teacher is the most

³Alan Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Amy von Heyking and Ruth W. Sandwell (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 11–29.

⁴Alan Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. von Heyking and Ruth W. Sandwell (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 11–29; Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, "Why Don't More History Teachers Engage Students in Interpretation?" *Social Education*, (October 1, 2003): 358.

⁵Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. von Heyking and Sandwell (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 11–29, 20; C. L. Peck, "Can Teacher Education Programs Learn Something from Teacher Professional Development Initiatives?" in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 249–268.

⁶Margaret Smith Crocco and Ellen Livingston, "Becoming an "Expert" Social Studies Teacher: What we Know about Teacher Education and Professional Development," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, eds. Cheryl Mason Bolick and Meghan McGlinn Mandra (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 360–384; Stephanie van Hover and David Hicks, "History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development," in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Scott Alan Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 391–418.

important in-school factor in determining student learning and how they experience schools.⁷ Although there are limits to what can be accomplished in history methods courses, research has shown that regularly engaging preservice students in well-scaffolded learning activities and “deep transformative experiences” that invite historical thinking in a community of practice can strengthen preservice students’ understanding of the discipline of history and teaching history.⁸

In their review of research on history teacher preparation, Stephanie van Hover and David Hicks argue that a particularly interesting emerging line of empirical research investigates how preservice teachers’ understandings of history and teaching historical thinking (THT) change over time as the result of methods courses.⁹ The majority of these studies focus on the impact that history methods courses have on middle or secondary preservice teachers who have strong disciplinary training in history or other social science disciplines. Except for a few examples, there is a dearth of research that investigates the impact that history teaching methods courses have on elementary school teachers with little specific disciplinary background in history.¹⁰ Thus, the research question that frames this chapter is: What impact does a dedicated course focused on teaching and assessing historical thinking have on elementary preservice teachers’ thinking about the teaching of history and their ability to plan effective historical thinking learning activities?

⁷Stephanie van Hover and David Hicks, “History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Scott Alan Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 391–418.

⁸Ruth W. Sandwell, “History is a Verb: Teaching Historical Practice to Teacher Education Students,” in *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 224–242; Thomas Fallace, “Once More Unto the Breach: Trying to Get Preservice Teachers to Link Historiographical Knowledge to Pedagogy,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 35, no. 3 (2007), 427–446; Chauncey Monte-Sano, “Learning to Open Up History: Preservice Teachers’ Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011), 260–272; Michiel Voet and Bram De Wever, “Preparing Preservice History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-Based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program,” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017b), 206–217.

⁹van Hover and Hicks, “History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Metzger and McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 395.

¹⁰Daisy Martin, “Using Core Historical Thinking Concepts in an Elementary History Methods Course,” *The History Teacher* 45, no. 4 (2012), 581; Timothy D. Slekar, “Epistemological Entanglements: Preservice Elementary School Teachers’ “Apprenticeship of Observation” and the Teaching of History,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 4 (1998), 485–507; Timothy D. Slekar, “Case History of a Methods Course: Teaching and Learning History in a “Rubber Room,”” *Social Studies* 96, no. 6 (2005): 237–240.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, we briefly describe the three interrelated theories that inform the theoretical framework of our research study: historical thinking, pedagogical content knowledge, and core practices. We then provide an overview of the research literature in history teacher education and explain how our study contributes to the established research base.

Theoretical Framework

Although the notion of historical thinking has been around for more than a century, current conceptualizations of historical thinking originated as the result of concurrent changes in cognitive psychology, curriculum theory, and the discipline of history that began in the 1960s and 1970s.¹¹ Anglophone history education researchers influenced by these theories challenged the content-only focus of traditional school history instruction for providing students with a great deal of historical information, but little understanding of the structure of the discipline that produced that information.¹² For these scholars, the primary purpose of teaching history was to develop students' ability to "think historically," to initiate students into history as a form of disciplined inquiry that not only deepens their understanding of history, but also empowers them to navigate a rapidly changing, fractured, mobile, multicultural, globalizing, pluralistic society.¹³

¹¹Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960); Howard Gardner, *The Mind's New Science: A History of the Cognitive Revolution* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); P. H. Hirst, "Liberal Education and the Nature of Knowledge," *Philosophical Analysis and Education* 2 (1965), 113–140; Joseph Schwab, "The Structure of the Disciplines: Meaning and Significance," in *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum*, eds. G. W. Ford and L. Pugno (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), 1–30; Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1997), 182.

¹²Peter Lee, Rosalyn Ashby and Alaric Keith Dickinson, "Progression in Children's Ideas about History" (Liverpool, British Educational Research Association, 1993); Martin B. Booth, "Ages and Concepts: A Critique of the Piagetian Approach to History Teaching," in *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Christopher Portal (London: The Falmer Press, 1987), 22–38; Alaric Keith Dickinson and Peter Lee, "Making Sense of History," in *Learning History*, eds. Alaric Keith Dickinson, Peter Lee and P. J. Rogers (London: Heinemann, 1984), 117–153; Tim Lomas, *Teaching and Assessing Historical Understanding* (London: Historical Association, 1990); Denis Shemilt, *Evaluation Study: Schools Council History 13–16 Project* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1980); Peter Lee, "History Teaching and Philosophy of History," *History and Theory* 22, no. 4 (1983): 19–49; Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between the School and the Academy," *American Educational Research Journal* 28, no. 3 (1991): 495–519.

¹³Peter Seixas, "What is Historical Consciousness?" in *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Ruth W. Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006b), 11–22.

A significant body of research has aimed to conceptualize the structure and form of historical thinking¹⁴ in terms “second-order historical concepts,” which are defined by Lee and Ashby as ideas that shape our understanding of the discipline as a form of knowledge.¹⁵ In a historical thinking approach, second-order concepts such as historical significance, cause and consequence, primary source evidence, progress and decline, and historical perspectives are taught alongside first-order substantive concepts such as recession and the Great Depression and facts such as what measures the government took to reduce unemployment. During historical inquiries, students are explicitly taught about second-order concepts and substantive content knowledge in order to deepen their understanding of content knowledge, while also developing increasingly sophisticated understanding of how historical knowledge is constructed into narratives and interpretations about the past.

At its core, historical thinking eschews the teaching of fixed grand narratives, and focuses instead on teaching students to assess, critique, and construct historical accounts and interpretations with increasing sophistication.¹⁶ Over the last decade, many history and social studies curricula throughout Canada have been revised to include frameworks of historical thinking largely drawn from Peter Seixas’ work.¹⁷ We used Seixas’ model of historical thinking¹⁸ to design the “Teaching Historical Thinking” course that this study is focused on; however, we expanded the primary source evidence concept from Seixas’ framework to include historical interpretations or secondary accounts, which we think is an essential concept for any historical thinking framework.¹⁹

¹⁴Peter Seixas and T. Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013).; Samuel S. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 272.; Peter Lee and Dennis Shemilt, “A Scaffold Not a Cage: Progression and Progression Models in History,” *Teaching History* 113 (2003): 13–24.; Peter Lee, “Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History,” in *How Students Learn: History, Mathematics and Science in the Classroom*, eds. S. Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2005), 79–178.

¹⁵Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, “Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, eds. P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 199–222.

¹⁶Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, “Progression in Historical Understanding among Students Ages 7–14,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, eds. P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 199–222.

¹⁷Lévesque and Clark, “Historical Thinking: Definitions and Educational Applications,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Metzger and Harris (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 119–148; Peter Seixas, “A Modest Proposal for Change in Canadian History Education,” *Teaching History* 137 (2009), 26–30.

¹⁸Peter Seixas, “A Model of Historical Thinking,” *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 49, no. 6 (2017): 593–605.

¹⁹Arthur Chapman, “Historical Interpretations,” in *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (London: Routledge, 2017), 100–112.

Lee Shulman's work on teachers' subject-matter knowledge, which he referred to as the "missing paradigm,"²⁰ has profoundly influenced teacher education research over the last three decades. For Shulman, teachers' understanding of the parent intellectual discipline of the school subject is the foundation for transforming the "knowledge, understanding, skill, and dispositions that are to be learned by school children."²¹ Therefore, effective teaching involves understanding how to transform the subject matter of an academic discipline into appropriate forms for teaching and learning in the classroom. The goal of this research program is not to develop a generalizable theory of instruction that would apply to all subjects, but to generate specific theories for teaching a particular subject.²²

Shulman and his associates conceptualized a "knowledge base" for teaching that includes knowledge, understanding, skills, and dispositions derived from four sources: scholarship in the content disciplines; the materials and settings of the institutionalized educational process (curricula, tests and testing materials, institutions and their hierarchies, the system of rules and roles, professional teacher organizations and unions, government agencies, mechanisms of government and finance); research on schooling, social organizations, human learning, teaching and development, and the other social and cultural phenomena that influence what teachers do; and the wisdom of practice and experience.²³ Teachers' knowledge base was initially conceptualized in terms of three types of knowledge: content knowledge, curricular knowledge, and pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). Content knowledge refers to "the amount and organization of knowledge per se in the mind of the teacher," an understanding of the substantive structure, or explanatory framework of a discipline, and the syntactic structure or ways in which new knowledge is generated in the discipline.²⁴ Pedagogical content knowledge differentiates classroom teachers from subject-matter specialists because it "goes beyond knowledge of subject matter per se to the dimension of subject-matter knowledge for teaching."²⁵ This includes the most useful and powerful ways of representing, formulating, and making the subject comprehensible to students; an understanding of what makes learning specific topics easier or harder; the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring to learning; and effective strategies that are likely to be helpful in reorganizing the

²⁰ Lee S. Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (1986): 4–14.

²¹ Lee S. Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (1987): 8–9.

²² Samuel S. Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History," in *Handbook of Educational Psychology*, eds. R. Calfee and D. Berliner (New York: Macmillan, 1996), 423–437.

²³ Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (1987): 1–22.

²⁴ Shulman, "Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching," *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (1986): 9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

misunderstanding of learners. For Shulman, pedagogical content knowledge is “that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of the teacher, their own special form of professional understanding” that involves “the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse abilities of learners, and presented for instruction.”²⁶

Shulman later expanded the model to include seven categories: (1) content knowledge, (2) general pedagogical knowledge, (3) curriculum knowledge, (4) pedagogical content knowledge, (5) knowledge of learners and their characteristics, (6) knowledge of educational contexts, and (7) knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values. For Shulman, instructional effectiveness is determined by the employment of strategies, practices, and responses that support the learning of students with different abilities, interests, and levels of motivation. Shulman’s work on pedagogical content knowledge challenges the idea that generic pedagogy will be useful in discipline-specific courses like history, and has inspired the creation of a research program whose central feature “was the argument that excellent teachers transform their own content knowledge into pedagogical representations that connect with the prior knowledge and dispositions of the learner.”²⁷

Suzanne Wilson and Sam Wineburg conducted several studies that utilized Shulman’s theories to focus on teachers’ “models of wisdom” in teaching history. They found that teachers’ knowledge of historical concepts, the nature of history, and students’ needs and interests influenced their beliefs about the purposes of teaching history and their pedagogical decisions.²⁸ Pollock argues that these findings challenged the belief in teacher education programs that students possess a sophisticated enough understanding of their subject area, and should only focus on providing preservice teachers with generic pedagogical tools.²⁹

²⁶ Shulman, “Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform,” *Harvard Educational Review* 57, no. 1 (1987): 9–10.

²⁷ Lee S. Shulman and Kathleen M. Quinlan, “The Comparative Psychology of School Subjects,” in *Handbook of Educational Psychology*, eds. D. C. Berliner and R. C. Calfee (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1996), 409.

²⁸ Samuel S. Wineburg and Suzanne M. Wilson, “Models of Wisdom in the Teaching of History,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 70, no. 1 (1988): 50–58; Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, “Peering at History through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History,” *Teachers College Record* 89, no. 4 (1988): 525–539; Samuel S. Wineburg and Suzanne M. Wilson, “Subject Matter Knowledge in the Teaching of History,” in *Advances in Research on Teaching* Vol. 3, ed. J. Brophy (Greenwich, CT: JAI, 1991), 305–347; Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, “Wrinkles in Time and Place: Using Performance Assessments to Understand the Knowledge of History Teachers,” *American Educational Research Journal* 30 (1993): 729–769.

²⁹ Scott A. Pollock, “The Poverty and Possibility of Historical Thinking: An Overview of Recent Research into History Teacher Education,” in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 60–74.

Crocco and Livingstone suggest that Shulman's notion of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) and a research program focused on establishing a knowledge base for teacher education provides a justifiable future direction for history and social studies teacher education research.³⁰ Shulman's emphasis on the differences between novices and experts as it relates to historical thinking provides the warrants for a research program that attempts to identify core practices associated with expert performance in teaching history. Within the broader educational landscape of research on teacher preparation, there are calls for the identification of patterned, predictable, and generalizable core tasks of discipline-specific instruction.³¹ The identification of what are called "core practices" or "high leverage teaching practices" signals a shift "from what teachers know and believe to a greater focus on what teachers do."³² Shaver says that, "the major goal in educational research is, or ought to be improved practice in education," which includes studies that help teachers meet their instructional challenges.³³ Crocco and Livingstone argue that this research would bring social studies and history teacher education research into alignment with teacher education research being done in other school subjects, particularly science and math where there has been attention to effective teaching practices.³⁴ The hope is that identification of core practices will establish a coherent language of history teaching practice, and will create a closer relationship between research on teacher education and research on teachers' professional learning and bridge the gap between research and practice.³⁵ In the context of history education, Fogo agrees and states, "if teacher education and professional development are to support ambitious teaching, effective practice needs further identification and description."³⁶

³⁰ Crocco and Livingstone, "Becoming an 'Expert' Social Studies Teacher: What we Know about Teacher Education and Professional Development," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, eds. Bolick and Mandra (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 360–384.

³¹ Francesca M. Forzani, "Understanding 'Core Practices' and 'Practice-Based' Teacher Education: Learning from the Past," *Journal of Teacher Education* 65, no. 4 (2014), 357–368; P. Grossman, K. Hammerness and M. McDonald, "Redefining Teaching, Re-Imagining Teacher Education," *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 15, no. 2 (2009), 273–289; D. L. Ball and F. M. Forzani, "The Work of Teaching and the Challenge for Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 60, no. 5 (2009): 497–511.

³² D. L. Ball and F. M. Forzani, "The Work of Teaching and the Challenge for Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education* 60, no. 5 (2009): 503.

³³ James Shaver, "The Future of Research on Social Studies—for what Purpose?" in *Critical Issues in Social Studies Research for the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Stanely (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2001), 247.

³⁴ Crocco and Livingstone, "Becoming an 'Expert' Social Studies Teacher: What we Know about Teacher Education and Professional Development," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, eds. Bolick and Mandra (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 360–384.

³⁵ M. McDonald, E. Kazemi and S. S. Kavanagh, "Core Practices and Pedagogies of Teacher Education: A Call for a Common Language and Collective Activity," *Journal of Teacher Education* 64, no. 5 (2013): 378–386.

³⁶ Bradley Fogo, "Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 152.

Grossman and Schoenfeld outline six sets of questions for determining the content of subject-specific pedagogy courses, and the sixth set of questions provides history teacher educators with a direction for future research: What are the practices that characterize the teaching of particular content? What practices and approaches have been shown to be effective in promoting student learning? Are there practices that are particularly effective with specific groups of learners? What presentations, examples, or analogies are particularly useful in helping students grasp particular concepts or ideas?³⁷ Fogo's Delphi panel survey was the first significant attempt to identify and define core teaching practices for historical inquiry, which he narrowed to the following: use historical questions, select and adapt historical sources, explain and connect historical content, model and support historical reading skills, employ historical evidence, and use historical concepts, facilitate discussion of historical concepts, model and support historical writing, and assess student thinking about history.³⁸

Historical thinking, pedagogical content knowledge, and core practices are essential theories for this research study. We analyze the impact that a history methods course specifically designed to improve preservice teachers' pedagogical content knowledge of historical thinking has on their ability to design effective historical thinking inquiry tasks. Furthermore, throughout the course the learning activities and assignments focused on improving students' pedagogical content knowledge in terms of enacting the core practices highlighted in Fogo's study. For example, the final course assignments for the THT course required them to plan historical thinking inquiry learning activities that utilized many of the core practices included in Fogo's list of nine teaching practices for historical inquiry.

Review of Research Literature in History Teacher Education

In Susan Adler's 1991 and 2008 reviews of research on social studies teacher education, she described the research base as "particularistic and unsystematic" because the majority of studies published during this time focused on the impact of a single teaching strategy in particular contexts, and researchers did not build upon each other's work in any coherent way.³⁹ Similarly, in their recent review of empirical research on history teacher education, van Hover and Hicks borrow Adler's phrase to describe the research base as "particularistic

³⁷ P. Grossman and A. Schoenfeld, "Teaching Subject Matter," in *Preparing Teachers for a Changing World: What Teachers should Learn and be Able to Do*, eds. L. Darling-Hammond and J. Bransford (Washington, DC: National Academy of Education, 2005), 208.

³⁸ Fogo, "Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 176.

³⁹ Susan Adler, "The Education of Social Studies Teachers," in *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education*, eds. Linda Levstik and Cynthia Tyson (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008), 329–351; Susan Adler, "The Education of Social Studies Teachers," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, ed. J. P. Shaver (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1991), 210–221.

and unsystematic” because little empirical work focuses on the enactment of history practice and the impact those practices have on student learning.⁴⁰

Despite the peripatetic nature of the research base, both Pollock and van Hover highlight a growing body of international research in history teacher education in the following areas: the context, content, and structure of history teacher education programs; different approaches to history methods courses; preservice teachers’ knowledge and beliefs about the discipline of history and teaching history; preservice teachers’ reflective decision making; the growth of preservice teachers’ historical thinking; preservice teachers’ use of technology for teaching history; preservice history teachers’ planning and instruction in varied contexts; and preservice teachers’ understanding of assessment in history.⁴¹ The majority of empirical work focuses on preservice teachers’ knowledge and beliefs about the nature of history, how this knowledge influences the assignments they complete in methods classes, their thinking about students’ historical understanding, and their curriculum decision making during their student teaching placements.⁴²

The research on the impact that history methods courses have on history teachers’ pedagogical content knowledge suggests that there is often a disjuncture between teachers’ knowledge and beliefs about history and how to teach it, and how they actually teach history in the classroom. Preservice teachers often have sophisticated understanding of the epistemology of the discipline of history, but cannot embody this knowledge into their planning and classroom teaching. Furthermore, preservice teachers’ cognitive frames about the nature of history and how to teach history are relatively fixed by the time they enter teacher education programs, and they are often novices at historical thinking because of their lack of experience with disciplinary thinking, not a lack of sophisticated reasoning.⁴³

⁴⁰ van Hover and Hicks, “History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Metzger and McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 393.

⁴¹ Pollock, “The Poverty and Possibility of Historical Thinking: An Overview of Recent Research into History Teacher Education,” in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Sandwell and von Heyking (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 60–74; van Hover and Hicks, “History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Metzger and McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 391–418.

⁴² Stephanie van Hover and David Hicks, “History Teacher Preparation and Professional Development,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds. Scott Alan Metzger and Lauren McArthur Harris (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2018), 395.

⁴³ Pollock, “The Poverty and Possibility of Historical Thinking: An Overview of Recent Research into History Teacher Education,” in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Sandwell and von Heyking (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 60–74; Sears, “Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education,” in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. von Heyking and Sandwell (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 11–29.

Several of these studies have shown that preservice teachers' beliefs and understandings about the nature of history do not influence how they teach history, particularly those students with a stronger disciplinary background in history. In two different studies, McDiarmid investigated the impact that a historiography seminar had on undergraduate students' perceptions of history and history teaching. McDiarmid found that the majority of students moved away from their original, naïve beliefs about the nature of history, but continued to believe that history teachers should spend most of their time lecturing or teaching facts.⁴⁴ Hartzler-Miller focused on a third-year teacher who excelled as an undergraduate history student and as a preservice history teacher. In interviews, the student discussed the importance of having students question stories and narrative accounts of the past, but during classroom observations, he spent most of his time lecturing and story-telling, and did not ask students to interpret evidence and build their own interpretations. Hartzler-Miller explained the discrepancy between the teacher's beliefs and actions by revealing his underlying belief that students need to understand historical content before thinking historically about it.⁴⁵ Fallace conducted two studies on an experimental undergraduate course he designed in which an historian and a social studies educator co-taught a course designed to overcome preservice teachers' compartmentalized thinking about the nature of history and teaching history.⁴⁶ He concluded that increasing the number of courses in history or historiography will not help preservice or in-service teachers improve how they teach history unless they are provided with the opportunities and intellectual support to forge pedagogical content knowledge from historical content and pedagogical skill.

Despite these pessimistic findings, there is increasing evidence that indicates that history methods courses and other preservice training programs can have a positive impact on students' ability to teach history effectively. Student teachers can overcome their preconceived notions about history and how to teach it if they are open-minded and reflective, are introduced to different purposes and orientations for teaching history, and are provided with support and scaffolding when applying their understanding of historical thinking in their

⁴⁴ G. McDiarmid, "Understanding History for Teaching: A Study of the Historical Understanding of Prospective Teachers," in *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*, eds. M. Carretero and F. J. Voss (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 159–185; G. McDiarmid and P. Vinten-Johansen, "A Catwalk Across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. P. Stearns, P. Seixas and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 156–177.

⁴⁵ C. Hartzler-Miller, "Making Sense of "Best Practice" in Teaching History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 29 (2001): 672–695.

⁴⁶ Fallace, "Once More Unto the Breach: Trying to Get Preservice Teachers to Link Historiographical Knowledge to Pedagogy," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 35, no. 3 (2007): 427–446; Thomas Fallace, "Historiography and Teacher Education: Reflections on an Experimental Course," *The History Teacher* 42, no. 2 (2009): 205–222.

planning and teaching.⁴⁷ Although very little work has focused on preservice elementary school teachers, Daisy Martin's research concluded that history is a complex discipline that is difficult to learn in a short period of time, and teaching for historical thinking is not a familiar approach for most elementary preservice teachers who are generalists and have little specific training in history. Despite these findings, Martin found that the use of flexible and versatile core disciplinary concepts for framing historical understanding and thinking helped preservice teachers make sense of the discipline, make connections to their prior knowledge, and utilize discipline-specific literacy practices.⁴⁸

Our research study focuses on the impact that a dedicated course focused on teaching and assessing historical thinking had on preservice teachers' thinking about history and teaching history, and their ability to plan effective historical thinking learning activities. Although there is an extensive body of empirical work that explores preservice teachers' thinking about and knowledge of history, how their understanding of history influences the assignments they complete in methods classes, and their thinking about students' historical understanding, we think this study makes an important contribution to the scholarly literature in history teacher education. Few studies have focused on the impact that history methods courses have on elementary preservice teachers who often have less content knowledge in history than secondary teachers with specialist undergraduate degrees in history and related social sciences. Furthermore, Pollock reports a dearth of studies that assess change in student teachers' beliefs or understandings of historical thinking in a "fine-grained" manner.⁴⁹ Our study offers insights into the degree to which preservice teachers' knowledge of historical thinking changed as the result of their experiences in a course specifically designed to improve their pedagogical content knowledge about teaching history and historical thinking. Furthermore, we wanted

⁴⁷Thomas Fallace, "Historiography and Teacher Education: Reflections on an Experimental Course," *The History Teacher* 42, no. 2 (2009): 205–222; Slekar, "Case History of a Methods Course: Teaching and Learning History in a "Rubber Room"," *Social Studies* 96, no. 6 (2005): 237–240; Pollock, "The Poverty and Possibility of Historical Thinking: An Overview of Recent Research into History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Sandwell and von Heyking (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 60–74; McDiarmid and Vinten-Johansen, "A Catwalk Across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course," in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 156–177; Lauren McArthur Harris and Robert B. Bain, "Pedagogical Content Knowledge for World History Teachers: What is it? how might Prospective Teachers Develop it?" *Social Studies* 102, no. 1 (2011): 9–17; Voet and De Wever, "Preparing Pre-Service History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-Based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017b): 206–217.

⁴⁸Martin, "Using Core Historical Thinking Concepts in an Elementary History Methods Course," *The History Teacher* 45, no. 4 (2012): 581.

⁴⁹Pollock, "The Poverty and Possibility of Historical Thinking: An Overview of Recent Research into History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, eds. Sandwell and von Heyking (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 67.

to move beyond a focus on changing teachers' beliefs about teaching history, to see if preservice teachers could design effective historical thinking inquiry activities that were aligned with their beliefs about the nature of history and teaching history.

RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative study included 26 preservice teachers enrolled in a four-year Bachelor of Education program, of which 23 completed all data collection activities. Data include a pre- and post-questionnaire administered at the beginning and end of the course, students' final assignments (detailed below), and an anonymous course reflection and feedback form administered by the instructor (Gibson).

This research study has several limitations. It does not consider whether preservice teachers can transform their newly acquired knowledge about historical thinking in more authentic classroom settings and how their historical thinking inquiry activities impact K-12 students' learning. Very few studies have attempted to connect preservice students' subject-matter knowledge of history and the development of preservice students' pedagogical content knowledge in terms of designing tasks that engage students in historical thinking, and implementing them effectively in the classroom. Monte-Sano examined the degree to which three preservice teachers with different conceptions of history and history teaching constructed tasks in their field classrooms that engaged students in historical thinking.⁵⁰ Voet and De Wever investigated a preservice training program designed to prepare teachers to design and implement historical inquiry during their teaching practice, and found that the program improved students' ability to implement historical inquiry and their attitude toward historical inquiry. However, after completing their teaching practice, preservice students' reconsidered their initial beliefs and held negative attitudes toward historical inquiry because of contextual constraints encountered during their teaching internships.⁵¹ In our case, our participants had already completed their school-based practice, a timing issue related to the position of the course in their program. This prevented us from conducting in-class observations of our participants teaching their lessons to students.

Grossman calls for a shift in focus to the clinical aspects of teaching practice and how to support novices and practicing teachers as they develop skilled practice in context.⁵² Our study does not attend to preservice teachers' knowledge of the relational or contextual aspects of teaching and the degree to which

⁵⁰ Monte-Sano, "Learning to Open Up History: Preservice Teachers' Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge," *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011): 260–272.

⁵¹ Voet and De Wever, "Preparing Pre-Service History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-Based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017b): 206–217.

⁵² Grossman, Hammerness and McDonald, "Redefining Teaching, Re-Imagining Teacher Education," *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 15, no. 2 (2009): 273–289.

they changed over time. Furthermore, we did not consider the interaction of multiple policies and contextual factors at a federal, provincial, and university levels that impact how preservice teachers are prepared to teach history.

FINDINGS

We have organized the findings into three sections: Description of Program, Course, and Students; Preservice Teachers' Beliefs about History and History Teaching; and Designing Historical Thinking Inquiry Activities. In the first section, we provide contextual details about the Elementary B.Ed program at the University of Alberta, the course in which the study was conducted, and the students enrolled in the course. In section "[Research Methods](#)", we highlight the findings from questionnaires that 23 preservice teachers completed at the beginning and end of the course, and anonymous post-course written feedback forms that 26 students completed in the last class. In section "[Findings](#)", we discuss findings from our analysis of students' final course assignments (see description below of the fifth course assignment entitled Historical Thinking Learning Activity Presentations).

Description of Program, Course, and Students

The research study focuses on one class of 26 fourth-year elementary education students enrolled in an elective course entitled "Teaching Historical Thinking" (THT) at the University of Alberta during the winter semester of 2018. Students were in the last semester of their four-year Bachelor of Education degree in Elementary Education and had completed both their Introductory and Advanced field experiences. In order to complete the degree requirements, students are required to complete 120 credits, including 51 credits of non-education courses and 69 credits of education courses.

The majority of elementary education students are "generalists" in that they did not specialize in a particular discipline (or disciplines) as part of their degree, and are only required to take three credits of Canadian history and three credits in the social sciences. Historical thinking is one of several pedagogical approaches taught in the elementary social studies methods courses; however, the course is not mandatory, not all students take the course, and the amount of time spent focusing on historical thinking in methods classes differs depending on the instructor. Given this situation, we expected that the majority of the students enrolled in the course would have limited experience studying history and with the processes of historical thinking.

At the beginning of the course, we asked students to complete a Historical Thinking Student Questionnaire to find out about their background and experiences in learning history as K-12 and university students, their understanding of historical thinking, and their beliefs about history and how to teach it. After reviewing students' responses, we were encouraged because students had more experience with university history coursework and more awareness and

understanding of historical thinking than we expected. Nine students had completed 1–2 university history classes, 13 had completed 3–4 courses, and 1 completed 7 or more courses. In terms of their perceived knowledge of historical thinking at the beginning of the course, five students had heard of historical thinking but did not know what it was, eight only knew historical thinking as it was defined in the Alberta social studies curriculum, six students had some knowledge of what historical thinking is and the different historical thinking concepts included, five students knew what historical thinking was and the different historical thinking concepts, but weren't sure how to apply them in planning and teaching, and two students said they knew what historical thinking is and had worked with historical thinking concepts in their planning or teaching.

The type of learning activities that the students' regularly experienced when they learned history in K-12 schools can be considered relatively common for history and social studies classrooms.⁵³ Students reported that they regularly used the textbook and/or worksheets related to the textbook, listened to teachers talk about historical events, were regularly told what is good/bad and right/wrong in history, watched historical videos and/or films, and studied historical sources including documents, maps, or photographs. Students reported that they were seldom asked to discuss different explanations of what happened in the past, retell and reinterpret history themselves, engage in role-plays, projects, or visit museums or historical sites, or use the internet and library to do historical research.

The overall purpose of the "Teaching Historical Thinking" course was "to deepen preservice teachers' understanding of historical thinking so they can teach and assess it in varied contexts." We co-developed the course in 2016, and Gibson taught it for the first time in 2017 and for a second time with this group in 2018. The course was 13 weeks long, and the class met two times a week for 80 minutes per class. The readings, class activities, and assignments that we selected for the course were designed to help preservice students accomplish the following goals:

- Articulate a definition of historical thinking.
- Explain the purpose and goals for teaching historical thinking.
- Analyze the Alberta Social Studies Program of Studies (curriculum document) to identify where historical thinking is included, and where it could be further expanded.
- Plan learning experiences that reflect educationally sound goals grounded in historical thinking pedagogy.
- Be familiar with a variety of instructional strategies for teaching students to think historically about historical content in the Alberta Social Studies Program of Studies.

⁵³ Bruce VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 224.

- Be familiar with a variety of teaching resources used to teach and assess historical thinking, and evaluate their effectiveness and appropriateness for K-6 students.
- Build an inventory of high-quality historical thinking teaching resources appropriate for teaching and assessing K-6 students' historical thinking.
- Develop authentic formative and summative assessment strategies that assess students' ability to think historically.
- Identify strategies for embedding technology as a tool for improving the teaching and learning of history.

The course was organized into seven topics that each focused on a different aspect of historical thinking: What is historical thinking? (4 classes); Evidence and Interpretations (6 classes); Historical Significance (2 classes); Continuity and Change (3 classes); Historical Perspectives (2 classes); Ethical Judgments and the Ethical Dimension (3 classes); Assessing Historical Thinking (3 classes); Historical Thinking in Indigenous Contexts (2 classes). The course design was influenced by Seixas' model of historical thinking,⁵⁴ although we expanded his notion of primary source evidence to include historical interpretations, or what are also referred to as secondary accounts.⁵⁵

For each topic, students were assigned readings from the course textbook *Teaching Historical Thinking* or numerous other authors.⁵⁶ Each class blended theoretical explanations of a historical thinking concept, or particular aspects of a historical thinking concept, with practical activities that invited students to think historically about topics from the K-6 Alberta social studies curriculum, while also considering how the activity might be adapted to different learners and different learning outcomes in the Alberta curriculum. In the current Alberta K-12 Social Studies Program of Studies, historical thinking is included as one of six "Dimensions of Thinking" that are defined as thinking strategies that help students make connections to prior knowledge, in assimilating new information, and in applying learning to new contexts. Historical thinking is articulated as a

a process whereby students are challenged to rethink assumptions about the past and to reimagine both the present and the future. It helps students become well-informed citizens who approach issues with an inquiring mind and exercise sound judgment when presented with new information or a perspective different from their own. Historical thinking skills involve the sequencing of events, the analysis of patterns and the placement of events in context to assist in the construction of meaning and understanding, and can be applied to a variety of media, such as oral traditions, print, electronic text, art and music.

⁵⁴Seixas, "A Model of Historical Thinking," *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 49, no. 6 (2017): 593–605.

⁵⁵Chapman, "Historical Interpretations," in *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Davies (London: Routledge, 2017), 100–112.

⁵⁶Stefan Stipp et al., *Teaching Historical Thinking: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Vancouver, B.C.: The Critical Thinking Consortium, 2017), 1–281.

Although this articulation of historical thinking in the curriculum is perfectly justifiable, it is generic, and the historical thinking “skills” specifically included in the K-12 social studies curriculum focus too much on some concepts (chronology and evidence), do not focus enough on other concepts (cause and consequence and historical perspectives), and do not include some important concepts (historical significance, progress and decline, historical interpretations, and the ethical dimension). Furthermore, there is no discernible pattern or justification for the progression of the historical thinking skills throughout the K-12 curriculum. Given that many models of historical thinking did not exist or were in their infancy when the curriculum was being written, the conceptual problems with the articulation of historical thinking in the Alberta curriculum are understandable.⁵⁷

Throughout the 13-week course, students completed five “in-class” assignments and five major assignments. The five in-class assignments were short 15- to 30-minute formative assessment activities focused on different historical thinking concepts that students individually completed in five different classes throughout the course. The in-class activities were intended to provide students and the instructor with evidence about students’ understanding of key course content, model effective historical thinking assessment strategies and practices, and show students that historical inquiry activities did not have to be large multi-lesson endeavors.

We conceptualize historical inquiry as both the “means” of deepening students understanding of substantive and procedural knowledge important for historical thinking, and the “ends” where instruction is focused on helping students understand the nature of the discipline of history and utilize its procedural methods.⁵⁸ In the context of history teaching, we interpret inquiry as any learning opportunity where students are invited to “conduct investigations into the past through an analysis of historical sources.”⁵⁹ We believe that historical inquiry is the most effective way of teaching historical thinking because it makes history more meaningful and engaging for all students, strengthens important citizenship competencies, clarifies how historical knowledge is constructed, and improves students’ conceptual understanding.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Peter Seixas, *Benchmarks of Historical Thinking: A Framework for Assessment in Canada* (Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia, 2006a); Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 288; Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 272.

⁵⁸ Brett L. M. Levy et al., “Examining Studies of Inquiry-Based Learning in Three Fields of Education: Sparking Generative Conversation,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 64, no. 5 (2013): 387–408.

⁵⁹ Michiel Voet and Bram De Wever, “History Teachers’ Knowledge of Inquiry Methods: An Analysis of Cognitive Processes used during a Historical Inquiry,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 68, no. 3 (2017a): 312–329.

⁶⁰ Linda Darling-Hammond et al., *Powerful Learning: What we Know about Teaching for Understanding*, 1st ed. (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2008); Grant, “Teaching Practices in History Education,” in *The Wiley International Handbook of History Teaching and Learning*, eds.

The major assignments were designed to build toward the completion of the final course assignment, the Historical Thinking Learning Activity Presentations. The major assignments included a “History in the News” assignment where students selected a current news article about a historical topic that is relevant to learning outcomes in the K-6 Alberta social studies curriculum, wrote a brief summary of the article, and identified the historical thinking concepts that are relevant to the topic of the news article. Students had the option of completing Assignments 2–6 individually, in pairs, or in triads (with the instructor’s permission). For the second major assignment “Using Primary Sources in the Classroom,” students were asked to select one primary source that is relevant to a topic in the Alberta Social Studies curriculum and to prepare a series of questions that would help students source, contextualize, and analyze the content of the selected primary source. The third major assignment asked students to choose a historical topic in the K-6 Alberta Social Studies curriculum and identify and select various primary and secondary sources and learning resources that are relevant to the historical topic, accessible and adaptable for the intended students, and could be used to promote historical thinking. In the fourth major assignment, students were asked to create ten effective historical inquiry questions that would invite students to make a reasoned judgment; would be perceived by students as being meaningful; would advance students’ understanding of the relevant learning outcomes identified; would not require large amounts of background knowledge to respond to; and were each focused on one of the historical thinking concepts focused on in the course.

The fifth and final assignment was the “Historical Thinking Learning Activity Presentations.” Students, who could choose to work individually or in groups of 2–3, were asked to design an effective historical thinking activity for a historical topic included in the Alberta K-6 social studies curriculum and present it to Gibson and answer questions about it in an informal interview that took place during exam week after the last class. In the interview, students presented their historical thinking learning activity and responded to questions about the activity that were drawn from the final assessment rubric. We chose to use interviews so that students would get practice with interviews prior to upcoming job interviews, but also so that they could have the chance to describe their historical thinking learning activity, explain the decisions they made, and clarify any questions or misconceptions the instructor (Gibson) had. Furthermore, rather than have students submit a final assignment that they might never think about again, we wanted to use the interview as a learning experience. We hoped that engaging students in conversation about their

Metzger and McArthur Harris (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2018), 419–448; Jere E. Brophy and Bruce A. VanSledright, *Teaching and Learning History in Elementary Schools* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997), 290; Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 288.; Stuart J. Foster and Charles S. Padgett, “Authentic Historical Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom,” *The Clearing House*, no. 6 (1999): 357; National Research Council, *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*, Expanded ed. (Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2000), 374.

learning activity and pedagogical decision making might help them understand that planning effective inquiry activities is an iterative process that is never complete, never perfect, and strengthened through collaboration with others.

Students' historical thinking learning activities were expected to meet the following criteria for a successful historical inquiry learning activity that was drawn from Gibson and Miles' planning framework for effective historical inquiry and includes several core practices for teaching history identified by Fogo.⁶¹

- An effective historical inquiry question, identify the historical thinking concept(s) they are focusing their inquiry activity on.
- Relevant learning outcomes from the Alberta K-6 Program of Studies to focus their lesson on.
- Accessible primary and/or secondary sources relevant to the topic being investigated.
- A sequence of learning activities that scaffold the key substantive and procedural knowledge the lesson focuses on.
- Blackline masters, data charts, or other tools and strategies that will help students organize their findings and respond to the historical thinking question.
- Valid assessment criteria for assessing students' understanding of the historical thinking concept(s) and the substantive knowledge being focused on.

Preservice Teachers' Beliefs About History and History Teaching

At the beginning of the course, students completed a Historical Thinking Student Questionnaire (Q1) that asked them to complete 15 selected response questions about their educational background, their experiences learning history, and their beliefs about history and the goals and purposes for teaching and learning history. At the end of the course, students completed a second questionnaire (Q2) that included many of the same questions, but also asked students to rate their knowledge of historical thinking and the specific historical thinking concepts at the beginning and end of the course. Of the 26 students in the class, 23 completed the first questionnaire, and all 26 completed the second questionnaire. In the last class of the course, all 26 students also completed anonymous course reflections and feedback forms. Two questions in particular "How did your thinking about teaching history stay the same and change from the beginning to the end of the course?" and "What are the most important understandings about teaching history that you will take with you into your teaching career?" offer interesting insights into changes in students' thinking throughout the course.

⁶¹Fogo, "Core Practices for Teaching History: The Results of a Delphi Panel Survey," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014), 151–196; Lindsay Gibson and James Miles, "A Planning Framework for Effective Historical Inquiry," in *History Education and Historical Inquiry*, ed. Bob Bain and others (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, In press).

Rather than focus on all the questions on Q1 and Q2, we selected seven questions that we judged as important indicators of changes in preservice teachers’ beliefs about history, their goals for teaching history, and their knowledge of historical thinking. We did not expect that the preservice teachers’ beliefs, goals, or knowledge would improve per se, but we did want to see if there was any change in these areas. As illustrated in Table 10.1, between Q1 and Q2, there were modest changes in preservice teachers’ beliefs about the meaning of history. Seven of the eight statements had lower average ratings on Q2 than Q1. Of the 78 statements that were rated differently on Q2, 62 were rated lower and only 16 were rated higher. The statement that students most agreed with on the Q1 “The background of present day life and today’s problems” had the largest average rating reduction of the eight statements on Q2. Whereas most of the students were undecided about whether history was “An accumulation of cruelties and disasters” on Q1, in Q2 the majority of students disagreed.






On average each student rated 3.4 statements differently on Q2, and every student rated at least two statements differently. We categorized the changes in students’ ratings between Q1 and Q2 as minor (+/−1 rating difference) and major (+/−2 rating difference). Of the 78 statements that were rated differently, 61 were minor, and 17 were major. Ten of the 23 students who completed both questionnaires made at least one major change to their ratings of the eight statements.

In order to understand preservice students’ understanding of continuity and change at the beginning and end of the study, we presented students with the following prompt and six statements and corresponding diagrams that were

Table 10.1 The meaning of history

<i>What does history mean to you?</i>								
	1. Totally Disagree	2. Disagree	3. Undecided	4. Agree	5. Totally agree			
A.	A school subject and no more							
B.	A source of adventure and excitement, fascinating and stimulating my imagination							
C.	A chance for myself to learn from failures and successes of others							
D.	Something dead and gone, which has nothing to do with my present life							
E.	A number of examples of what is right or wrong, good or bad							
F.	The background of present-day life and today’s problems							
G.	An accumulation of cruelties and disasters							
H.	A means of seeing my life as part of larger historic changes							
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>
Q#1 Average	1.70	3.87	4.04	1.26	3.43	4.26	2.91	4.17
Rank	7	4	3	8	5	1	6	2
Q#2 Average	1.35	3.65	3.85	1.27	3.17	3.79	2.46	4.08
Rank	7	4	2	8	5	3	6	1
Avg Difference	−0.35	−0.22	−0.19	+0.01	−0.26	−0.47	−0.45	−0.09

Table 10.2 Beliefs about historical development

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Diagrams</i>	<i>Questionnaire #1</i>	<i>Questionnaire #2</i>
1. Things generally have improved over time		1	2
2. Things generally have not changed much over time		0	0
3. Things generally have gotten worse over time		0	0
4. Things generally have repeated themselves over time		13	6
5. Things generally have gone from one extreme to another over time		3	3
6. NONE of the above (write your own statement and draw your own diagram)		4	10

developed by Seixas and Ercikan for a previous study.⁶² “People often see history as a line in time. Which of the following lines would you think best describes historical development?” Thirteen students selected the same statement and diagram on Q1 and Q2, eight selected different diagrams and statements, and five students did not respond to the question on Q1 or Q2. As indicated in Table 10.2, seven fewer students selected statement 4 “Things generally have repeated themselves over time” on Q2, and six more students wrote their own statement and drew their own diagrams. For example, one student stated on Q1 that, “Events in history seem to repeat themselves, like wars, similar (sic) elected Presidents, movements.” On Q2, the student drew from several diagrams to create their own hybrid diagram and wrote, “History is not predetermined, there is continuity, however there is also a lot of change and these changes/continuities are unpredictable.”

Students rated all of the sources of historical information as less trustworthy on Q2 than on Q1, except for fictional films, which students rated as the least trustworthy source on both Q1 and Q2 by a wide margin (see Table 10.3). Although the ratings of trustworthiness for each source were not substantially different from Q1 to Q2, students rated teachers’ explanations and stories as less trustworthy by almost one-half of a rating point, which was more than double any other source. Students averaged 3.7 different ratings for the 8 sources, but only 4 of the 81 differences between students’ ratings of the trustworthiness of sources on Q1 and Q2 could be categorized as major in that they involved changes of 2 or more rating points.

⁶²Peter Seixas and Kadriye Ercikan, “Historical Thinking in Canadian Schools,” *Canadian Journal of Social Research* 4, no. 1 (2011): 31–41.

Table 10.3 Trustworthiness of different sources of historical information

To what extent do you trust information about history from the following sources?

1. Very little	2. Little	3. Some	4. Much	5. Very much
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- A. School textbooks
- B. Historical documents and sources
- C. Historical novels
- D. Fictional films
- E. TV-documentaries
- F. Teachers' explanations and stories
- G. Other adults' (e.g. parents, grandparents) explanations and stories
- H. Museums and historic places

Table 10.4 Goals for teaching history

How important are the following goals for teaching history?

1. Not at all	2. A bit	3. Somewhat	4. Important	5. Very important
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- A. Learn the key facts of history
- B. Judge historical events according to in terms of ideas about human and civil rights
- C. Imagine what life was like for people in the past, taking account of all viewpoints
- D. Understand the behavior of people in the past by reconstructing their special situations and thinking of the period when they lived values and decisions of people living in different situations
- E. Use history to understand today's world
- F. Try to see our own lives as part of a larger historical picture
- G. Learn to value the traditions and identity of our nation
- H. Learn to value the preservation of historical sites, artifacts, and old buildings
- I. Learn basic democratic values
- J. Learn how to judge various historical sources critically
- K. Learn about diverse interpretations of history

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
Q1	3.5	3.57	4.42	4.26	4.39	4.2	4.17	4.07	3.89	4.35	4.26
Q2	3.46	3.85	4.42	4.35	4	3.96	3.77	4	3.77	4.54	4.46
Diff	-0.04	+0.28	=	+0.09	-0.39	-0.24	-0.4	-0.07	-0.12	+0.19	+0.2

As indicated in Table 10.4 below, preservice teachers' goals for teaching history on Q1 and Q2 are quite similar in terms of average ratings.

On both Q1 and Q2, preservice students selected several goals as being either important or very important. On Q1, 8 of 11 goals were ranked as important (4 or above) and on Q2, 6 goals were selected as important. Despite these similarities, there are some important differences. The ratings for six of the goals decreased on Q2, four increased, and one remained the same. On Q2, 135 of students' ratings of the goals for teaching history were the same, and 120 were different. Of the 120 different ratings, 100 were minor (+/-1 rating point) and 20 were major (+/-2 rating points).

The two goals with the largest average rating increase on Q2 were "Judge historical events according to in terms of ideas about human and civil rights"

Table 10.5 Intended teaching activities

Questionnaire #1: How often did the following activities take place in your K-12 history classes?
 Questionnaire #2: How often do you intend on using the following activities when you teach history to K-6 students?

	1. Very seldom	2. Seldom	3. Sometimes	4. Often	5. Weekly					
A. Students listen to the teachers talk about historical events										
B. Students are taught what was good or bad, right or wrong in history										
C. Students are invited to discuss different explanations of what happened in the past										
D. Students study historical sources, e.g. documents, pictures, or maps										
E. Students watch historical videos and films										
F. Students use the textbook and/or worksheets related to the textbook										
G. Students will engage in a range of activities, e.g. role-plays, projects, or visiting museums/sites										
H. Students retell and reinterpret history themselves										
I. Students use the internet and library to do historical research										
J. Please list any other activities, not mentioned above, which you intend to use when teaching history										
	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	
Q#1 Avg	3.6	3.57	3.13	3.48	3.35	4.35	2.17	2.13	3.04	
Q#2 Avg	2.92	2.31	4.27	4.12	3.06	2.87	3.58	3.67	4.26	
Diff	-0.68	-1.26	+1.14	+0.64	-0.29	-1.48	+1.41	+1.54	+1.26	

and “Learn how to judge various historical sources critically.” The two goals with the largest average rating decreases on Q2 were “Learn to value the traditions and identity of our nation” and “Use history to understand today’s world.”

As discussed previously, the type of learning activities that the preservice students’ regularly experienced when they learned history in K-12 classrooms was common for most students. As can be seen in Table 10.5, preservice students reported regularly using the textbook and/or worksheets related to the textbook, listened to teachers talk about historical events, were regularly told what is good/bad and right/wrong in history, and watched historical videos and/or films. Students reported that they seldom used historical sources, were asked to discuss different explanations of what happened in the past, retold and reinterpreted history themselves, engaged in role-plays, projects, or visit museums or historical sites, or used the internet and library to do historical research.

In Q2, preservice students reported that they intend on using different methods to teach history than they experienced as students. Preservice students said that they plan to regularly invite students to discuss different historical explanations, work with historical sources, engage in a range of activities, retell and reinterpret history, and conduct historical research. There were several activities that preservice students commonly experienced when learning history in schools that they intended on using less often in their own teaching practice, including telling students what was good or bad or right and wrong in history, and the use of textbooks and/or worksheets related to the textbook.

As is illustrated by Table 10.6, the preservice students started the course with varying levels of understanding of historical thinking. Despite different starting points in terms of their background knowledge of historical thinking,

Table 10.6 Knowledge of HT at the beginning and end of course

Questionnaire #2: My knowledge about “historical thinking” before starting this course would be *best* described as:

Questionnaire #2: My knowledge about “historical thinking” at the end of this course would be *best* described as:

1. None	2. A little	3. Some	4. High	5. Very high
A. I have never heard the term historical thinking				
B. I have heard of historical thinking but I don't know what it is				
C. I know “historical thinking” as defined in the Program of Studies				
D. I have some knowledge of what historical thinking is and the different historical thinking concepts				
E. I know what historical thinking is, I know about the six historical thinking concepts, but I'm not sure how to apply them to my planning and teaching				
F. I know what historical thinking is and have worked with historical thinking concepts in my planning and teaching				
G. I know what historical thinking is and am confident in my ability to use the historical thinking concepts in my planning and teaching				

the preservice teachers reported varying degrees of confidence in their knowledge of the concepts and their ability to use the concepts in their planning and teaching. Two students reported challenges applying historical thinking concepts in their planning and teaching, 12 students worked with them in their planning and teaching, and 12 students were confident using the concepts in their planning and teaching. All of the preservice teachers reported an increase in their knowledge of historical thinking throughout the course, except one student who reported that their knowledge remained the same.

In Q2, students were asked to rate their knowledge of the historical thinking concepts (see Table 10.7) at the beginning of the course and at the end of the course. Students had varying degrees of understanding of the different concepts at the beginning of the course, and reported increased understanding of each of the concepts by the end. In particular, students felt knowledgeable about evidence and interpretation, and historical perspectives. Although the ethical dimension was the concept that students felt least knowledgeable about at the beginning of the course, it was the concept with the third largest increase in understanding by the end of the course.

In the anonymous course reflections, we focused on two questions to better understand changes in students' thinking throughout the course. “How did your thinking about teaching history stay the same and change from the beginning to the end of the course?” and “What are the most important understandings about teaching history that you will take with you into your teaching career?”

Several common themes emerged from preservice students' responses to the first question. Twelve students reported being more confident about planning and teaching history effectively through the use of historical thinking learning resources and activities. One student commented that, “I learned how to teach historical thinking in an effective way. I always had this idea in the back of my head that I wanted to teach this way but I did not know how.”

Table 10.7 Knowledge of specific HT concepts at the beginning and end of course

1. Please rate your **knowledge** level with regard to the following historical thinking concepts at the beginning of the course:
2. Please rate your **knowledge** level with regard to the following historical thinking concepts at the end of the course:

- A. Historical significance (HS)
- B. Evidence and interpretation
- C. Continuity and change
- D. Cause and consequence
- E. Historical perspectives
- F. The Ethical dimension

	1. None	2. A little	3. Some	4. High	5. Very high		
		<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>
Beginning		2.92	2.65	2.73	2.90	2.83	2.35
End		4.15	4.33	3.85	4.29	4.39	3.83
		+1.23	+1.68	+1.12	+1.39	+1.54	+1.48

Eleven students described how their understanding of teaching history changed, including one student who commented that history teaching “is much more complicated than I thought.” Several students said that at the beginning of the course they thought that history teaching was about teaching facts from the textbook, but by the end of the course, understood the value and importance of using primary and secondary sources from different perspectives. Six students mentioned that their understanding of historical thinking concepts improved their ability to think historically in their daily lives. One particular student said, “I became a lot more critical when analyzing history and not take it for face value. The course really changed how I think historically and how I apply it to the present.”

Four students described how their views of what elementary students were capable of in history changed, especially if provided with teacher guidance and support. As one student remarked, “Kids are capable of a lot more than we give them credit for. Give them the correct tools and they can do almost anything.” Another student succinctly stated, “Students can think critically about serious topics.”

The preservice students’ responses to the second question about their most important understandings about teaching history reveal many of the same responses and themes as the first question. Nine teachers reported understandings that highlighted the importance of using historical thinking concepts to teach history. One student reflected that, “I now have a better understanding of how to create activities/tasks that involve historical thinking concepts with the curriculum expectations.” Other students highlighted the importance of the six historical thinking concepts in shaping understanding of the past, or as one student put it, “The historical thinking concepts are going to be very important to my future teaching.”

Six students discussed the importance of not relying too heavily on the textbook and the importance of using a variety of primary and secondary sources. “I will also use different sources and a variety of sources instead of teaching by using the textbook.” Five students made comments like “facts are not everything” and “history is not just about memorizing facts.” As one student articulated, history should focus “on critical thinking rather than purely on curriculum coverage.”

Six students’ responses revealed sophisticated understandings about the nature of the discipline of history, and in particular the historical perspective concept. For example, one student’s important understanding was that “historical perspectives doesn’t involve empathy as the sole purpose.” This student also stated that they were now more “aware of my own education and historical thinking and better understand my own presentism about historical events, people, etc.” Another student made an interesting connection between historical perspectives and historical interpretations: “There is always more than one perspective to consider, which means there is often more than one conclusion we can come to with our inferences. There can be more than one plausible answer for our questions of history, but there are still wrong answers.”

Smaller numbers of preservice teachers discussed the three themes: the importance of inviting students to investigate historical topics and “take more responsibility for their learning” (four students), that there are many different ways to teach history (three students), and the importance of asking critical questions and challenging accepted interpretations (two students).

Designing Historical Thinking Inquiry Activities

Table 10.8 summarizes the grade levels, curriculum topics, and historical thinking concepts that students focused on in their final assignments. Of the 15 assignments, 11 focused on grade 5 topics including immigration, Residential schools,

Table 10.8 Summary of final assignments

<i>Grade level & Topics of lesson plans</i>	<i>E & I</i>	<i>HS</i>	<i>Con & Cb</i>	<i>Ca & Con</i>	<i>HP</i>	<i>ED</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Grade 2, Edmonton			X				1
2. Grade 2, Iqaluit			X				1
3. Grade 4, Residential schools	X				X		2
4. Grade 4, Ukrainian immigration	X				X		2
5. Grade 5, British immigration	X						1
6. Grade 5, Chinese immigration					X		1
7. Grade 5, Chinese head tax	X				X		2
8. Grade 5, Chinese head tax						X	1
9. Grade 5, Confederation		X					1
10. Grade 5, European immigration	X				X		2
11. Grade 5, Ukrainian immigration					X		1
12. Grade 5, Residential schools					X		1
13. Grade 5, Residential schools	X	X			X	X	4
14. Grade 5, Residential schools				X			1
15. Grade 5, Suffrage movement					X		1
Total	6	2	2	1	9	2	

Confederation, the Suffragette movement, and the Chinese Head Tax. Two assignments centered on grade 2 topics, and two focused on grade 4. Ten of the 15 assignments focused on one historical thinking concept (HTC), four focused on two HTCs, and one assignment focused on four HTCs. While all six of the HTCs were addressed across the assignments, Taking an Historical Perspective was the most frequently used ($n = 9$) followed by Evidence and Interpretation ($n = 6$).

For the purpose of our analysis, we decided to focus exclusively on the seven grade 5 lesson plans (shaded in the table above) that addressed the historical thinking concept *historical perspectives* as this provided opportunities for comparative analysis. Ashby and Lee define “historical perspective” (sometimes called historical empathy) as “an achievement: it is where we get to when we have successfully reconstructed other people’s beliefs, values, goals, and attendant feelings.”⁶³ They argue that empathetic understanding of the past is not a process but an outcome, although Yeager and Foster⁶⁴ believe that it is both. Seixas explains historical perspective-taking as understanding that “people in the past not only lived in different circumstances...but also experienced and interpreted the world through different belief systems.”⁶⁵ Coming to this understanding requires knowledge about the context of the past, the ability to take historical perspectives, and the skills necessary to empathetically consider the historical actors’ decisions and actions.⁶⁶ Seixas and Morton highlight five guideposts for assessing sophisticated thinking about historical perspectives including: recognizing that past and present worldviews can be significantly different, avoiding the imposition of presentism on historical actors, using historical context to understand the perspectives of historical actors, making valid, evidence-based inferences about how people thought and felt in the past, and investigating the diverse perspectives that historical actors have about historical events.⁶⁷

One of the most difficult impediments to taking an historical perspective is the imposition of presentist values, beliefs, and attitudes onto actors and situations in the past. This is “the paradox of [historical] empathy”—that it “involves an effort to confront difference which, at every turn, tempts us to impose our own frameworks of meaning on others.”⁶⁸ Ashby and Lee clearly explain the nature of this difficulty:

⁶³ Roslyn Ashby and Peter Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History,” in *In the History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. C. Portal (London, UK: Falmer, 1987), 63.

⁶⁴ E. A. Yeager and S. J. Foster, “The Role of Empathy in the Development of Historical Understanding,” in *In Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*, eds. O. L. Davis, E. A. Yeager and S. J. Foster (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2001), 13–20.

⁶⁵ Peter Seixas, “Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding,” in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, eds. David R. Olson and Nancy Torrance (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 774.

⁶⁶ Jason L. Endacott, “Negotiating the Process of Historical Empathy,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 1 (2014): 4–34.

⁶⁷ Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013).

⁶⁸ Seixas, “Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding,” in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, eds. Olson and Torrance (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 775–776.

Entertaining the beliefs, goals, and values of other people or – insofar as one can talk in this way – of other societies, is a difficult intellectual achievement. It is difficult because it means holding in mind whole structures of ideas which are not one’s own, and with which one may profoundly disagree. And not just holding them in mind as inert knowledge, but being in a position to work with them in order to explain and understand what people did in the past.⁶⁹

However, most authors who write about this topic are optimistic that even this difficulty can be overcome by careful instruction and engagement in activities that push students to examine their own thought processes as they work with evidence and attempt to understand situations in the past.⁷⁰

We analyzed preservice students’ final assignments in order to assess their capacity for designing lessons that would help develop elementary students’ understanding of the historical thinking concept(s) and substantive knowledge focused on. Our analysis assessed the degree to which (1) the critical challenge was well designed, (2) primary and secondary sources were used effectively, (3) the learning activities were pedagogically rich, and (4) the assessment strategies were balanced. Fogo’s core practices for history teaching are central to these criteria including: use historical questions, select and adapt historical sources, model and support historical reading skills, employ historical evidence, use historical concepts, and assess student thinking about history.

In what follows, we focus on the four lessons that we designated as “high quality” and describe the characteristics that make them so. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the three lesson plans that focused on “historical perspectives” and which we identified as lower in quality did not attend to the above-mentioned factors, or if they did, the elements were not clearly elaborated.

Well-Designed Critical Challenge

According to Case and Daniels, a critical challenge is an inquiry question or task that “invites students to assess the reasonableness of plausible options or alternative conclusions. In short, it must require more than retrieval of information, rote application of a strategy, uninformed guessing or mere assertion of a preference.”⁷¹ We classified four of the seven lessons as well designed in that they invite reasoning and evaluative judgments, they are focused on a his-

⁶⁹ Ashby and Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History,” in *In the History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Portal (London, UK: Falmer, 1987), 63.

⁷⁰ O. L. Davis, E. Yeager and S. J. Foster, *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001); Ashby and Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History,” in *In the History Curriculum for Teachers*, ed. Portal (London, UK: Falmer, 1987), 62–68.; Endacott, “Negotiating the Process of Historical Empathy,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 1 (2014): 4–34.

⁷¹ Roland Case and LeRoi Daniels, “Introduction to the TC² Conception of Critical Thinking,” https://tc2.ca/uploads/PDFs/Critical%20Discussions/intro_tc2_conception.pdf (accessed March 20, 2019). 3.

torical topic that is significant to the curriculum, and they address one or more historical thinking concept.

These lesson plans had several characteristics in common. First, they included a well-designed critical challenge that invited reasoning and evaluative judgments. The critical challenge that guided students' work in Lesson #6 is a good example of one that exemplifies Case and Daniels' criteria:

Write a plausible and convincing letter to a relative living in China to persuade or discourage them from moving to Canada from the perspective of a Chinese-Canadian immigrant in the year 1882 (during the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway). You will need to decide who you are (What's your job? How long have you been living in Canada? Where are you living?) and who you are writing to (Parents? Children? Siblings?).

The culminating activity in lesson #7 asked students to perform a similar task: "Write a journal entry from the perspective of a Chinese Canadian immigrant who needs to pay the head tax of \$500 to bring a family member to Canada." Lesson #15 challenged students to synthesize what they had learned "about the fight for the right to vote, and to be able to participate politically in Government positions" in order to answer the question: "why do you think women were being paid less than men [at the same time period]?" Lastly, lesson #13 challenged students to use "evidence gathering from primary and secondary sources, write a practical proposal addressing what action(s) you feel should be taken to acknowledge and redress the past injustices towards Canadian Residential School survivors and their families." Although this final example also requires students to make an ethical judgment, they are asked to do this after having investigated multiple historical perspectives about Residential Schools.

Effective Use of Primary and Secondary Sources

An essential element for helping students develop an understanding of historical perspectives is the use of primary and secondary source evidence. Without it, students are left to guess what or why a historical actor thought the way they did; in other words, they engage in creative writing, not historical thinking. However, providing (or having students search for) primary and secondary sources related to their topic is not enough, students must also be taught how to analyze, evaluate, and corroborate sources, and understand what the sources mean in the larger historical context. Effective use of primary and secondary sources in preservice students' lessons involves providing sufficient and relevant evidence to address the question, accessible sources that represent diverse perspectives on the issue or topic, and the lesson includes explicit strategies that focus on teaching students how to analyze and corroborate these sources.

All four of the lessons we categorized as "strong" included multiple primary and secondary sources relevant to the topic of study, providing sufficient and

varied evidence with which students would be required to work in order to respond to the historical inquiry. These included well-chosen photographs, political cartoons, newspaper articles and/or advertisements, letters, and other print sources such as children's books as well as the authorized textbook for grade 5 social studies. Crucially, the lesson plans also included detailed attention to teaching students how to analyze and corroborate these sources, and included activities to scaffold the development of students' historical thinking. For example, lesson #7 included a "Document Perspective Analysis" graphic organizer that asked students to answer and provide evidence for the following questions, for each document they analyzed:

- Emotions: How does the author feel about the people, events, actions discussed in the source?
- Beliefs about the world: What does this document suggest about the author's worldviews?
- Values: What does the document reveal about the goals that matter to the author?

Lesson #15, which focused on the Suffragette Movement, similarly included a series of questions to support students using primary sources to understand historical perspectives:

- Who wrote the letter? Who was it addressed to?
- What was the purpose of the letter? Who is affected? Include a quote to back up your statement.
- What does the argument presented in the letter indicate of the mindset of people in that era?
- How do you think the recipient responded to the first letter, judging by the contents of the second letter?
- What do you think was the overall outcome of the situation being discussed?

The remaining two "strong" lesson plans included similar activities designed to engage students in source analysis.

Pedagogically Rich Learning Activities

In addition to activities designed to support student work with primary and secondary sources, well-designed lesson plans stood out in part because the students who authored them paid careful attention to the following aspects: activating students' prior knowledge, modeling historical thinking and scaffolding students' understanding during the lesson, providing students with adequate background on the historical topic being investigated, explicitly teaching about the historical thinking concept(s) being focused on, and organizing the learning activities into a logical sequence and progression. In other

words, the preservice teachers understood Wineburg's maxim that historical thinking is an "unnatural act"—and must be taught carefully and explicitly.⁷²

All four of the "strong" lesson plans included a series of activities that modeled historical thinking and scaffolded students' work during their investigations. For example, lesson #15 included notes to the teacher that included the following advice for helping students analyze primary sources: "It may be wise to read through the document for the first time as a class, so that the teacher could break down the language in areas that may prove to be confusing. However, considering the inquiry task [understanding historical perspectives on the Suffragette Movement], it's important that the teacher only breaks down the language, rather than the message being conveyed."

Other common characteristics of the strong lesson plans include: activating students' prior knowledge, ensuring students had adequate background knowledge on the topic, explicitly teaching about presentism, establishing clear links between activities, and providing original or adapted graphic organizers for student use.

Balanced Assessment Strategies

Finally, the most accomplished lesson plans included a balance of formative and summative assessment strategies that specifically focused on both students' understanding of historical thinking concepts (like historical perspectives for example) and substantive content that they were introduced to. Throughout the course, Gibson emphasized the importance of using clear criteria in assessment strategies (for both formative and summative purposes), a quality that Marzano, Pickering, and Pollock argue "has a more powerful effect on student learning than norm-referenced feedback,"⁷³ and which we noted in the lessons analyzed here. For example, in lesson #13, the teacher planned to use the following criteria to assess student work throughout the various activities: "avoids making presentist statements when analyzing the past" and "articulates the importance of exploring diverse perspectives on any given event in the past." In lesson #7, the "journal entry" assignment would be assessed by a rubric that includes four criteria: "chose and clearly identified the perspective of one Chinese immigrant; used a minimum of three references to any of the sources we analyzed in class; using historical perspective, student successfully portrayed the sentiment of Chinese immigrants towards the Head Tax; and using historical perspectives, regarding the Head Tax, student has included and explained the opinion in Canada at the time towards Chinese immigrants."

Formative assessment, which can be defined as assessment for learning, provides both the instructor and the student with information on student learning

⁷²Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 272.

⁷³Robert J. Marzano, Debra J. Pickering and Jane E. Pollock, *Classroom instruction that works*. (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001), 98–99.

during the learning process, so that the instructor can adjust her pedagogy as needed, and so that the student knows what they are doing well and where they need to improve. In contrast, summative assessment, or assessment of learning, typically occurs at the end of a lesson or unit of study and is meant to provide an overall assessment of a student's learning, usually without opportunity to improve. According to Hattie and Timperley, formative assessment is the most powerful moderator of student learning,⁷⁴ and it played a significant part of the course in which the students were enrolled, in part because we aimed to model the assessment practices that we hoped our preservice teachers would eventually put into practice with their own students. Thus, it was encouraging to note that, at least for those lessons we identified as high in quality, students embedded both formative and summative assessment strategies, and articulated clear criteria for assessment, in their plans.

DISCUSSION

Our goal for both the course and our study was to determine whether a course dedicated to teaching undergraduate elementary teacher education students who had limited background in history could bolster their understanding of historical thinking, their pedagogical content knowledge about history teaching, and their ability to design effective historical thinking learning activities that utilize many of the core teaching practices for history teaching identified by Fogo.

As we noted in the review of literature above, previous research has concluded that preservice teachers enter into their teacher education programs with relatively fixed cognitive frames about the nature of history and how to teach it. This was also true for the preservice students in the study. As can be seen in Tables 10.1, 10.2, 10.3, and 10.4, there was very little change in the students' thinking about what history is, in how historical narratives represent developments over time, in their trust in various sources to learn about the past, and in their overall goals for teaching history. Where we saw change was in students' reported understandings of "historical thinking." At the beginning of the course, only 5 of 23 students had heard of historical thinking but "don't know what it means," and only 8 more were familiar with the definition of historical thinking as it appears in the curriculum. In contrast, by the end of the course, all but two students reported that they were familiar with historical thinking and could implement it in lesson planning, with 12 students indicating that they felt confident doing so. Similarly, all students reported gains in their understanding of the six historical thinking concepts, with the strongest gains in "evidence and interpretation" (+1.68) and "historical perspectives" (+1.54). It was not surprising to us, then, that the majority of students chose

⁷⁴ John Hattie and Helen Timperley. "The power of feedback," *Review of Educational Research*, 77(1) (2007): 81–112.

to work with both of these concepts in their final assignment. Of the seven assignments we analyzed, four were categorized as “high quality” in that they included a well-designed critical challenge, primary and secondary sources were used effectively, the learning activities were pedagogically rich, and the assessment strategies were balanced.

When it comes to the types of activities that students planned to use in their teaching of history, one change in students’ thinking was noteworthy. By the end of the course, students ranked the goal “Students retell and reinterpret history themselves” significantly higher than their own experiences of doing so in elementary school, by an average of 1.54 points (ranked as 2.13 at the beginning of the course and 3.67 at the end of the course, see Table 10.5). This aligns with the thinking students shared in the anonymous reflections, in which some acknowledged that in fact, elementary students are capable of engaging in more complex historical thinking activities so long as they are well supported in doing so. It also aligns with the types of learning activities we examined in the strongest lesson plans. We assert that in engaging our B.Ed students in the types of activities we would want them to take into their future classrooms, students’ confidence levels rose as did their belief that young children are capable of “doing” history. The changes in students’ knowledge of historical thinking and their intended goals and practices are significant because previous research suggests that teachers’ self-efficacy is an important predictor of the extent to which they will ultimately implement these practices in their classroom.⁷⁵

As we mentioned above, we are unable to make any claims about what our students will actually do when teaching history to elementary students because we did not follow them into the classroom and research suggests that contextual factors in actual classrooms have a significant impact on the classroom practices that preservice and in-service teachers regularly employ.⁷⁶ Despite this reality, we are hopeful that both their positive experiences engaging in historical thinking activities during the course, along with their reported shift in intention to employ learning strategies that align with both Shulman’s expanded Pedagogical Content Knowledge and Fogo’s core practices for teaching history, will translate into their use of historical thinking pedagogy in the future. We can’t be certain, but we can hope.

⁷⁵Voet and De Wever, “Preparing Pre-Service History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-Based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program,” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017b): 206–217; Levy et al., “Examining Studies of Inquiry-Based Learning in Three Fields of Education: Sparking Generative Conversation,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 64, no. 5 (2013): 387–408.

⁷⁶Bruce Fehn and Kim E. Koeppen, “Intensive Document-Based Instruction in a Social Studies Methods Course and Student Teachers’ Attitudes and Practice in Subsequent Field Experiences,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 4 (1998): 461–484.

CONCLUSION

Researchers have concluded that preservice courses and training programs are particularly effective when they are focused on providing opportunities to observe teaching methods and strategies in practice, share ideas and learn with and from peers, design and organize learning activities, and receive practical support and feedback about those activities.⁷⁷ The results of this study suggest that this course impacted students' thinking and beliefs about history and teaching history, and provided some clear ideas and strategies about how to do this in the classroom. Students reported feeling more comfortable teaching history, and their views of students' capabilities also changed. We are cognizant that any assessment we make about the effectiveness of this course is also an assessment of our own course planning and teaching, and therefore we are duly cautious in the claims that we make. Given the modest gains we saw in students' ideas about history and their ability to plan effective history lessons for elementary students, we are encouraged to continue to offer this course as an elective without making substantive changes. Although Sears posits that "boundary practices" that bring together historians and history education pedagogy experts to learn from one another hold much promise for developing teachers' understandings of the discipline of history and how to teach it, our experience leads us to conclude that specialized courses focused on teaching history and historical thinking might be a more feasible model for teacher education programs. Given that coordination with faculty in history departments might be difficult to implement due to administrative constraints such as teaching assignments and course load, we contend that a specialized course in teaching historical thinking might help improve the preparation of preservice teachers to teach history in all K-12 schools.

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⁷⁷Levy et al., "Examining Studies of Inquiry-Based Learning in Three Fields of Education: Sparking Generative Conversation," *Journal of Teacher Education* 64, no. 5 (2013): 387–408.; Voet and De Wever, "Preparing Pre-Service History Teachers for Organizing Inquiry-Based Learning: The Effects of an Introductory Training Program," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 63 (2017b): 206–217.

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The History Education Network: An Experiment in Knowledge Mobilization

Penney Clark and Ruth Sandwell

The History Education Network/Histoire et éducation en réseau (THEN/HiER), with multi-year funding provided by the federal government's Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), was Canada's first national organization devoted to supporting, nurturing, implementing, and disseminating research in history education. The applicant and co-applicants on this highly collaborative project created a network composed of a diverse group of academic historians, history educators in faculties of education, practicing teachers, graduate students in history and education, teacher education students, curriculum policy-makers, and representatives from a wide variety of public history and heritage organizations, including museums. The primary goal from the beginning was to stimulate active discussions among this wide range of history educators, not only as a way of sharing history education knowledge and expertise, but to urge the necessity of *more research-informed practice* and *more practice-informed research* to improve history education. As the remainder of this chapter details, THEN/HiER succeeded in meeting

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these goals through a wide variety of discussions, presentations, publications, activities, and collaborations over the course of the grant.

Building on the success of symposia in 2005 and 2006, Canada's first national history education network under the leadership of Dr. Penney Clark at the University of British Columbia as Director was awarded \$2.1 million over 7 years (\$300,000 per year, 2008–2015) through an SSHRC Strategic Knowledge Clusters Grant. Somewhat unusually for SSHRC, the country's main granting agency for university research in the humanities and social sciences, the grant was not intended to be used to conduct research; instead, its purpose was to build community among those seeking to mobilize knowledge out from the university and into interested constituencies, including those in both French and English-Canada, and from a variety of constituencies to inform university research and scholarship. It was a perfect fit for the network that was envisaged. THEN/HiER evolved over the next eight years, but its two main purposes remained the same: the mobilization of history education research in diverse settings, including classrooms (kindergarten to postsecondary), museums, archives, and historic sites, and the facilitation of research and projects related to practice, involving the multiple constituencies engaged in history education.¹

This essay sets out to describe the intellectual origins of the Network, its purposes, some of its most active participants, its key activities, and its legacy within history education broadly defined, in terms of policy, theory, and teaching practices. We will conclude with a brief analysis of what gave this experiment in history education networking its momentum and its success, with the hope that others might find this helpful.

THE ROOTS AND EARLY SPROUTING OF THEN/HiER

Like any collaborative and long-term project, the roots of The History Education Network run deep and wide. One branch of THEN/HiER's root system began in the early 1990s, in two working groups established at the University of British Columbia. Penney Clark (Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia) and Ruth Sandwell (Department of History, Simon Fraser University) met in a doctoral dissertation working group. This working group, organized by British Columbia historian and doctoral student Jacqueline Gresko, was remarkable, particularly in retrospect, for the interdisciplinary focus of history and education represented by the 8–10 graduate students who chose to participate. In a way, this focus was not surprising, as the University of British Columbia's Faculty of Education at that time housed some of the most renowned historians of education and childhood in Canada, including Jean Barman, William Bruneau, Neil Sutherland, J.D. Wilson, Nancy Sheehan, and

¹The project managed to eke out the funds for an additional year beyond the seven-year mandate.

Veronica Strong-Boag. These scholars enthusiastically welcomed discussions with anyone interested in the history of education, including an interloper from Vancouver's other university, Simon Fraser University. At the same time, Peter Seixas and others in the Faculty of Education established the Social Studies Works-in-Progress group, that carried on for over a decade, and invited local teachers and graduate students to join history and social studies education scholars in vibrant monthly discussions of ongoing work. All of these scholars provided a stimulating community for graduate students, creating long-lasting intellectual connections, as well as friendships.

The fertile soil for THEN/HiER was created in the 1990s and early 2000s, a time of remarkable intellectual ferment around history education in Canada. A number of groundbreaking publications changed the direction of people's thinking about the nature and purposes of history education. Two of the most influential thinkers in this area were Peter Seixas at the University of British Columbia and Sam Wineburg at the University of Washington. They made two important points. First, history and the past are different, and second, historical accounts are constructed according to particular disciplinary practices. This means that turning the past into history depends on a collective interpretive act using practices such as the selection and interpretation of evidence in the context of the evolving discussions taking place within the discipline at a particular time. Seixas' groundbreaking article, "Conceptualizing Growth in Historical Understanding," published in 1996 in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, articulated a framework for the field of history education involving six second-order or procedural concepts, informed by the work of American psychologist Jerome Bruner and British researchers in history education such as Peter Lee.

There was also a remarkable degree of public interest in history and history education at this time. Historian Jack Granatstein tapped into this interest with his best-selling polemic, *Who Killed Canadian History?* published in 1998. Granatstein pointed to an array of Canadian history murderers, including academic historians who were choosing to pursue narrow avenues of research instead of constructing broader narratives; provincial ministries of education that were mandating an interdisciplinary focus on social studies rather than history courses and an overemphasis on skills rather than content; and lobby groups intent on promoting narrow agendas around ethnicity, gender, and other topics of interest. All of these, according to Granatstein, worked to hinder a curricular emphasis on a much-needed cohesive national narrative.

The 1999 "Giving the Past a Future" Conference, organized by Desmond Morton, historian and Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, was a more constructive approach to the question of what history education should be. This event, with 750 people in attendance, was the largest gathering of history educators in the history of the country. The event was remarkable not only for its size, but for the representation of different history

education professions, including academic historians, history educators in faculties of education, representatives of provincial ministries of education, some teachers, and representatives of various public organizations such as the National Film Board, Canada's National History Society (now called Canada's History), Parks Canada, and the Dominion Institute. It was at this event that Lynton R. (Red) Wilson, Chairman of the Board of Bell Canada, announced that he would contribute \$500,000.00 from his personal funds toward the establishment of a foundation to promote the effective teaching of Canadian history in schools. The organization established from these funds was *Historica* (now called *Historica Canada*), which went on to sponsor teacher summer institutes, produce the *Historica Minutes*, and support provincial heritage fairs.²

A pivotal scholarly publication appeared the following year, providing more momentum to the movement toward revitalizing history education. *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (2000) by Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg was an edited collection which raised new questions and pointed to new directions for history education.

A second branch of THEN/HIER's root system began in 2001, when Ruth Sandwell accepted a unique limited-term appointment organized by the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, a joint position in the history and education departments at McGill University. She decided to create a lecture series that would not only reflect the new spirit of co-operation between history and education reflected in her joint position, but would build on the lively popular interest in Canadian history that had been revealed in the aftermath of Granatstein's *Who Killed Canadian History?* With the financial and intellectual support of McGill University, Sandwell invited a number of prominent history and history education scholars from across Canada (and one from the US) to participate in a six-part series of lectures in the winter of 2002 entitled "Public Memory, Citizenship and History Education." These public lectures comprised a component of a graduate course she was teaching in the Faculty of Education, but they were also made available to a much larger public across Canada through their broadcast in the Fall of 2002 on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's radio program *Ideas*. The series invited speakers to explore history and social studies as school subjects, and to consider history as a much larger platform for exploring who and what matters to people in our society, and why. The series of lectures was turned into an edited volume published by the University of Toronto Press in 2006 as *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada*, which was expanded to include a thoughtful conclusion by University of Manitoba historian and history educator, Ken Osborne. His essay not only summarized the other essays in the volume, but probed some of the much larger questions of history, memory, identity, education, and citizenship that were being actively discussed across Canada in that period. As such, the volume sits as a kind of introduction, or prequel to the work of THEN/HIER.

²Historica Canada, viewed July 24, 2019, <https://www.historicacanada.ca>

A third branch of THEN/HiER's root system also began in 2001, with the establishment of the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness by Peter Seixas, Canada Research Chair at UBC. This was the clearest institutional manifestation of the new thinking about history education. The center was "dedicated to facilitating research on the understanding and teaching of history, the [...CSHC] sponsors research in the field of historical consciousness, serves as a base for Canadian and international scholars, both as researchers and as visiting professors and lecturers, and draws highly promising graduate students to UBC."³ That same year, Seixas organized an international conference that resulted in the 2004 publication of the edited collection *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (University of Toronto Press). Then, in 2006, with financial support from Historica, the CSHC launched the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project, with the outcome that the historical thinking framework has influenced provincial and territorial curriculum development, authorized textbooks, and curricula in teacher education programs.

Another branch of THEN/HiER's root system can be traced to one of the country's earliest, and now most enduring, online history education projects, The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History.⁴ Working with a team of young programmers and benefitting from the technical support of the Digital Humanities program at, and with an Innovative Technologies grant from, the University of Victoria, Ruth Sandwell and John Lutz, both graduate students in the mid-1990s, worked together on an innovative online history education pilot project: *Who Killed William Robinson?* The website was based on their respective doctoral dissertations on settler-indigenous relations in nineteenth-century British Columbia. It focused on the mysterious murder of an African-Canadian on Saltspring Island in 1868 and the Indigenous man hanged for the crime. Website users were invited to solve the murder using the archive of historical documents provided, including Trial Notes created by the judge at the trial of Tshuanahusset, convicted of the murder; newspaper clippings; and maps and reminiscences pertaining to that time period of the Island's history. The website also includes a cast of characters, nineteenth-century interpretations, and a series of photographs and illustrations relating to the murder. Though the website had originally been intended for use by professional historians in their history classes, it attracted the interest of high school and elementary history and social studies teachers through its lesson plans, background materials, and other support materials for classroom use.

The educational support provided for *Who Killed William Robinson?* became a central aspect of The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History project as it grew over the next 20 years.⁵ Grants from Canadian Heritage provided

³ CSHC, Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia. www.cshc.ubc.ca/about/

⁴ Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History. www.cshc.ubc.ca/about/

⁵ Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History, Support for Teachers. <https://www.canadian-mysteries.ca/en/teachers.php>

funding for 11 more history-mystery websites between 2003 and 2008. The mysteries range from well-known Canadian historical mysteries to mysteries best-known only to regional or local audiences. Each site not only explores a different topic, but a different theme of significance to Canadian history: slavery, indigenous-settler relations, French/English conflict, disease, vigilante rule, terrorism, religious dissent, early settlement, care of the handicapped, and family violence are only a few. As a whole the mysteries are drawn from all the regions of the country, explore a variety of ethnic groups, and cover a time span from 900 AD to the 1940s.

This multi-year, multi-phase, and highly interdisciplinary project successfully brought together historians, history educators in faculties of education, practicing teachers, and students in a multi-professional history education initiative, eventually attracting visitors by the millions every year not only in Canada, but around the world. As such, it attracted the attention of Canada's research funding agency, The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. In 2004, The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History (GUMICH) directors were invited to contribute to discussions in Ottawa about the nature and design of a new funding project being contemplated by SSHRC, The Cluster Research Design Grant.

Herein can be found another branch of THEN/HiER's root system: in 2004, GUMICH directors, now including historian Peter Gossage, applied for and received seed-funding for a collaborative project ("cluster research design") that would bring together the same kinds of professionals and students who had created GUMICH: professional historians, public historians, archivists, history educators in faculties of education, school teachers, curriculum developers, and both graduate history students and students in teacher education programs. This emergent new group project was called The History Education Network/Histoire et éducation en réseau (THEN/HiER). In January 2005, 45 people from these various groups were invited to attend a two-day conference at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto.

In 2006, the project received a second grant from the same source, and held a meeting in April at UBC that piggy-backed on an international history education event hosted by Peter Seixas at the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness. That meeting cemented the commitment that various members of history education communities across the country made to work together, in their different but overlapping and complementary capacities, to bring into active partnership people and institutions who could work to improve and raise the profile of history education, in the classrooms and beyond, across Canada. Penney Clark, a history and social studies educator and historian in the Department of Curriculum & Pedagogy at UBC, Ruth Sandwell and Catherine Duquette, a doctoral student at Laval, were elected as Directors of THEN/HiER at this meeting.⁶

⁶Catherine Duquette is currently an associate professor of history education at the University du Québec à Chicoutimi.

Subsequently, Penney Clark agreed to take on the role of principal applicant on the SSHRC application. Her co-applicants were Margaret Conrad, Professor and Canada Research Chair in Atlantic Canada Studies, University of New Brunswick; Keven Kee, Associate Professor and Canada Research Chair in Digital Humanities, Tier II, Brock University; Jocelyn Létourneau, Professor and Canada Research Chair in History and Political Economy of Contemporary Quebec, Laval University; Stéphane Lévesque, Associate Professor, history education, University of Ottawa; Ruth Sandwell, Associate Professor, History and Philosophy of Education Program at the Department of Theory and Policy Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/University of Toronto; Peter Seixas, Professor and Canada Research Chair in Historical Consciousness, UBC; and Amy von Heyking, Associate Professor, Social Studies Education, University of Lethbridge. The team was granted \$2.1 million in 2008 to lead the project over a seven-year period. Immediately upon receipt of the grant, they began the process of articulating goals and setting out the kinds of activities and initiatives that would achieve them.

INFRASTRUCTURE ESTABLISHMENT AND GOVERNANCE

The infrastructure for the project was established in year one. The project set up its offices in the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness at UBC, with financial help from the Faculty of Education; hired a Network Manager; and established its Executive Board. In addition, it held its first Executive Board retreat, planned its website, began its first edited book project, and held its first scholarly book symposium (Fig. 11.1).

Executive Board

Penney Clark and her seven co-applicants were joined by Viviane Gosselin, Curator, Museum of Vancouver, and Jennifer Bonnell, doctoral candidate, OISE/UT,⁷ to form the Executive Board.

The established scholars on the Board were a mix of academic historians and history educators, mostly with homes in faculties of education. The Board decided at its first retreat in August 2008 that there should be a partner representative, over and above the academic board members who were present in dual roles as grant co-applicants and as partner representatives (Peter Seixas, Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness; Jocelyn Létourneau, *Canadians and Their Pasts* project; and Keven Kee, *Simulating History* project). Accordingly, the Board invited Jan Haskings-Winner, President of the Ontario History and Social Sciences Teachers' Association (OHASSTA), to join the executive as a partner organization representative in 2009. Alan Sears, Professor, Social Studies Education, University of New Brunswick, joined the

⁷Jennifer Bonnell is currently an Assistant Professor in the Department of History, York University.

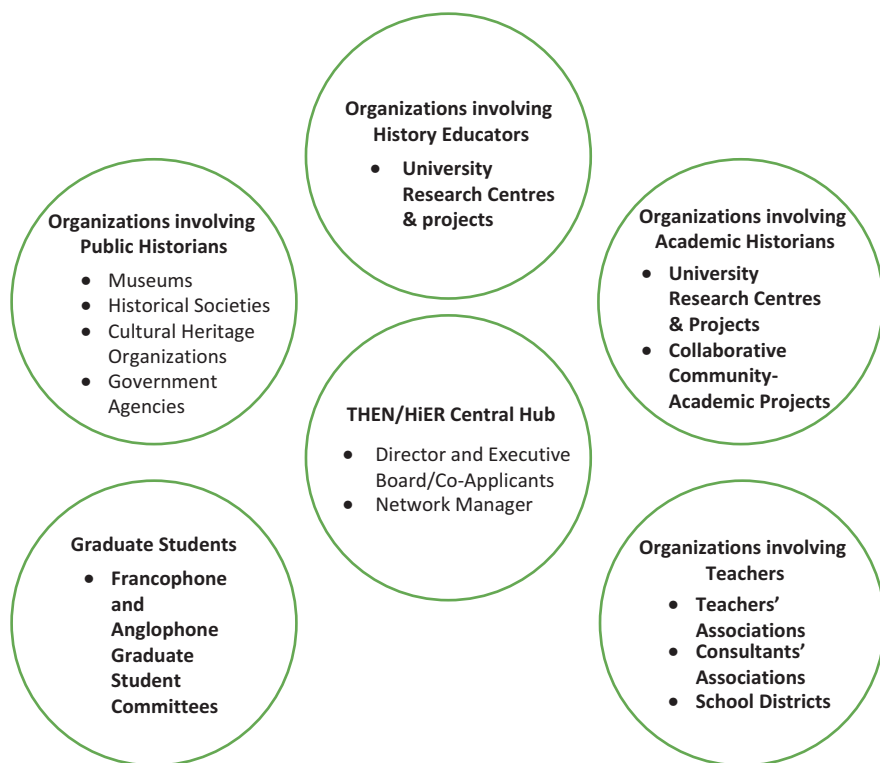


Fig. 11.1 Network organization

Board in 2010. Jennifer Bonnell was the first doctoral candidate member, but anglophone and francophone doctoral student committees were soon formed and the chair of each committee joined the Board. Of course, these individuals, with the exception of Catherine Duquette who stayed on after becoming an Assistant Professor, changed as students completed their programs. In January 2009, Dr. Anne Marie Goodfellow became Network Manager, responsible for the day-to-day running of the Network, and she also took a seat on the Board. Dr. Goodfellow remained as the staff member who capably supported the project until funding came to an end in March 2016.⁸

Board members provided advice and assistance on every aspect of the network. They volunteered on a rotating basis for various adjudication committees (e.g., Small Projects Grants, Visiting Doctoral Student Program, Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Bursaries). Particular board members also

⁸Ulrike Spitzer assisted the project throughout its mandate by maintaining the financial records and contact list.

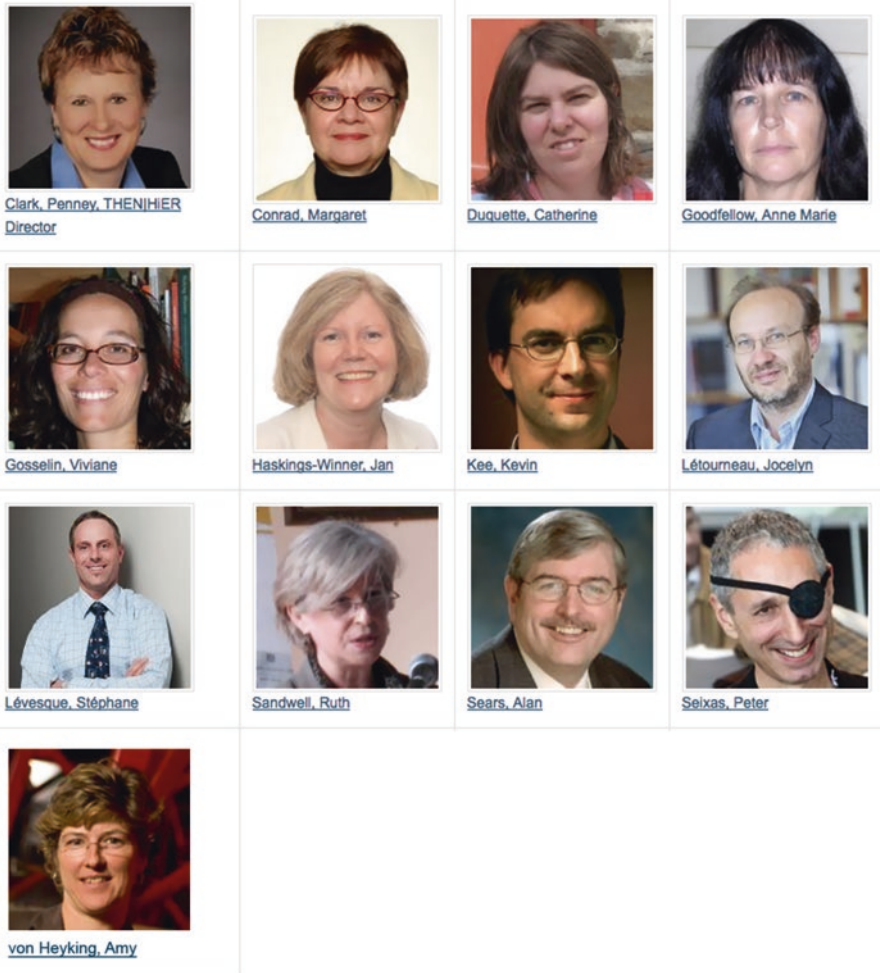


Fig. 11.2 Executive board members

volunteered to organize symposia and act as editors for books that arose from the symposia. The Board met monthly for a telephone conference and typically had two face-to-face meetings each year. One was a two-day retreat and the other meeting was one day in length and typically took place in conjunction with a major conference, such as the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences, where many Board members were already in attendance (Fig. 11.2).

The SSHRC proposal identified 23 committed partner organizations, but the project continued to acquire partners throughout its mandate, ending with a total of 40. The partner organizations fit into four categories: history educators, academic historians, public historians, and practicing teachers. (See [Appendix 1](#) for a list of THEN/HiER's partners.)

There was a range of commitment across these organizations. Some were highly involved, and others, for which we had high hopes, were not able to be as heavily involved as anticipated for a range of reasons including illness of key individuals, staff turnover, and previous commitment to other projects. Two key organizations were the most committed: the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness under the direction of Peter Seixas at the University of British Columbia and the Association for Canadian Studies under Jack Jedwab. THEN/HiER had a highly productive, reciprocal relationship with these organizations. The CSHC shared offices and office infrastructure with THEN/HiER, and the Network funded the annual meetings of the Centre's major project, *The Benchmarks of Historical Thinking*, later called the Historical Thinking Project. These meetings attracted provincial ministry of education representatives, academic historians, history education scholars, teachers, graduate students, book publishers, and public historians. The two new groups at the table were provincial ministry of education representatives and book publishers. Many of THEN/HiER's partners participated in these meetings. For example, in 2012, seven social studies or history teachers' associations attended, as well as the Begbie Canadian History Contest Society, Canada's History, the Critical Thinking Consortium, the Ojibwa Cultural Foundation, and Parks Canada—anyone who had an interest in curriculum and assessment. THEN/HiER also provided bursaries to support attendance at the Project's summer institutes, which took place in a range of Canadian cities over the course of THEN/HiER's mandate.

THEN/HiER was very involved with the biennial history education conferences sponsored and organized by the Association for Canadian Studies. For example, Penney Clark was chair with Sharon Myers, history professor at the University of Prince Edward Island, of the 2014 ACS conference, *(Re)Making Confederation: (Re)Imagining Canada*, in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island. THEN/HiER members presented at many of the ACS conferences, with financial assistance from the ACS, and contributed to the ACS publication, *CANADIAN ISSUES/THÈMES CANADIENS*.

Graduate Students

The project had significant involvement from graduate students. There were two graduate student committees throughout the tenure of the project, francophone and anglophone, each led by a coordinator. The graduate student committee coordinators were responsible for:

- coordinating committee members who acted as representatives in their respective regions;
- holding regular teleconference meetings with committee members;
- coordinating and maintaining THEN/HiER blogs (the English blog *Teaching the Past* and the French blog *Enseigner le passé*) and social networking sites;
- organizing an annual regional event;
- organizing local events.

Individual graduate students were employed to develop databases of funding organizations and history and history education programs and faculty members; write thesis, dissertation, book, and chapter summaries and article abstracts; and compile resources for teachers, all of which were posted on the website. Lindsay Gibson, doctoral student at UBC, completed a repertory of primary source websites and a list of websites for BC classroom teachers organized by topic for our website. Samantha Cutrara regularly posted materials in English on the THEN/HiER Twitter and Facebook pages, with Catherine Duquette posting in French. Members of the graduate student committee interviewed people involved in history education for podcasts which were posted on the THEN/HiER website. For example, historian Margaret Conrad was interviewed by Cynthia Wallace-Casey in order to share her thoughts on the project, *Atlantic Canadians and Their Pasts*. In his interview with Lindsay Gibson, history educator Peter Seixas talked about history education and the growth of the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking project.⁹

⁹Lindsay Gibson is now an Assistant Professor, Social Studies Education, in the Department of Curriculum & Pedagogy, University of British Columbia. Samantha Cutrara is a freelance educator and refers to herself as a History Education Strategist, Learning Innovator, and Community Builder. Cynthia Wallace-Casey is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Ottawa, working on a project on museum education.

COMMUNICATION AND NETWORKING

<http://www.thenhier.ca> (Fig. 11.3)

the history education network
THEN/HiER
histoire et éducation en réseau

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Username: [input field] Password: [input field] [Log in](#) [Create new account](#) | [Request new password](#) | [Browse Members](#) | [Site Map](#)

Join Us

The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER) is a collaborative network across the diverse fields of history, history education and school history teaching in Canada. It brings together people from across Canada and internationally to inform, carry out, critique, and implement research into history education. [Read More](#)

Featured Project



Les Journées du patrimoine/Heritage Days 2009 were held on September 18th and 19th 2009 on Duck Lake's Victoria and Front Streets. A total of 1115 visitors of all ages came to the event during the two days. On Friday, September 18th (our school day) 878 students from Fransaskoia, French immersion and ... [Read More](#)

News

- Writing History in the Digital Age, a born-digital, open-review volume edited by Jack Dougherty and Kristen Nawrotzki
- Now available! First publication in THEN/HiER book series: New Possibilities for the Past
- Congratulations to Dr. Carla Peck who has been awarded a 2011 THEN/HiER Publication Prize
- Department of Canadian Heritage
- The Critical Thinking Consortium online learning opportunities

Events

- The Making of Dufferin-St. Clair: 1900-1929, Richard Harris, Oct 20
- Imagining Gateways: Collaboration and Innovation in Teaching and Learning History, Oct 27-28
- Labour on the March: 150 Years of Labour Parades in Toronto, Craig Heron, Oct 27
- Conference on the Teaching of
- Learning About e. coll From Walkerton, Joy Parr, Nov 2

Featured Member



Sabrina Moisan, PhD, Education Coordinator, Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre. I realized late in my education the importance of history in thinking about and understanding the world. I was in college in Quebec when I ... [Read More](#)

Deadlines

Network in Canadian History & Environment 5th Annual...	Oct 28
Canada and the New World Order: The National Contexts of...	Nov 01
Canadian Society for the Study of Education	Nov 15
17th BIENNIAL CHEA CONFERENCE - Risking to the Challenge...	Jan 31

Videos & Podcasts

- Mount Royal University History Teacher Symposium 2011
- Brands Trofarenko, Glenbow Museum, Calgary, April 2011
- Warrior Nation vs. Peaceable Kingdom: A Podcast with Dr. Ian McKay on Understandings of History in...
- The Personal Side of a Country at War: Using the Canadian Letters and Images Project in the...
- Christopher Dummit: "After Inclusiveness: The Future of Canadian History"

Blog

- Taking on Multiple Perspectives in Telling Stories of Canada: A shameless plug for a forthcoming...
- 11 Novels (and 1 Collection of Poems) Recommended for Social Studies Classrooms
- Approaching the Past Workshop: Encounters with the First World War Outside the Classroom
- Wandering Through the Archives
- Elections: The Future and the Past

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Fig. 11.3 THEN/HiER website homepage. Featured project is a historical sketch during Saskatchewan heritage days (Société historique de la Saskatchewan). Featured member is Sabrina Moisan

THEN/HiER Website

The bilingual and interactive website, www.thenhier.ca, launched in September 2009, was central to knowledge mobilization.¹⁰ This site includes research and teaching resources; links to current controversies; searchable databases of primary sources; summaries of books, chapters, theses and dissertations, and abstracts of articles on research and practice; funded project reports; research snapshots by scholars in history and history education around the world; listings of jobs and fellowship opportunities; information on funding, events, and awards; news items; podcasts of interviews with historians and history educators; videos of workshops, keynote presentations, and examples of exemplary teaching; curriculum documents from all provinces and territories; and two blogs (French and English)(Fig. 11.4).

Graduate students were the most avid blog contributors. Here is one blog-post, which was part of a series on graduate students and their activities since completion of their PhD programs (Fig. 11.5):

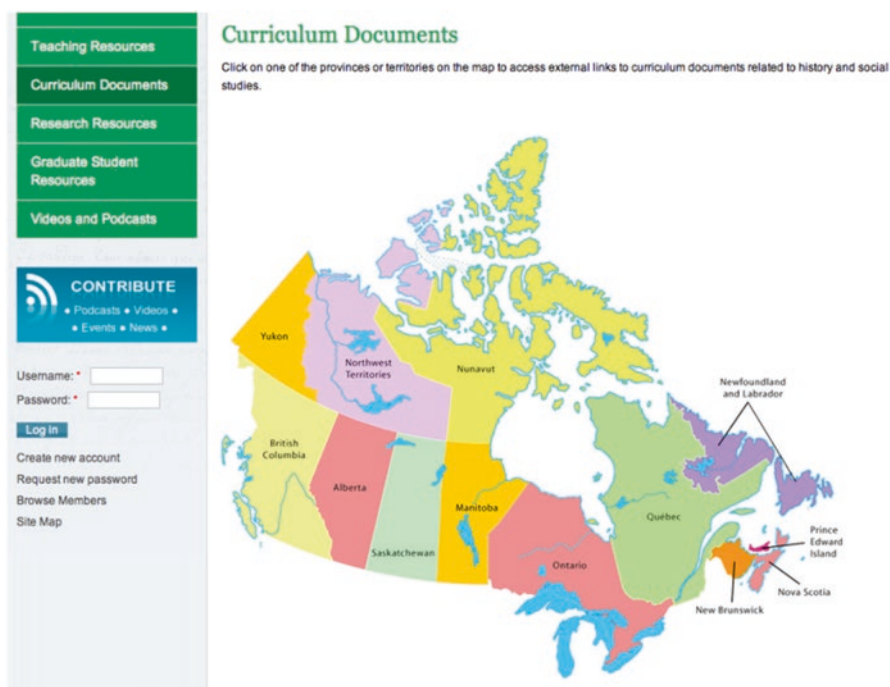


Fig. 11.4 Curriculum documents, THEN/HiER website. Visitors to the website simply click on the relevant province or territory

¹⁰ A revised website was launched in August 2011.



Fig. 11.5 Heather McGregor, who was a doctoral student at UBC faculty of education

*Where Are They Now? Heather E. McGregor and History
Education at uOttawa*

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/teaching-past-blog-about-teaching-history-canada.html>

Posted by Heather E. McGregor
8 December 2015–2:09 pm.

My study of history and education has taken me from coast to coast to coast across this country, and a few places in between. With the immense support of my supervisory committee, Penney Clark, Peter Seixas, and Michael Marker, I completed my PhD entitled *Decolonizing the Nunavut School System: Stories in a River of Time*, at the University of British Columbia in March 2015. I also spent the last year of my studies in the role of graduate student coordinator for the anglophone students affiliated with THEN/HiER, following several years of involvement on the committee.

Now, I hold a two-year Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Ottawa, where I work with Tim Stanley.¹¹ I am also affiliated with the educational research unit *Making History/Faire L'histoire*, a community that includes several other THEN/HiER board members and regular members. But long before these recent events, members of THEN/HiER have been formative in my academic pursuits.

My postsecondary journey departed from my home by the Arctic Ocean on Baffin Island (Iqaluit, Nunavut), to which I have always returned during and between my studies. First, I went to the shores of Minas Basin off the Bay of Fundy in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. At Acadia University, in my first year, I took Canadian history up to 1867 with Margaret Conrad. As I handed in my final exam to Dr. Conrad at the end of term, she suggested I consider making history my major. Taking this advice, I decided to double major with History and English, and completed my honors thesis in the history department, writing about—what else?—the history of the Arctic. (See [Appendix 2](#) for the remainder of this blogpost.)

Other Vehicles for Communication and Networking

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/thenhier-publications.html>

The project produced 10 bilingual annual reviews (originally called newsletters) and 79 bilingual monthly e-bulletins. The e-bulletins included: What's new with THEN/HiER? What's new with our partners? Graduate Student Committees (Reports) and Research Snapshots. These communication vehicles were well received, with one recipient commenting: "Lastly, a sincere compliment on the e-bulletins from THEN/HiER. I love getting them! Makes me feel like I'm back in Graduate School and in the know." Another exclaimed, "Stunning, Anne-Marie! What rich evidence of a vibrant community! Congratulations." The Network also made presentations and organized information tables at most annual provincial social studies and history teachers' conferences.

DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/thenhier-publications.html>

Research Snapshots

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/featured-members.html>

The Research Snapshots were possibly the most important feature of the e-bulletins. Each month a researcher discussed either a particular project or highlights of their ongoing research. These researchers ranged in expertise—from Canada Research Chairs and prominent international history educators

¹¹Heather McGregor is currently an Assistant Professor in Curriculum Theory at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

The screenshot shows the THEN/HiER website interface. At the top, there is a blue header with the logo 'the history education network THEN/HiER histoire et éducation en réseau' and a search bar. Below the header is a navigation menu with tabs for 'About', 'Directory', 'Resources', 'Projects', 'Opportunities', and 'Contribute'. The main content area features a sidebar on the left with 'Featured Members', 'Featured Projects', and 'Blog' sections, and a 'CONTRIBUTE' section with links for 'Podcasts', 'Videos', 'Events', and 'News'. Below this is a login form with fields for 'Username' and 'Password', and a 'Log in' button. The main content area displays a research snapshot article titled 'Teaching History in an Age of Pervasive Computing: The Case for Games (Kevin Kee and Shawn Graham)'. The authors are listed as 'Kevin Kee, Department of History, Brock University, and Shawn Graham, College of Liberal Arts, Grand Canyon University'. A photo of Kevin Kee is shown, and the text begins with 'Historians have always been "interactive" with the content that we study, constantly challenging, reworking, and indeed, "remixing" information to "do history."'.

Fig. 11.6 Research Snapshot, Kevin Kee and Shawn Graham, THEN/HiER website. (Photo is of Kevin Kee)

to doctoral students—and areas of interest—from historians to history educators to museum professionals to Canadian and international scholars. Taken together, these snapshots present a kaleidoscope of current research. However, despite the diversity of backgrounds, work contexts, and interests of these researchers, there were a number of themes that cut across the disparities. (See Appendix 3 for the final Research Snapshot, March 2016, which was a synopsis of common themes across the snapshots.) (Fig. 11.6).

THEN/HiER Book Series

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/thenhier-publications.html>

The production of five edited books, published by scholarly presses, was a major endeavor and will be central to THEN/HiER's legacy. *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (UBC Press, 2011), edited by Penney Clark (UBC), examines the state of history education and history education research in Canada in 2011. It is a broad look at the field, examining the contested terrains of Canadian historiography and debates about history education in English-Canada and in Quebec, and the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives. It considers implications of research for history learning in a variety of settings, including, but not limited to, schools.

The second book in the series, *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology* (University of Michigan Press, 2014), edited by Kevin Kee (now at University of Ottawa), explores how new technologies can enable innovative approaches to student interaction with historical content and

methodologies. This book suggests new ways to approach history education through use of the digital revolution, making use of virtual environments, gaming, and simulations.

Becoming a History Teacher in Canada: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking (University of Toronto Press, 2014), edited by Ruth Sandwell (OISE/University of Toronto) and Amy von Heyking (University of Lethbridge), explores history teacher education before, during, and after formal teacher education programs. The volume includes essays that reflect the varied audiences included under the rubric of “history educators,” with some essays emphasizing research and reflection, while others focus on educational strategies and practices.

Little work has been done on assessment of students’ historical thinking in Canada. Peter Seixas’ (UBC) chapter in *New Possibilities* is an early attempt at this. The book edited by Kadriye Ercikan (formerly at UBC, now at the Educational Testing Service) and Peter Seixas, *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking* (Routledge, 2015), expands this work in several directions, including the articulation of the cognitive goals of history education, the relationship between content and procedural knowledge, the impact of students’ language literacy on history assessments, and methods of validation in both large-scale and classroom assessments.

Museums and the Past: Constructing Historical Consciousness (UBC Press, 2016), edited by Viviane Gosselin (Museum of Vancouver) and Phaedra Livingstone (University of Oregon), explores critical public engagement with historical narratives in museums.

A sixth book, *The Arts and the Teaching of History: Historical F(r)ictions*, authored by Penney Clark (UBC) and Alan Sears (UNB), is poised for publication by Palgrave/Macmillan in 2020. This book will consider current and potential roles for the arts in history education, as well as ways the arts use history.

Invited Symposia

Each of THEN/HiER’s edited books was supported by a symposium, with a format determined by that book’s editors. The first was a modest one-day event in February 2009 at the University of British Columbia, attended by most of the authors of *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*. Each author was tasked with presenting a formal critique of one other author’s chapter, as well as reading, and being prepared to discuss, every chapter manuscript. The intense and challenging full day discussion was capped by an evening public presentation. Mario Carretero, Professor of Psychology, Autonoma University, Madrid, Spain, had committed to making this presentation, but, at the last minute, he was not permitted to fly into Canada via the United States. Jocelyn Létourneau and Peter Seixas, contributors to the book and members of the Executive Board, stepped in to take Dr. Carretero’s place, presenting initial findings from their research project, Canadians and their Pasts/Les Canadiens et leurs passes.

The symposia became more elaborate as time went on. Kevin Kee, editor of *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology*, organized a two-day workshop—called an “un-conference”—at a resort in historic Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, in 2010. The book’s contributors “played” with technology for one day, working in teams to develop a tool or artifact for history teaching and learning, and participated in a more formal symposium on the book’s contents on the second day. As Kee put it in an e-mail to participants, the “playfulness of Day 1 will inform, and transform, the papers that we review on Day 2.”¹² Participant and book contributor, T. Mills Kelly, commented that: “I spent a fair amount of time wondering how all the ‘play’ we talked about can be connected to the serious purposes of teaching and learning about the past.... At a minimum, however, it seems to me that if historians are willing to be more playful, we are more likely to engage a wider audience for our work.”¹³

Becoming a History Teacher in Canada: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing had perhaps the most interesting development process because the symposium was so seminal to the shaping of the book. The editors, Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking, began their 2011 symposium with an evening event at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta, in which Canada Research Chair Tier II Brenda Trofanenko gave a presentation called “Object Lessons: Material Culture and the Construction of Historical Knowledge,” which was accompanied by a guided tour of the museum. Over the following two days, authors made brief presentations on their chapters, followed by critiques by other authors. In addition, some authors chose to conduct brief workshops in which they featured innovative projects or activities they have integrated into their teacher education courses.

As a result of the symposium, the editors decided to reorganize the book contributions into four sections. Part I included an editor’s introduction and three chapters that provide an infrastructure for the remainder of the book: a chapter by Alan Sears defining an enduring problem within history education, a chapter by Penney Clark that addressed teacher education in Canada from an historical perspective, and an overview of recent research into history teacher education by doctoral student, and later anglophone graduate coordinator, Scott Pollock (OISE/UT).¹⁴ Following the symposium, the editors wrote to each of the participants as follows:

In order to give even greater focus and force to the discussions about history teacher education in our collection (while remaining “true” to the varied contributions on this subject that comprise it) we are asking all contributors to do something a little unusual as they move ahead with the revisions to their individual papers. We are inviting everyone to articulate explicitly just how your own chapter reflects, responds to, or contradicts Alan Sears’ framing of “the big problem” in history teacher education – that most history teachers have neither the

¹² E-mail communication, Kevin Kee to conference participants, February 26, 2010.

¹³ T. Mills Kelly, THEN/HiER *e-bulletin*, 10, May 2010, p. 1.

¹⁴ Scott Pollock is currently a high school history teacher in Ontario.

expertise nor the interest in history that they need to be at the core of their profession – and his proposed solution to this dilemma: ensuring that history teachers learn to think and know historically.¹⁵

The three following sections of the book were organized according to the three phases of teacher education: before (disciplinary preparation), during (teacher education program), and following (ongoing teacher professional development) formal teacher education programs. Each of these sections has two kinds of chapters: research or research-based reflections on learning and teaching historical thinking and knowing and a shorter chapter that “illustrates specific strategies, practices, or activities that can create and sustain new environments of teaching and learning historical thinking.”¹⁶

Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas, editors of *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking*, chose to use the 2012 annual conference of the Historical Thinking Project as the event which provided the groundwork for the book. The author list was international, with contributors from the United States, United Kingdom, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland, many of whom attended the conference. Denis Shemilt, of the United Kingdom, presented at the conference and provided the concluding commentary in this book. Important issues explored in *New Directions* “include articulating the cognitive goals of history education, the relationship between content and procedural knowledge, the impact of students’ language literacy on history assessments, and methods of validation in both large-scale and classroom assessments.”¹⁷

Viviane Gosselin and Phaedra Livingstone, editors of *Museums and the Past: Constructing Historical Consciousness*, organized a two-day “unconference,” at the Museum of Vancouver, supported by THEN/HiER and a SSHRC Aid to Research Workshops and Small Conferences Grant awarded to Penney Clark. They invited local museum representatives, as well as the book’s authors from across Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Day one involved an intensive workshop in which authors critiqued one another’s work. Day two involved 3-minute presentations by the authors to other authors and to local museum representatives.

The sixth book, to be authored by Penney Clark and Alan Sears, was workshoped at the Annual General Meeting of the THEN/HiER Executive Board in 2015. Clark and Sears also made three presentations on aspects of the book’s contents at national conferences (Association For Canadian Studies, 2014; Canadian Society for the Study of Education, 2016, 2017) and led a workshop with New Brunswick teachers at the Canadian History of Education Association Conference, 2018.

¹⁵Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking, eds., “Introduction,” in *Becoming a History Teacher: Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 8.

¹⁶Sandwell and von Heyking, *Becoming a History Teacher*, 7.

¹⁷Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas, eds. *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking* (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), ii.

Panel Presentations

Members of THEN/HiER were involved in many panel presentations over the course of the project. We will briefly discuss three of them here. THEN/HiER's first major conference session took place in November of 2009 at the Association for Canadian Studies conference in Moncton, New Brunswick. A panel organized and chaired by Penney Clark addressed the question "What is the Shape and Place of Historical Thinking in High Schools."¹⁸ It is fair to say that this panel established a foundation for what was to come over the ensuing seven years. The three panelists, Mark Perry, a New Brunswick high school social studies teacher; Gerald Friesen, historian at the University of Manitoba; and Peter Seixas each represented one of the stakeholder groups that constituted THEN/HiER.

Mark Perry pointed out that while there seems to be a consensus among teachers that an historical thinking approach is a good idea, the problem is that there are many obstacles in the way of implementing it in K-12 classrooms. The obstacles highlighted by Perry were: a lack of emphasis in teacher education programs, a lack of recognition among teachers about the prevalence of primary resources, a lack of teaching exemplars and what he called product examples, a lack of professional development, and a lack of a common language in which to have a dialogue about historical thinking in order to understand it better. Peter Seixas also addressed the gap between intentions and actual practice. He articulated a number of questions central to the task of using his framework of six historical thinking concepts: How did things get to be as we see them today? Which aspects are signs of continuing over time and which are signs of change? What group or groups am I a part of and what are its origins? How should we judge each other's past actions and therefore what debts does my group, however I identify myself, owe to others or others to mine? Are things basically getting better or are they getting worse? What stories about the past should I believe and on what grounds? What about the past is significant enough to pass on to others and particularly to the next generation? Is there anything we can do to make things better? Gerald Friesen provided examples from his own teaching and that of others in order to support his point about the need to inspire students with a sense of wonder about history and the importance of student engagement with primary sources. He was less concerned about second-order concepts such as cause and consequence than he was about "meaning and understanding," or as he put it, "knowing content, but going deeper and further."¹⁹

¹⁸Videos, The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER). <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/videos.html>

¹⁹For elaboration of the ideas discussed by Friesen, see Gerald Friesen, "The Shape of Historical Thinking in a Canadian History Survey Course in University," in *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, Penney Clark, ed. (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2011), 210–223.

“Race and Nation in Canadian History Education,” a panel presentation at the 2012 American Educational Research Association Conference in Vancouver, BC, was another highlight. Panelists were Penney Clark, UBC; Michael Marker, UBC; Peter Seixas, UBC; Master’s student James Miles, UBC; and Marc-André Ethier, Université de Montréal.²⁰ Each presenter addressed the questions: How should history education research, curriculum policy, and practice be approached in a nation with multiple stories, multiple perspectives, and even multiple nations? How should history education research inform practice in such a nation? The session highlighted three aspects of Canadian diversity: anglophone/francophone perspectives; Indigenous ways of knowing; and the scholar/practitioner divide.

THEN/HiER graduate student committee members Cynthia Wallace-Casey, Mary Chaktsiris, and David Scott from the anglophone committee, and Raphaël Gani, Genèvieve Goulet, and Marie-Hélène Brunet²¹ from the francophone committee addressed members of the Canadian Historical Association in a 2015 panel presentation at the University of Ottawa titled “Why Should History Education Research Matter to Historians?” This presentation addressed a core question for THEN/HiER, and it was followed by lively discussion.²²

Annual Regional Conferences

These conferences, which took place in various Canadian cities, were organized by our francophone and anglophone graduate student committees, and involved academic and public historians, archivists, history education scholars, practicing teachers, and members of the public. We will highlight four of these events. Each took place in a different region of Canada, and all involved interaction among the different constituencies involved in history education.

Imagining Gateways: Collaborations and Innovation in Teaching and Learning History, organized by Rose Fine-Meyer (OISE/UT),²³ Samantha Cutrara (York), and Catherine Duquette, (Laval) took place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in October 2011. The three graduate students worked in collaboration with two of our partners, the Nova Scotia Social Studies Teachers’ Association and The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, and also the Nova

²⁰ James Miles is currently a doctoral student at OISE/UT.

²¹ Mary Chaktsiris is currently a Wilson Fellow, Assistant Professor, History, Wilson Institute for Canadian History, McMaster University (limited-term appointment). David Scott is Assistant Professor and Director, Student Experiences, Community-Based Pathway, Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary. Raphaël Gani, who was the final chair of the francophone graduate student committee, is a doctoral student in history education at the University of Ottawa. Genèvieve Goulet is a high school history teacher. Marie-Hélène Brunet is an Assistant Professor of social studies and history education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa.

²² History Education Research and Historians/La recherche sur l’enseignement de l’histoire et les historiens The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER). <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/history-education-research-and-historiansla-recherche-sur-lenseignement-de-lhistoire-et-les-.html>

²³ Rose Fine-Meyer is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Master of Teaching Program at OISE/UT.

Scotia Archives. They began this mobile event with an evening public presentation at the Nova Scotia Archives called “Welcome Storytelling and the Archives,” which was followed by a tour of the archives and a performance by a local musician and storyteller. The next morning participants attended the Nova Scotia Social Studies Teachers’ Association annual conference and participated in a session called “Facilitating Talk Between Teachers and Historians.” They then traveled to the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 for “Narratives of Migration,” a session which involved a guided tour, a panel presentation, and keynote speech. The final event was a “Big Questions [Sunday] Brunch” at the historic Lord Nelson Hotel (Figs. 11.7 and 11.8).

The Quebec conference, “Histoire et émotion: entre mémoires collective et pensée historique,” organized by Marie-Hélène Brunet, Francophone Graduate Student Committee Coordinator, was held in conjunction with the International Didactics of History, Geography and Citizenship Education Symposium in Quebec City, in October 2012. Graduate student participants had the opportunity to participate in both conferences. The conference began with a keynote by Carla Peck, Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta. Two doctoral students, André Lauzon and Chantal Rivard, presented on ways in which they approach historical empathy in their own history classrooms.²⁴ There was an historical enactment at the Plains of Abraham by the National Battlefields Commission and a visit to the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec at the Université Laval.



Fig. 11.7 Tour of The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 during the *Imagining Gateways* conference. (Courtesy, Rose Fine-Meyer)

²⁴ André Lauzon is a high school history teacher and the author of a textbook collection. Chantal Rivard is a high school principal and a lecturer in history education at the Université de Montréal.



Fig. 11.8 The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21

Objects Matter: Making Histories in Museums took place at the Museum of Anthropology, UBC. Presentations focused on issues related to teaching history in museums, including developing historical consciousness, incorporating Indigenous knowledge, and using inclusion and community-based museology. The plenary sessions were followed by discussion groups led by graduate students, Elsa Lenz Kothe (UBC),²⁵ Heather McGregor (UBC), Cynthia Wallace-Casey (UNB), and Kate Zankowicz (OISE/UT), graduate coordinator, and conference organizer.²⁶ The day culminated with an event at the nearby Musqueam Nation (Fig. 11.9).

Finding Franklin: New Approaches to Teaching Canadian History Symposium, funded by THEN/HiER and a SSHRC Connections Grant, awarded to Penney Clark, took place in Ottawa in June 2015, but represented the North. Graduate student Heather McGregor, as Chair of the Anglophone Graduate Committee at the time, took primary responsibility for this conference. It began with the official launch of the final mystery, *Franklin Mystery: Life and Death in the Arctic*, developed by our partner organization, the Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History. The symposium brought Canada's leading experts in history education together with historians, Inuit cultural advisors, underwater archaeologists, curriculum specialists from Nunavut and the

²⁵Elsa Lenz Kothe completed her PhD at UBC in 2019, with a focus on art and museum education.

²⁶Kate Zankowicz is Youth and Family Programs and Community Engagement Manager at The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens.



Fig. 11.9 The Franklin Mystery, Great Unsolved Mysteries website

Northwest Territories, and teachers from northern and southern Canada. The symposium used the September 2014 discovery of HMS *Erebus* as a launching pad to introduce history curricula for Canadian schools that is attentive to the North in Canadian history and accurately represents Inuit historical and cultural perspectives. Participants included Paul Quassa, Nunavut Minister of Education; Mindy Willett, Coordinator, Social Studies and Northern Studies, Northwest Territories Department of Education, Culture and Employment; Steven High, Director, Centre for Oral History Concordia University; Ken Beardsall, Social Studies Coordinator, Nunavut Department of Education; Liz Fowler, Curriculum Writer for Nunavut Department of Education; and Alex Makin, teacher, Inuglak School, Whale Cove, Nunavut. Organizers were also particularly delighted to have independent researcher, Louis Kamookak, from Nunavut, speak about his initial sighting of the Franklin ship. THEN/HiER partner Parks Canada was a major collaborator on this event, providing the venue, and speaker, Marc-André Bernier, Underwater Archaeologist, who was the first to spot the Franklin ship, *Erebus*. We were also treated to a spontaneous tour of the Parks Canada lab where several artifacts from the ship were being cleaned and preserved.

Approaching the Past

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/featured-projects.html>

The prime purpose of the Approaching the Past series of events was to bring history education to interested members of the public, as well as to involve the various constituencies of THEN/HiER. These events were quite unique. They were less academic than the other events organized by the project, they took place in the broader community, and consequently, they drew in community members, some of whom became “regulars.”

The first *Approaching the Past* series took place in Toronto and was organized by Jennifer Bonnell, anglophone graduate student coordinator, and Thomas Peace, doctoral candidate in the Department of History, York University, who was and is involved with *Active History*, a THEN/HiER partner.²⁷ The ATP program was the first to include student teachers and members of the public.

One session in the first series took place at Montgomery's Inn Community Museum in Etobicoke in September 2010. The evening began with a tour of the inn's historic nineteenth-century rooms, restored to their heyday in the 1840s and 1850s. Highlights were the nineteenth-century kitchen and the restored tavern room. The guest speaker was University of Waterloo historian Julia Roberts who gave a presentation appropriately titled "Tavern Tales and Tavern Spaces: Teaching History from Inside the Colonial Taverns of Upper Canada." Dr. Roberts pointed out that tavern spaces in pre-Confederation Upper Canada functioned as fundamentally public spaces that attracted a surprisingly diverse clientele. Participants enjoyed a delicious spread of historically appropriate foods prepared and curated by museum staff, including rice pudding, apple cider, spice cake, and a selection of artisanal cheeses from a local dairy.

Another session in the first series took place at Fort York National Historic Site and focused on the War of 1812. Attendees included graduate students in history education, museum professionals from the Royal Ontario Museum and various city museum sites, faculty members from York University's Faculty of Education, and history teachers. The workshop began with a tour of the garrison buildings and grounds followed by three presentations on Teaching the War of 1812, including one about incorporating Indigenous perspectives into how we teach the war. The date of the workshop commemorated an important battle at the fort, which took place on April 27, 1813. American invaders stormed the fort and occupied the town of York for six days, looting homes, destroying supplies, and burning the parliament buildings and Government House.

The second series of events in Toronto, which involved visits to archives and historic sites in the Toronto area, was organized by the new anglophone coordinator, Rose Fine-Meyer. She formed a Board to plan and oversee these events, consisting of nine educators, representing local museums, archives, teachers, and researchers.

Over the course of THEN/HiER's tenure, *Approaching the Past* events took place across the country, in Vancouver, British Columbia and Fredericton, New Brunswick, as well as Toronto. Vancouver events, organized by Anne Marie Goodfellow, included a tour of Mountain View Cemetery with Vancouver historian John Atkin, where participants heard stories of Vancouver police officers and firefighters who died in the line of duty and are buried at the cemetery; a "Kidnapping Forensic Workshop and Tour of the Vancouver Police Museum;" Roedde House, which depicted the day-to-day life of a middle class, immigrant family at the turn of the last century; and the Bud Kerr Baseball Museum at

²⁷ Thomas Peace is currently an Assistant Professor, History, Huron University College.

Nat Bailey Stadium. In Fredericton, events organized by graduate student Katherine Ireland around the theme of New Brunswick and war took place at the Provincial Archives in Fredericton, the Musée acadien de l'Université de Moncton, and the New Brunswick Museum in St. John.²⁸ Approaching the Past events typically involved a combination of presentations and tours. For example, at the "History of Baseball in Vancouver" session at Nat Bailey Stadium, Kit Krieger, Society for American Baseball Research; Tom Hawthorn, newspaper and magazine writer; and Josh Coward, Executive Director of the Nikkei Place Foundation all presented on aspects of Vancouver baseball history. Then Kit Krieger led a tour of the Bud Kerr Baseball Museum. Participants enjoyed typical baseball game fare of hot dogs and burgers.

Visiting Doctoral Program

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/visiting-doctoral-student-program-reports.html>

This popular program funded up to three doctoral students per year to spend two weeks at a different university than their own, where they had the opportunity to work closely with professors with whom they would not normally come into contact. We will provide three examples here.

Meagan Gough, a doctoral student in Comparative Indigenous History/Anthropology at the University of Saskatchewan, visited the University of the Fraser Valley in BC. She worked with Dr. Robin Anderson at the university and with Stó:ló Elders, Grand Chief Archie Charles and Tina Jack. Meagan was interested in observing how Indigenous oral history sources and cultural history are being used across courses in the disciplines of history, anthropology, and Indigenous Studies at the university. She attended classes, interviewed professors, and participated in a Heritage Fair for students in grades four to nine, sponsored by the university.

Sean Carleton, a doctoral student in history and Canadian Studies at Trent University in Ontario, looked at ways to generate new approaches to teaching and learning about British Columbia's history of education in order to create innovative possibilities for curricular and social change. He worked with Dr. Chris Minns at the Economic History Department, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK. Jane Griffith, Faculty of Education, York University, researched residential school newspapers and worked with Dr. Dwayne Donald at the University of Alberta.²⁹

²⁸ Katherine Charette (née Ireland) is Learning Specialist for Social Studies at the New Brunswick Department of Education and Early Childhood and continues as a doctoral student at the University of New Brunswick.

²⁹ Sean Carleton is currently an Assistant Professor in history at Mount Royal University in Calgary, Alberta. Jane Griffith is an Assistant Professor, School of Professional Communication, Ryerson University.

TRANSLATING RESEARCH INTO PRACTICE

Small Project Grants

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/small-project-grants-reports.html>

THEN/HiER funded a total of 51 Small Project Grants which provided funding to a maximum of \$2500.00. Applicants were required to outline their project's anticipated outcomes, how it was expected to contribute to networking and/or research in history education, and whether/how it was expected to facilitate collaboration among THEN/HiER constituencies. Applicants submitted a budget and *curriculum vitae* for the main project collaborators. Criteria were: no duplication of existing resources; inclusion of an outline of other sources of funding applied for and how THEN/HiER funds would be used; the organization had to be not-for-profit; had to include two or more people or associations interested in history education; and should have impact beyond the local. The range of projects was astonishing. We will describe only three of these projects here. (See [Appendix 4](#) for a list of the projects, which are described on the website.)

In a project called MedStep (Medieval Students' Teaching Experience Program), under the leadership of Dr. Chris Nighman, third- and fourth-year students at Wilfrid Laurier University prepared lectures for local grade 11 students, who came to campus with their teachers for the day. One presentation that was very well received was "The Medieval Town." The university students incorporated short film clips and created mock Facebook pages for typical medieval townspeople representing different genders, classes, and professions. The project paid for substitute teachers, transportation, and food for the students. This experience brought together academic historians, high school history teachers, university history students, and high school students to share experiences with history.

The Saskatchewan Archaeological Society created a traveling Archaeology Caravan which tours in elementary and secondary schools throughout Saskatchewan. This project won a Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming (Fig. 11.10).

THEN/HiER also contributed to The Graphic History Project, a collaboration of the Graphic History Collective (GHC), which includes educators, activists, academics, and students, who produce progressive comics. It has published comics on a range of controversial topics including environmental activism, the history of the Service, Office and Retail Workers of Canada (SORWUC), a socialist-feminist labor union, and French feminism at the time of the French Revolution. THEN/HiER assisted the Collective to offer contributors a small honorarium, upgrade its website, and to begin working on the development of curriculum resources to accompany each comic (Fig. 11.11).



Fig. 11.10 Students working with the traveling Archeology Caravan, Saskatchewan Archaeological Society



Fig. 11.11 Illustrate! Educate! Organize! The Graphic History Project. (Artwork: Sam Bradd and the Graphic History Collective)

Large Project Grants

<http://thenhier.ca/en/content/large-projects-grants-program-reports.html>

THEN/HiER funded three Large Project Grants (\$2500–\$15,000) and then made the decision to divert that funding to other projects. The first grant supported the development of “More Than Just Games: A Model for Developing Historical Thinking” developed by the Holocaust Education Centre, Vancouver, British Columbia.³⁰ This website was intended to bring the content of the Centre’s exhibits on the 1936 Olympics in Germany and a teaching guide to a wider, online audience.

“Telling the Story of the Nikkei,” led by Terry Taylor, Lucerne School, New Denver, British Columbia, involved having secondary school students study the Japanese Internment in their own community, reflect on their learning about the history of their own community, and create short documentary films and thoughtful artist statements about how they have distilled history into art.³¹

The third project was a teacher guide developed by teacher Paula Waatainen and teacher-librarian Dan Hughes to support the “Canadian Letters and Images Project” led by Dr. Stephen Davies at Vancouver Island University.³² The guide provided activities based on the primary documents (wartime correspondence, photographs, and other materials from the battlefield and the homefront) in the project database.

Teacher Resources

<http://thenhier.ca/en/teaching-resources.html>

Another way that research was translated into practice was through the teacher resources that were developed with THEN/HiER funding, mainly through our partnership with The Critical Thinking Consortium. Examples include: *Exemplars in Historical Thinking: 20th Century Canada* (2008), *Investigating Images* (2009), *Take 2 Tutorials: Historical Thinking* (2011), and *Teaching About Historical Thinking* (2017). All of these resources are used extensively in schools (Fig. 11.12).

³⁰ More than just games: A Model for Developing Historical Thinking, Projects, The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER). <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/more-just-games-model-developing-historical-thinking.html>

³¹ View the student films at <http://tellingthestoriesofthenikkei.wordpress.com/>. Also refer to the Bibliography at the end of this chapter for a discussion of the project by Terry Taylor and Linda Farr Darling.

³² Canadian Letters and Images Teacher’s Guide Now Available, Resources, The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER). <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/canadian-letters-and-images-teachers-guide-now-available.html>



Fig. 11.12 Resources developed by The Critical Thinking Consortium in collaboration with THEN/HiER and others

CONCLUSION: THE LEGACY OF THEN/HIER

In 2019, history educators in Canada received the wonderful news that Carla Peck, Professor of Social Studies Education at the University of Alberta, had been awarded a SSHRC Partnership Grant of \$2.5 million, entitled “Teaching Historically for Canada’s Future.” The Partnership Grant program is an evolutionary step beyond the Cluster Grant Program, which lasted for only two years. While the latter funded knowledge mobilization, the former also funds research. This new project will build on the knowledge mobilization work of THEN/HiER and will also engage in pan-Canadian research projects involving curriculum and resources, teaching and learning, and teacher education.

The new project will place greater emphasis on Indigenous perspectives. As the applicant and co-applicants put it in the project proposal:

As more educational jurisdictions look to incorporate Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and historical thinking concepts and pedagogy into their curricula, a solid, thorough research base is crucially needed to support and inform this work.... These two concurrent yet separate movements have also highlighted the need for reforms to teacher education programs that will support pre- and in-service teachers to better understand both how to teach history using a historical thinking pedagogy and how history education can be used as a conduit for reconciliation. A comprehensive research project that includes (a) a robust Canada-wide study of the state of history education and (b) investigations into cutting-edge pedagogical approaches that can best respond to the demands facing Canadian society is greatly needed. The key question that motivates our proposed partnership is, *What approaches to teaching and learning history contribute to the development of critically and historically minded, engaged citizens?*³³

³³ Carla Peck, “Goals, Project Description,” Unpublished SSHRC Grant Application, October 29, 2018.

This new emphasis is reflective of the post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission (May 2015) era in Canada. It is unfortunate that it came so late in the THEN/HiER mandate because the spotlight that it shines on Indigenous issues and perspectives would have increased the ability of THEN/HiER to make these a more central aspect of its mandate. However, THEN/HiER laid the foundation for what is to come.

The era of THEN/HiER witnessed a number of steps forward in history education. There has been increased theoretical sophistication due to the conceptual framework articulated by Peter Seixas, that, remarkably, has been taken up in most of Canada's ten provincial and three territorial curricula and by textbook publishers, classroom teachers, and researchers. We have also seen an increased emphasis on empirical research about how teachers teach and students learn, particularly in Quebec. Scholars are investigating areas such as the use of technology (e.g., gaming, virtual environments, access to a wide range of web-based historical primary sources) to teach history, how to teach with primary sources, and how to assess student progression in understanding historical thinking concepts.³⁴ Dissemination of research findings is receiving greater attention, as new vehicles for dissemination and critique are explored. The increased availability of digitized artifacts and documents has made the use of primary sources in student research increasingly available. The rise and increased prominence of nationally funded organizations such as Canada's History, Historica Canada, and the Association for Canadian Studies has made Canadian history more accessible for teachers and students, as well as the public at large. These organizations organize conferences and summer institutes for history educators, conduct attitudinal surveys, recognize excellent teachers, publish history magazines, produce the *Historica Minutes*, and promote student engagement with historical topics through essay contests, excursions, and teaching resources. It seems that private initiatives are becoming more influential on history curriculum and classroom practice, but we do not have empirical evidence regarding their impact. This is an area for future research.

We have described the tangible products of THEN/HiER, but much of its legacy is intangible. It lies in the connections that were established among individuals and among history education communities who had seldom interacted with each other previously, that will continue to lead to joint endeavors. We can only provide examples because there is no way to quantify these in terms of either what has already happened or what will happen going forward.

The most important goal and purpose of THEN/HiER was articulated from the first discussions about what a history education network could be and might do: to synthesize and disseminate research in history education from French and English-Canada and beyond, research that is informed by practice, and to disseminate practice that is informed by research. As the preceding

³⁴ Penney Clark, "History Education Research in Canada: A Late Bloomer," in *Researching History Education: International Perspectives and Disciplinary Traditions*, 2nd ed., eds., Manuel Köster, Holger Thüemann, and Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting (Frankfurt: Wochenschau Verlag, 2019), 89–117.

pages have outlined, doing so effectively was not an easy task! Many participants—including a wide range of history education professionals, practitioners, and students—sought to realize these goals in a wide variety of ways and for a variety of audiences. THEN/HiER has also played an enduring role in nurturing scholarship in the field of history education. It established a Publishing Award for excellence in history education research.³⁵ Perhaps most important, THEN/HiER provided funding that supported the publication of five scholarly books, all collections of essays, in the field of history education, and a sixth will complete the series. Financial support was provided to a series of history education symposia where interested authors presented chapter drafts for discussion and revision.

Developing, nurturing, maintaining, and following-up appropriately on such an extensive range of initiatives over the years required considerable logistical, organizational, and technological expertise—and good will. In retrospect, three elements in The History Education Network stand out as providing the foundational strength, endurance, and flexibility that were required to accomplish our goals: a strong working core of individuals committed to the larger goals of the Network; strong lines of communication across often-daunting professional, disciplinary, and geographic divides; and strong central leadership and co-ordination to provide a hub for such diverse activities and communities.

THEN/HiER's Executive Board, as described above, played a key role in initiating, directing, and overseeing the various activities of the Network, from the Small Projects Grants, teacher workshops, and Visiting Doctoral Student Grants, to THEN/HiER's book series and the network's website. Selected because of their different professional and geographic locations, Board members provided a constant reminder of THEN/HiER's various and varied constituencies. Monthly Board teleconferences were time consuming but vital for keeping everyone apprised of the activities, planned and executed, that were going on at any given time. Penney Clark maintained from the beginning that notwithstanding the marvels (and convenience) of virtual communication, these meetings would need to be supplemented by annual face-to-face meetings in order to develop and maintain the Project over the seven years. This turned out to be the case. The two-day annual board retreats, as well as the other face-to-face meetings, were an opportunity to clarify and assess the many initiatives, and to develop better understandings of the various communities across the country that were involved in each. Even more important, however, these annual retreats offered the Board the chance to confirm and adjust as needed its vision of and for the project as a whole, allowing it to re-energize in ways that gave substantial and much-needed coherence and momentum to the project.

A second factor that contributed to the overall success of the project needs emphasis and expansion here: the importance of communication. Its importance to the functioning of the Executive Board was mentioned above, but that

³⁵ THEN/HiER Publication Award, The History Education Network/Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER). <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/thenhier-publication-award.html>

was only one small aspect of the communications network at the core of THEN/HiER. Communication was central to every aspect of the network's activities, and comprised the centrifugal force attaching everyone to the various projects and to each other, constituting THEN/HiER's lifeblood in the process. Each activity and project was sustained by people working actively with each other in person, and was connected to the wider THEN/HiER community typically by means of the website. Penney Clark had decided early on to develop a carefully designed, interactive, and bilingual website, one that could facilitate multi-directional communication through Web 2.0 features. Once up and running, one of the important tasks of Anne-Marie Goodfellow, the Network Manager, was to maintain the website so that it could realize its potential.

A third factor that played a key role in THEN/HiER's success was certainly the strength of the centralized organization of the project. This might seem like a strange assessment, given the emphasis above on the collaborative nature of decision making and the highly dispersed nature of the projects and activities going on at any given time under THEN/HiER's umbrella. If these comprised the spokes of the network's wheel, the hub that held everything together was its central administration. Without the coherent leadership and oversight emanating from that hub, and providing communications, advice, and direction across the entire project, the network could not have functioned as smoothly as it did.

THEN/HiER was historically contingent. Its existence represented a unique moment in time, a confluence of factors, personalities, and historical moments. First, it could not have come into existence without a willingness on the part of the federal government to fund such endeavors. Second, there would not have been such an interest on the part of individuals, particularly academics, to devote time to this endeavor if it was not such a vibrant period in history education theory and research. Also, the public was paying attention. Canadians were interested in their history. Public history organizations were thriving and motivated to make changes in the ways in which history was being taught. Provincial ministries of education were looking for guidance from research to help them determine how to improve their history education curricula and resources. It all came together and THEN/HiER ran with it.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Partner Organizations

Public Historians

Active History (National)
 Association for Canadian Studies (National)
 BC Heritage Fairs Society (BC)
 British Columbia Historical Federation (BC)
 Canada's History (National)

Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) (National)
 Canadian Immigration Museum at Pier 21 (NS)
 Canadian Museums Association (National)
 Glenbow Museum (AB)
 McCord Museum of Canadian History (QC)
 Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre (QC)
 Multicultural History Society of Ontario (ON)
 Museum of Anthropology, UBC (BC)
 Museum of Vancouver (BC)
 Museums Association of Saskatchewan (SK)
 Ojibwe Cultural Foundation (ON)
 Parks Canada (National)

Practicing Teachers

Alberta Teachers' Association Social Studies Council (AB)
 Association québécoise pour l'enseignement en univers social (AQEUS) (QC)
 Begbie Canadian History Contest Society (National)
 British Columbia Social Studies Teachers' Association (BC)
 Critical Thinking Consortium (TC²) (National)
 Manitoba Social Science Teachers' Association (MB)
 Nova Scotia Social Studies Teachers' Association (NS)
 Ontario History and Social Science Teachers' Association (OHASSTA) (ON)
 Ontario History, Humanities and Social Science Consultants' Association (ON)
 Saskatchewan Council of Social Sciences (SK)
 Surrey School District, British Columbia (BC)

History Educators

Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness (International)
 Centre for Media and Culture in Education, OISE/UT (ON)
 Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres (France)

Academic Historians

Canadian Historical Association (National)
 Canadians and Their Pasts (National)
 Canadian History of Education Association (National)
 Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History (National)
 Institute for World History (National)
 Laboratoire de muséologie et d'ingénierie de la culture (LAMIC) (QC)
 National Centre for History Education (Australia)
 Simulating History (National)
 Société des professeurs d'histoire du Québec (SPHQ) (QC)

*Appendix 2: Blogpost—Where Are They Now? Heather E. McGregor
and History Education at uOttawa*

I then moved to the edge of Lake Ontario in Toronto. After a year of work, I began a Masters of Arts in the History of Education with Ruth Sandwell at OISE. I embarked on the (rather outsized) project of documenting and synthesizing the history of Inuit education in the eastern Arctic, now Nunavut, until 1999. Upon completion of my degree, Dr. Sandwell encouraged me to pursue publication of my work, and it became the book *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (UBC Press, 2010).

I returned to Iqaluit and spent several years working with the Department of Education, Government of Nunavut. I had the opportunity to participate in groundbreaking and decolonizing curriculum and program change projects, many of which I have written about in past entries on this blog.

My next degree was completed near the Salish Sea/Pacific Ocean beaches of Musqueam territory, at the University of British Columbia, where I both lived and studied. I experienced two immersions at UBC. One was in historical thinking and history of education, thanks to the opportunity to work closely with Dr. Seixas and Dr. Clark in the Historical Thinking Project and THEN/HiER, as well as Anne Marie Goodfellow and my incredible student peers. My other deep learning experience came from the incredibly welcoming community of Indigenous and ally scholars at UBC, particularly Dr. Marker and Dr. Jo-ann Archibald. I am grateful for the opportunity to learn what Indigenous education might look like in other regions of this country. Lastly, one of the most interesting and unique projects I participated in during my time at UBC, with the support of THEN/HiER, was the development of the Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History website *The Franklin Mystery: Life and Death in the Arctic*.

Along my journey I learned how much of a difference it makes to receive individual mentorship from scholars, as well as opportunities to interact with groups of researchers, as was the case during the many events organized and funded by THEN/HiER. I greatly appreciated the communication, collegiality, and partnership building nurtured through the network, among university-based history educators and with communities far, far beyond.

Now I am living by the banks of the Ottawa River, aware of myself being and working on unceded Algonquin territory, in our country's capital. The University of Ottawa has been a very welcoming community for me, with so many scholars interested in history and education, and with a new focus in the Faculty of Education on Indigenous engagement. I have been able to offer numerous presentations at uOttawa this fall on Inuit education and my previous research, build connections toward a new research program, and initiate relationships with the Inuit and Algonquin communities around this city/region. In January, I will be teaching in the BED program and continuing to design a research agenda. I am now focused on exploring how historical consciousness, decolonizing, youth leadership development, and climate change education are intersecting in a unique, interdisciplinary polar program called *Students on Ice*.

Along the way, my focus has been on exchanging stories about history and education among Canada's Southerners and Northerners. Wherever I am, I hope to engage closer connections between people from the Arctic and Canada's other regions, creating opportunities to listen, exchange, and learn.

Appendix 3: Research Snapshots

For me, the research snapshot has been the highlight of each *e-Bulletin*. The researchers who have contributed the snapshots ply their trade in a multitude of research sites, including museums, archives, departments of history, faculties of education, and centers established to support scholarship in history education. They represent many nations and a range of expertise from new scholars through to Canada Research Chairs. I see our 75th and final snapshot as a wonderful opportunity to review the themes that have inspired contributors.

Students' historical thinking is of central interest. Peter Seixas, UBC Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, raises questions about how to measure progression in students' acquisition of historical understandings, as does Per Eliasson (SE). Amy von Heyking (CA) explores how students grapple with multiple perspectives on the past. Heather McGregor (CA) tackles the challenges of implementing a historical thinking approach in ways that are relevant to the Inuit population of Nunavut. In Québec, Catherine Duquette shares findings on the relationship between students' historical thinking and their level of historical consciousness; Jocelyn Létourneau collects young people's accounts of Québec history in order to determine their historical memory and historical consciousness; and Sabrina Moisan describes how teachers in her study, while acknowledging multiple perspectives, provided students with monolithic stories as if they were shared with all members of a particular group.

Marc-André Éthier (CA) and David Lefrançois (CA), Ruth Sandwell (CA), Robert Parkes (AU), Tony Taylor (AU), Allan McCully (NIR), and Sirka Ahonen (FI) explore "history wars" in varying contexts and for different purposes. McCully, for example, provides a list of eight principles for teaching history in Northern Ireland, and by extension, other divided societies.

Many researchers consider pedagogical applications. Investigations are being carried out on the use of resources in history teaching: Scott Metzger (US) on media; Penney Clark (CA), Felicitas Mcgilchrist (DE), Katalina Morgan (ZA), Vincent Boutonnet (CA), and Ismail H. Demircioglu (TR) on authorized textbooks; Viviane Gosselin (CA) and Brenda Trofanenko (CA) on museum exhibitions; Lindsay Gibson (CA) on archives and historic sites; and Jeremy Stoddard (US) on film and museums. Stuart Foster (UK) describes two large-scale national history programs in the United Kingdom: the First World War Battlefield Tours and the Centre for Holocaust Education. Bruce van Sledright (US) discusses his research on the epistemic beliefs of both students and teachers and asks compelling questions about furthering this work. Alison Kitson (UK) points out that effective teaching needs to engage with students' preconceptions in order to help them analyze causes and consequences in more

sophisticated ways. S.G. Grant (US) explores the notion of “ambitious teaching,” while Bob Bain (US) looks at “Big History.” Others, such as Jennifer Petit (CA), Mona Gleason (CA), and Samantha Cutrara (CA), focus on student engagement with history. Mills Kelly (US) takes a uniquely light-hearted approach, describing ways to have “fun with history.” Michael Dawson (CA) and Eric Damer (CA) describe innovative approaches to teaching history to undergraduate and adult students.

Others consider use of evidence. Linda Levstik (US) describes the use of objects as evidence. Steven High (CA) makes a case for oral evidence. Lyle Dick (CA) comments on how primary source documents and Inuit oral history can be used as evidence in the context of the *Finding Franklin* mystery (canadianmysteries.ca). John Lutz (CA) discusses primary documents and Gene Allan (CA) discusses archival research. Maria Grever (NL), whose research interest is heritage education, looks at how material and immaterial traces of the past are used as primary instructional resources. Christina Cameron’s (CA) work centers on world heritage sites.

A number of researchers are interested in the relationship between students’ identities and history education. Mario Carretero (ES) and Anna Clark (AU) are both interested in national identity. Carla Peck (CA) looks at ethnic identities in Canada and Terrie Epstein (CA) at racial identities in the United States. Inspired by Epstein, Tsafirir Goldberg (IL) has worked with both Arab and Jewish Israeli students to explore notions of historical reasoning, learners’ identity, and peer deliberations of “charged” historical topics. Tim Stanley’s (CA) goal is to help young people to link their own histories to broader communities. Helen Raptis (CA) looks at how multi-cultural identities affect both teachers and students. Marginalization in the history curriculum is another topic of interest and is addressed by both Jonathan Anuik (CA) and Kristina Llewellyn (CA).

History teacher preservice education and teacher professional development are of interest to a number of researchers, including Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon (FR), John Allison (CA), and Joan Pagès and Antoni Santisteban (ES). Paul Zanazanian (CA), for example, is interested in the impact teacher understandings and uses of history may have on the manner in which they negotiate their public role and responsibilities as future practitioners. Jean-François Cardin (CA) looks at teacher professional development designed to help teachers gain the necessary tools for teaching particular concepts. Jennifer Tupper (CA) looks at teacher preparedness to teach the curriculum mandate of treaty education in her province of Saskatchewan.

Several researchers tell readers about collaborative and large-scale projects. Abby Reisman (US) describes her work with the Stanford History Education Group. Jill Colyer (CA) describes her role as national coordinator of the Historical Thinking Project. Sharon Cook (CA) tells readers about collaborations in the Educational Research Unit at the University of Ottawa, where researchers across disciplines have united to conduct research projects, sponsor events, and mentor graduate students.

Digital initiatives are a growing area for research. Henry Yu (CA) talks about the collaborative creation of “mobile museums and immersive video games.” Stéphane Lévesque (CA) and the duo of Kevin Kee (CA) and Shawn Graham (US) describe their work with the Virtual Historian and the Centre for Digital Humanities, respectively. Sean Kheraj (CA) and Alan MacEachern, Director of the Network in Canadian History and Environment, a “sister-Cluster” to THEN/HIER, talk separately about using the digital environment to experiment with approaches to knowledge mobilization. Historian Margaret Conrad (CA) uses two web-based initiatives in Atlantic Canada to highlight the potential of humanities computing.

Some researchers take more of a meta-perspective. Alan Sears (CA) writes about the professional experiences that led to his interest in history and citizenship education. Christopher Dummitt (CA) offers advice, suggesting that researchers “start with something we think we know, move backward, ask open-ended questions, and be prepared to be surprised.” Michael Marker (CA) asks how indigenous communities can benefit from research conducted by scholars who are based outside those communities.

Several historians have described their own historical work. Thomas Peace (US) reports on his study of the work of Sawantanan, who was likely the first Native schoolteacher in what would become Canada. Rose Fine-Meyer (CA) examines the work of grassroots publishing organizations, community groups, and practicing teachers in infusing women’s history into the Ontario curriculum in the 1970s and 1980s. Christabelle Sethna (CA) describes findings of her work on the history of contraception. Jennifer Bonnell (CA) looks at public memory and environmental history in the context of the Don River Valley.

I thank each and every one of these researchers for taking the time to share their work with us. I apologize for truncating their messages so severely, and I encourage readers to read the complete snapshots on the Featured Members page of our website. I wish these scholars all the best as they move forward to investigate other intriguing questions.

Penney Clark, *THEN/Hier e-Bulletin*, no. 79 (March 2016), pp. 3–4.

Appendix 4: Small Project Grants

Descriptions can be found at: <http://thenhier.ca/en/content/small-project-grants-reports.html>

2015

44 Months of Hell: The Story of the Winnipeg Grenadiers
 Lake Country: Origins in Time and Place
 The Canadian Oral History Reader
 Inverness Interactive Archives Project
 Le Bataillonacadien de la Première Guerre mondiale

2014

First Story App

Matérieldidactique pour le programme scolaire du Muséecacadien de l'Université de Moncton

Illustrate! Educate! Organize! The Graphic History Project

Enhancing Historical Thinking Through Discipline-based Inquiry

Québec Tour of the Anne Frank Exhibition, 2011–2013

24th Military History Colloquium – Spotlight on Education

2013

Passés exposés: histoire et historiens dans les musées

Agricultural History Society 2013 Conference

Herstories Café 2012–2013

Aboriginal Intergenerational Dialogues

Hannah Ingraham – Ambassador to Loyalist Fredericton

Making It Meaningful: Historical Thinking Concepts and the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum

National Capital History Symposium

Saskatchewan Archaeological Society's Museum/ArchaeoCaravan Project

2012

International Didactics of History, Geography and Citizenship Education Symposium

Making History: Narratives and Collective Memory in Education

War of 1812 Art and Poetry Exhibit

Japan Through the Senses

Eat Your History Contest

The War of 1812: Whose War Was It, Anyway?

The Campbell House Story

Perspectives, Past and Present, in the Social Studies Classroom

2011

Herstories Café

Beyond Pedagogy: The Limits of Representation

Online Jewish Western Bulletin Digitization and Access project

Connecting Northern British Columbia Youth to Canada's History through the BC Heritage Fair Program

History, Identity and Diversity in the Secondary School Social Studies Classroom: A History Teaching Conference

Let's Talk History! A Dialogue about Doing History

Where the Archive Ends: A Graduate Conference on History and Its Uses

History Matters

Curriculum Connections

Café historiques

Understanding Power, Appreciating Difference: Building Historical Understandings of Mental Health through E-Learning
 Black History Theatre Project: The Old Stock

2010

Saskatchewan's Archaeology Caravan Curriculum Development
 MedSTEP (Medieval Students' Teaching Experience Program)
 Exemplary History Teaching Video Using Historical Thinking
 Developing Topics on Atlantic Canada for the Begbie Canadian History Contest
 Richmond Delta Regional Heritage Fair 2010 Student Workshops
 Reaching a Popular Audience Graduate Workshop
 Journeys Outreach Kits – National Nikkei Museum and Heritage Centre

2009

Horses, Horsepower, and Horsing Around – The Bedaux Expedition at Hudson's Hope Museum
 ASTERO (Alberta Social Teachers' Education Resource Online)
 MedSTEP (Medieval Students' Teaching Experience Program)
 Alberta-based Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Working Group
 La Sociétéhistorique de la Saskatchewan Heritage Days 2009

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What History Should Schools Teach in a Postcolonial Context?: Reimagining Secondary School History Curriculum for Democratic Practice in Zimbabwe

Nathan Moyo

INTRODUCTION

This chapter argues for the teaching of critical disciplinary history at the secondary school level as a critical aspect of postcolonial curriculum, particularly as it is reimagined for inclusive and democratic practice in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has a national history curriculum, which is taught across the country, given the centralized nature of the education system. The concern with the Zimbabwean national history curriculum arises principally because the postcolonial nation-state is always a contested reality. This reality can never be fully representative of the interests of all who live in it.¹ History represents “a contested site of collective memory” on which such contestations can be projected and played out. It is in this regard that the subject matter of History serves not merely as an academic discipline for purely intellectual development of the minds of students as argued

¹ Catherine Doherty, *Re-imagining and Re-imagining the Nation Through the History curriculum* (2008).

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C. W. Berg, T. M. Christou (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of History and Social Studies Education*,
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for by Paul Hirst in his seven forms of knowledge.² History can also contribute to national and social reimagining, emancipation, and empowerment of groups that are marginalized when taught from a critical perspective.³

For this reason, History has courted the undue attention of politicians who seek to project desired and often narrow versions of a nation's past by controlling the social memory of young generations through the curriculum.⁴ Therefore, history "entered the school curricula of European states with very specific purposes" that were political and ideological as part of the grand design of forging nations in the early twentieth century.⁵ In doing so, the subject of history became enmeshed in the politics of national imagining as way of promoting patriotism as evidenced by descriptors such as 'History Wars' in Australia⁶ and 'patriotic education' in China.⁷

These descriptors reflect the salience of History in the school curriculum as highly emotive and vulnerable to (mis)use by politicians in what Maria Grever describes as "an unmistakable attempt to re-ideologize national history."⁸ This assertion invites us to focus on the curriculum of school History particularly in postcolonial contexts as the battleground and a site of contestation where the colonizers had imposed Eurocentric versions that marginalized and denigrated the indigenous people while also seeking accommodation with a native elite in pursuit of the grand design of divide and rule.⁹ Thus, in the colonial period the school History curriculum was used as an apparatus to shape young students' minds with colonial perspectives.

The chapter takes issue with the forms of 'national history' that have emerged on the Zimbabwean epistemological landscape as part of a postcolonial curricular endeavor to reclaim an African past while also forging a more inclusive and democratic society. Three orientations to school history, namely traditional, 'new history'/disciplinary approach, and critical/postmodern, are drawn from the field of history education and mapped onto the history syllabi

²Paul Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical Papers*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1975).

³Peter Seixas, *Schweigen! die Kinder! Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place In the Schools? Knowing Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives*. Edited by Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and S. Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.

⁴Arie, H.J. Wilschut, *History at the Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies: Germany, England, and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (*Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 2010), 693.

⁵A. Wilschut, *History at The Mercy of Politicians and Ideologies: Germany, England, and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries*, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 693.

⁶Anna Clark, *Teaching the Nation's Story: Comparing Public Debates and Classroom Perspectives on History Education in Australia and Canada*. (*Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41, 6, 2009).

⁷Zheng Wang, *National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China* (*International Studies Quarterly* 2008).

⁸Maria Grever, "Fear of Plurality Historical Culture and Historiographical Canonization in Western Europe." In Angelika Epple and Angelika Schaser, eds., *Gendering Historiography: Beyond National Canons* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 45.

⁹Lily Mafela, *Hegemony and Accommodation in the History Curriculum in Colonial Botswana* *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 46, no. 4 (2014), 424.

development in Zimbabwe in order to examine the particular orientations that the curriculum developers have sought to project. An attempt is made to explicate the ways in which these historiographies have impacted on the subject matter of school History in Zimbabwe. The central question that the chapter addresses is: what might reflect best practice in history education for the Zimbabwean postcolonial state to promote an inclusive and democratic society that allows for critical engagement with the nation's past? The following sub-questions are developed in an attempt to clarify issues:

- What alternative forms of history could be availed through historiographically informed pedagogies that take into account the contestations of the postcolonial state?

How do we teach school history in ways that promote an inclusive and democratic nation-state?

The argument developed here is that 'national history' in Zimbabwe is heavily contested and ideologically fraught partly as a result of the legacy of colonialism on the one hand, and the overt attempts by the postcolonial state to reideologize history as part of the broader nation-state building project, on the other. The nation-state therefore requires a critical disciplinary school History curriculum that has potential to teach students to think historically through engaging in historical inquiry as a way of developing the knowledge, skills, and habits of mind necessary for active, informed, deliberative citizenship.¹⁰ For, the postcolonial context that was bequeathed to the new independence rulers of Africa was in many ways a poisoned chalice: what describes as a "colonial leviathan" saddled with the "authoritarian tentacles" of colonialism that had served to accentuate "contradictions within African societies."¹¹ As the second epigraph above shows, there are different historiographies that serve different purposes when framed as the basis of school history, and that only a genuine historiography of school history is that which enables those who study history to understand that "meanings given to the past are never objective or neutral; they are always positioned and positioning."¹² It becomes important in the context of the postcolonial state to ask what History should be taught in the schools as "school history is taught through the given history curriculum, which is itself a product of a particular education system, which in turn reflects a particular socio-political discourse."¹³ The question is urgent as "schools historically not only teach subjects, they also teach, sustain and constitute

¹⁰Samantha Cutrara, "To Placate or Provoke? A Critical Review of Disciplines Approach to History Teaching," *Journal of the Canadian Association of Curriculum Studies* 7 no. 2 (2009), 86–109.

¹¹Paul Zeleza, "The Democratic Transition in Africa and the Anglophone Writer." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 28 no. 3 (1994), 479.

¹²Anver Segall, "Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education." *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 27 no. 3 (1999). 364.

¹³Mafela, 428.

subjectivities formed out of a discourse of exclusionary universalism, support, sustain, and reconstitute the discourse of the nation-state.”¹⁴

This chapter is organized as follows: the first section provides a brief background about the Zimbabwean nation-state, and the second explains the methodological approach employed in the study. The third provides a theoretical framework for an understanding of the subject matter of school History as both pedagogical and political practices in relation to the reimagining of the postcolonial state. The fourth section provides the contextual circumstances of history curricula in colonial Zimbabwe as a basis for understanding subsequent postcolonial reform of the history curriculum. The fifth section discusses three orientations to history teaching and teases out the implications of each for the reimagining of the postcolonial state. The sixth section reviews the policy innovations in postcolonial Zimbabwean history curricula. The seventh section returns to the theoretical level by arguing for critical disciplinary history as the ideal orientation for history teaching in a postcolonial context in search of an inclusive and democratic nationhood. The final section suggests pedagogical strategies for engaging in critical history teaching.

BACKGROUND TO THE ZIMBABWEAN POSTCOLONIAL STATE

The Zimbabwean postcolonial state is the successor state to the once British-ruled colony then known as Rhodesia which had in 1965 rebelled against British rule by declaring unilateral independence (UDI). The Rhodesian state was predicated on more overtly racist policies which dashed hopes for African Independence. As a result, the Zimbabwean nationalist movement waged a liberation war between 1965 and 1980 as part of the broad struggle for the democratization of society and its various institutions, including education. At independence, the authoritarian and exclusivist policies of the colonial state haunted the new state as it sought to reimagine itself as a more inclusive and democratic nation-state. The education system bequeathed to the new nation-state was essentially neoclassical British Education. The history curriculum of the day taught learners to venerate the Queen and the empire.¹⁵

It was into this maelstrom of forging a more inclusive and democratic postindependent nation-state of Zimbabwe that history curricula found currency as a vehicle for promoting new national identities that would serve to legitimate the new state and its rulers. This is because school History, as typically the most politically sensitive of school subjects, can be “pressed into service by politicians and scholars eager to bolster or, sometimes, to invent a national identity for the inhabitants of their states, and foster among their

¹⁴ Philip Corrigan, *Social Forms/Human Capacities* (London: Routledge, 1990), 156.

¹⁵ Toby T. Moyana, *Education, Liberation, and the Creative Act* (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1989).

populations a sense of patriotic loyalty.”¹⁶ As regards Zimbabwe, Preben Kaarsholm points out that “nation building and interpretation of history have been linked in Zimbabwe from the conquest and colonization of the area by the British South Africa Company in 1890, and the naming of it as Rhodesia in 1895, to the attempts to consolidate African national independence in Zimbabwe after 1980.”¹⁷

Such use of history in relation to nation-state formation has become prevalent across the world because of the subject’s power to shape identity, collectively and individually. In this way, history education is seen as contributing to creating and maintaining a public memory about the national past.¹⁸ It is this power of identification that inheres in the subject matter of history that has made the subject of particular interest to newly formed nation-states such as the decolonizing nation-states of Africa, Zimbabwe included. For in such nation-states the history curriculum provides an efficient mechanism for propagating a progressive national story. Around this story, disparate peoples of the nation act as an imagined community.¹⁹ Such a community could coalesce into a united nation with an unquestioned national identity.²⁰ This quest often results in the refashioning of school History into the ‘best’ story of what happened in the past in which the nation’s past glories are celebrated while the sad and often shameful pasts are either downplayed or ignored completely.²¹ The ‘best’ story approach as the basis of school history has often resulted in the presentation of historical knowledge as authoritative and fixed, rather than subject to debate and questions of validity—a practice that, as this chapter argues, has ill served the postcolonial state in its quest for an inclusive and democratic practice.

The above questions provide a critical point of departure for rethinking what calls “a pedagogy of demystification” which works at disrupting and interrupting the often taken-for-granted assumptions of an unquestioned national identity of the postcolonial state as imagined by the nationalist movements in the heydays of the anticolonial struggles.²² Such a practice is aptly captured in Robert Parkes’ descriptor “reading history curriculum as postcolonial text” which enjoins us to make visible the contestations in history curriculum

¹⁶ Steven Vickers, “The Politics of History Education in Hong Kong: The Case of Local History,” *International Journal of Educational Research* 36 nos. 6 & 7 (2002), 3–4.

¹⁷ Preben Kaarsholm “The Past as Battlefield in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe: The Struggle of Competing Nationalisms over History from Colonization to Independence.” In M. Harbsmeier and M. Trolle Larsen, Eds., *Culture & History 6: Confronting Cultures* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1991), 156.

¹⁸ Peter Seixas, “National History and Beyond,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41, no. 6 (2009).

¹⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

²⁰ Brain Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo, *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008* (Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press, 2010), xvii.

²¹ Seixas, “Schweigen!”.

²² Zeus Leonardo, “The Souls of White Folk: Critical Pedagogy, Whiteness Studies, and Globalization Discourse,” *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 5 no. 1 (2002), 31.

through what he calls critical pedagogic practice.²³ Such a postcolonial reading of the history curriculum is an imperative in Zimbabwe because the nationalist ideas that posited the independence struggle did so in essentialist and exclusivist terms that precluded the problematization of the past.

This nationalist stance resulted in the (mis)presentation of the new nation-states' history and in its 'naturalization' thus taking it (the nation-state) beyond the "realm of argument and refutation."²⁴ Following this, the history of the nation-state came to be seen as fixed, final, and waiting to be read by the students of the postcolonial state. What was sacrificed in the process was fluid, contested, and constructed nature of the inferential discipline of history which could offer students room for understanding the socially constructed elements of the nation-state and hence its contestability and mutability. For as Anver Segall reminds us, history education is not solely about familiarizing the nation's young people about the greatness of their nation, but it is also about "enabling students to critically engage and actively change the world" they inherit.²⁵ It is in this sense that we can begin to think of the centrality of a robust history education as preparation for democratic deliberation and celebration of difference that the Zimbabwean postcolonial state needs to reimagine itself as an inclusive democratic state.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The analysis undertaken herein draws on a content analysis of both colonial and postcolonial curriculum materials such as official textbooks, prescribed syllabi, and memoranda from designated state bureaucrats from colonial Zimbabwe. The analysis is confined to the teaching of History at Ordinary level (O-level) which is the equivalent of the General Certificate of Education in the United Kingdom, and makes use of History syllabi drawn by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate and the Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) which now runs examinations in Zimbabwe.²⁶

Content analysis,²⁷ also known as document analysis,²⁸ was employed to undertake a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of the

²³ Robert Parkes, "Reading History Curriculum as Post-Colonial Text: Towards a Curricular Response to the History Wars in Australia and Beyond." *Curriculum Inquiry* 37 no. 4 (2007), 383–384.

²⁴ John Breuilly, "Nationalism and the Making of Nations." In Susana Carvalho and François Gemenne, eds. *Nations and their Histories: Constructions and Representations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 21.

²⁵ Anver Segall, "Critical History: Implications for History/Social Studies Education," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 27 no. 3 (1999), 364.

²⁶ Zimbabwe's education system follows the British system with both Ordinary level and Advanced level. Advanced level is the preuniversity entry level.

²⁷ Glen Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method," *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, no. 2 (2009), 27.

²⁸ Zina O'Leary, *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2014).

history curriculum policy documents. The focus was identifying patterns, themes, biases, and meanings as regards the teaching of history. Relevant statements and verbatim quotes from the documents were analyzed in relation to particular notions of history that could be inferred from the statements and then teased for what they implied for the practice of history in the Zimbabwean context. It thus became possible to identify the recurrent patterns that constitute the prevalent history discourses and how they produce ‘reality’ though being legitimated as official knowledge in the curriculum.

In addition, the works of leading history education scholars such as Bain,²⁹ VanSledright,³⁰ and Wineburg,³¹ among others, are drawn on to theorize the forms of historiography that have characterized the discipline of history when enacted as a school subject. I also draw on my own experiences first as a secondary student in the early years of independence and later as a teacher who taught history during its most momentous periods when the two postindependence history syllabi were developed and enacted. Furthermore, my present engagement as a history educator has enabled me to theorize the History education policy in Zimbabwe in the context of the broader nation-state project as well interact with practicing history teachers who attend in-service courses at Great Zimbabwe. It is from this vantage point that this chapter rethinks the imperative for critical disciplinary history as the basis of what Mafela calls an indigenous historiography.³² The following section discusses the theoretical framework that informs the analysis in this chapter.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: RETHINKING THE HISTORY CURRICULUM AND THE POSTCOLONIAL NATION-STATE

The theoretical framework of the chapter is an eclectic embedding of new curriculum history,³³ as well as postcolonial theory,³⁴ in order to arrive at a useful discursive construction through which to decenter the Eurocentric and positivistic epistemologies that have, and continue to, define curriculum practices in the postcolonial state. Such a discursive construction provides the theoretical tools for questioning the dominant master narratives of history and how these are enacted through curriculum as unproblematic representations of what is

²⁹ Richard Bain, Rounding up Unusual Suspects. *Teachers College Record*, 108 no. 10 (2006), 2080.

³⁰ Bruce VanSledright, “Narratives of Nation-State, Historical Knowledge, and School History,” *Review of Research in Education* 32 no. 1 (2008), 109.

³¹ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

³² Lily Mafela, “Hegemony and Accommodation in the History Curriculum in Colonial Botswana,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 46, no. 4 (2014), 435.

³³ Bernadette Baker, “Introduction.” In B. Baker, ed. *New Curriculum History* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2009), ix–xvi.

³⁴ Cynthia Joseph and Julie Matthews, *Understanding the Cultural Politics of South East Asian Education through Postcolonial Theory* (London: Routledge, 2014).

considered valid knowledge for all of us. These tools are drawn on in two ways: first in order to resituate curriculum development and practice in its historical context as an extension of Western imperialism³⁵; and second, to interrogate postcolonial curriculum content and practice in relation to the promises of decolonization, democracy, and freedom that were central to the independence struggles in Africa.

This nexus of new curriculum history and postcolonialism allows us to re-imagine what forms of history should be the basis of school curriculum if students are to be empowered to address the ills that have become synonymous with the postcolonial state. It constitutes a useful way of making visible and problematic the presuppositions and contestations that make the study of history a re-enactment and interpretation of what happened in the past and not a mere translation of the past as it is imagined to have happened.

The new curriculum history reflects a “counter-reaction to the binds of the (in)famous Tyler rationale and more broadly a move into de-objectifying and denaturalizing discourses as part of a wider reformulation of discourses of equality, what is today referred to in curriculum studies as the Reconceptualization.”³⁶ As a framework for analysis, reconceptualization provides a basis for an interrogation of the trajectories of curriculum development in the context of the historical, political, economic, and epistemological forces that have been at play in the making of the African nation-states as they transited from colonialism to postcolonialism. As Baker explains, curriculum history is primarily concerned with “the politics of knowledge, backgrounded by the pure assumption that if ‘knowledge’ didn’t somehow ‘get in there’ fighting over what is overt, hidden, and null curricula in a school classroom would not matter.”³⁷ Thus, curriculum history became a means of questioning the objectivity and neutrality attributed to the sciences and in particular the quantitative and numerical. It is useful as a heuristic for studying the formation of secondary school subjects as “not only non-neutral and non-universal, but also a rather ‘psychologized’ version of a wider discipline, a kind of content built for and transformed by the school, becoming something else once it was headed for such an institution and for the (differentiated) child or youth.”³⁸ When applied to the subject matter of school History, curriculum history enables us to understand the significant ways in which the teaching of the subject of matter of History functions conterminously with the political imaginings of the nation-state, in both colonial and postcolonial contexts. It also reminds us that school subjects, especially History, are

³⁵ Norrel A. London, “Curriculum and Pedagogy in the Development of Colonial Imagination: A Subversive Agenda.” *Canadian and International Education*, 30 no. 1 (2000).

³⁶ Bernadette Baker, “Introduction.” In B. Baker, ed., *New Curriculum History* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2009), xv.

³⁷ Bernadette Baker, “The Purposes of History? Curriculum Studies, Invisible Objects and Twenty-first Century Societies,” *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 29 no. 1 (2013), 44.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

socially constructed and, therefore, deeply implicated in the politics of power.³⁹ As such, historical knowledge can never be beyond culture and history.

The above notion of critique is developed further through postcolonialism which “makes visible the history and legacy of European colonialism, enabling us to understand how Europe was able to exercise colonial power over 80% of the world’s population, and how it continues to shape most of our contemporary discourses and institutions—politically, culturally and economically.”⁴⁰ In the view of Joseph and Matthew postcolonial theory provides the conceptual tools to work through analysis of social and cultural differences to frame the contemporary cultural politics that have been produced through colonial legacies and contemporary globalization.⁴¹ Following from the above assertions, a postcolonial critique of curriculum becomes a useful heuristic for exploring the effects and operations of colonialism, and how these are negotiated and challenged in decolonizing interventions as regards knowledge production and pedagogy. It is a reminder that the attainment of African independence did not result in the dismantling of the institutional and intellectual legacies of colonialism but their continuity in subtle ways.⁴² Postcolonial theory thus becomes a heuristic through which curriculum scholars can begin to “liberate knowledge from Euro-American hegemony, narrow class, technical, elitist, and Western-centric orientation.” In terms of curriculum development, this implies privileging epistemologies, pedagogies, and subject matter knowledges that are consonant with African and Zimbabwean historical, cultural, and practical realities. The key tenets that make an eclectic embedding of new curriculum history and postcolonial theory useful are that:

- it provides a nuanced analysis of how past and present institutional politics and practices at local, national, and global levels shape issues of equity and opportunity for different groups in Africa;
- it makes possible a critical engagement with the processes of knowledge construction and legitimation within historical contexts;
- it asks questions about the source of historical knowledge as well as the representation of local and indigenous knowledge;
- it illuminates ways in which content, processes, methods, and forms of education are also a contested matter, caught up as they are in the colonial and decolonial impulses;

³⁹ Ivor Goodson, “Becoming a School Subject,” In Ivor Goodson, ed. *The Making of Curriculum: Collected Essays* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁴⁰ Fazal Rizvi, Bob Lingard and Jennifer Lavia, “Postcolonialism and Education: Negotiating a Contested Terrain,” *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* 14, no. 3 (2006), 250.

⁴¹ Cynthia Joseph and Julie Matthews, “Understanding the Cultural Politics of Southeast Asian Education through Postcolonial Theory.” In Cynthia Joseph and Julie Matthews, eds. *Equity, Opportunity and Education in Postcolonial Southeast Asia* (London: Routledge, 2014), 14.

⁴² *Ibid.*

- it makes possible the deconstructing and decolonizing of disciplinary knowledge in history in order to accommodate perspectives that were subdued, marginalized, and/or misrepresented;
- it entails the pursuit of transformation and liberation in the sense of bringing to light new ways of doing, being, and knowing in the midst of multiple scales and axis of power.⁴³

The above tenets make possible a nuanced critique of the contextual circumstances that characterized secondary school history in both colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe. This is because postcolonial curriculum development in Zimbabwe has to be understood against the backdrop of the overt intentions of colonial education which sought to deny students' knowledge of their own history.

HISTORY CURRICULUM IN COLONIAL ZIMBABWE

The development of the secondary school History curriculum in colonial Zimbabwe needs to be understood in the broader context of colonial education which was in many ways an extension of European imperialism. The curriculum that was implemented in the colonies was intended to be a vehicle for expression of the ideas of the colonizers and for the subjugation of the colonized.⁴⁴ Thus, for example in the Caribbean islands in the secondary schools, the history curriculum used for the external examinations was uncritically transferred from the metropolitan to the colony. Similar practices were prevalent in colonial Zimbabwe as the British system of education was transferred wholesale to the then colony of Rhodesia. According to T.T. Moyana schools in colonial Africa were to be “processing plant[s] for the alienation and domestication of the African child.”⁴⁵ This was to be achieved through curricula that emphasized British classical education with subject matter based intended to familiarize students with Western ways of living. In keeping with this intention, the University of Cambridge Syndicate prepared the syllabus and set and marked the examinations. As regards the teaching of History in colonial Zimbabwe, Moyana observes that: “The history which is taught him (sic) (colonized) is not his own. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. The books talk to him of a world which in no way reminds him of his own.”⁴⁶

The above assertion is authenticated by the topics that were studied. For example, students had to study topics such as:

⁴³ Ibid., 12–14.

⁴⁴ London, “Curriculum and Pedagogy”.

⁴⁵ T.T. Moyana, *Education, Liberation, and the Creative Act* (Harare, Zimbabwe: *Zimbabwe Publishing House*, 1989), 48.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 51.

- Early men [sic]
- Ancient Mesopotamia
- Ancient Egypt
- Ancient Greece and Rome
- Middle Ages
- Renaissance
- Industrial Revolution
- European Exploration and Colonization.

The choice of the above topics is a reflection of the ways in which power relations are embedded in curriculum both in terms of who makes the decision and whose interests are served by the topics and perspectives included or excluded.⁴⁷ The topics alienated the African students by seeking to familiarize them with distant histories that had little or no bearing on their lives. According to London the “emphasis on these [topics] to the exclusion of all others was an attempt to obliterate the existentialist past of the colonised, and to present an alternative and ‘preferred’ view of reality.”⁴⁸ As Moyana adds, the linear representation of topics was intended to instill in students a European view of history as an unimpeded story of human progress in which Africans featured last.⁴⁹

The above scenario was changed slightly through the introduction of the Cambridge Syndicate Alternative Syllabus in 1968 which provided for the study of modern Southern Africa. The study of such history as evidenced by the topics included would have made the study of history more meaningful to the students by enabling them to understand their colonial reality. The syllabus (2160) included potentially politically sensitive topics such as:

- Nationalist Movements and the Winning of Independence
- The Rise of Modern African Political Consciousness,
- The struggle for Independence, and
- The Growth of Modern African Political and Social Consciousness

The colonial authority, in this case the Rhodesian government, was alarmed by this development, fearing that such a relevant study of the recent history of the subregion might awaken political consciousness in students thus leading to their agitation for independence. They responded by discouraging schools from adopting the news syllabus, failing which schools that opted for the syllabus were advised to ignore potentially sensitive topics that could lead to “subversive ideas.”⁵⁰ In critiquing the reaction of the Rhodesian authorities to the new syllabus, Moyana observes that school history in Rhodesia was not

⁴⁷ Mark Ginsburg and Sangeeta Kamat, “Political Sociology of Teachers’ Work.” In L. J. Saha, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Sociology of Education* (New York: Pergamon, 1997), 657.

⁴⁸ London, “Curriculum and Pedagogy”.

⁴⁹ Moyana, “Education,” 52.

⁵⁰ “Chief Inspector’s Circular No 27, 1969,” cited in Moyana, “Education”.

intended to promote a sense of self-awareness or to lead to an understanding of one's positionality historically and socially.⁵¹ Such pedagogical practices resulted in the alienation of the learner as history was presented as disembodied reality with no connections to their lived realities. Students were denied opportunities to pose critical questions such as “what and whose historical knowledge counts as legitimate ... whose knowledge is excluded ... what is devalued, as well as valued ... and whose interests are represented by the curriculum.”⁵²

Posing such questions in history lessons would have constituted an empowering and decolonizing pedagogy that would have sensitized students to the social construction of knowledge and the contestations that inhere in history as a (mis)representation of the past. The questions are potentially subversive in that they would have enabled the students to critique the history that they were exposed to and thus begin to challenge and seek to dismantle the Eurocentric epistemologies that were privileged as well as the very foundations of the colonial state. Not surprisingly, the colonial authorities considered such critical pedagogic practice anathema and encouraged teaching through a monological process that lacked any theory about students' capacity to interpret reality and bestow it with multiple meanings.⁵³

It was this Syllabus 2160 that was in operation at the time of independence in 1980 and was continued by the postcolonial state for the entire first decade of independence, with the examination still set by the University of Cambridge. This scenario ended in 1990 when the first postcolonial history syllabus, 2166, came into force, and was followed by the localization of examinations in 1994. Table 12.1, below, illustrates the different syllabi that have been in operation in Zimbabwe over the last 40 years. Thus, at independence African states inherited history curricula that were at variance with the emerging political and ideological dispensations born of independence. It is for this reason that UNESCO observed that:

Following their decolonization, the African countries expressed a strong desire to understand their past and build knowledge of their common heritage. Through history, they hoped to combat certain preconceptions about African societies,

Table 12.1 Overview of O-level History syllabi development in Zimbabwe

<i>Period</i>	<i>Syllabus title</i>	<i>Examining body</i>	<i>Historical orientation</i>
1968–1990	2160	Cambridge University	Traditional history
1991–2001	2166	ZIMSEC	Disciplinary history/new history
2002–present	2167	ZIMSEC	Traditional history

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Henry Giroux, “Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1, no. 1 (2004), 55.

⁵³ London, “Curriculum and Pedagogy”.

enhance their cultural heritage and reinforce their common aspiration to achieve African unity.⁵⁴

The realization that Africa needed a new historiography, while an arduous political and pedagogical challenge, was a unique opportunity for the continent's new rulers and educational planners to discard the Eurocentric positivist representations of history that alienated the African student from critical engagement with the past. It was an opportunity to refashion both the content and pedagogy of school History in ways that would rescue the subject from the tentacles of Eurocentrism while also laying the basis for an inclusive and democratic nation-state. Not surprisingly, the Zimbabwean postcolonial state has undertaken significant measures in developing a history curriculum that would promote its national aspirations. Table 12.1 illustrates the syllabi development in historical context.

IN SEARCH OF A NEW HISTORY FOR THE ZIMBABWEAN POSTCOLONIAL STATE

As illustrated in Table 12.1 the Zimbabwean postcolonial state has embarked on three major history innovations in what may be described as the nation-state's search for a postcolonial historiography. The inherited Syllabus 2160 was no longer compatible with the democratic tenets of the new political dispensation ushered in by independence in 1980. Following the attainment of independence there was a demand for a new education system as well as new historiography for the reimagining of the nation-state as an inclusive and democratic state. Simply put, the question was, "which story should we tell in our history texts and classes?" in the postcolonial Zimbabwean state.

The Ministry of Education had an answer as it stated that 'the old historiography was essentially an apology for colonialism, exploitation, and the resultant economic, social, and political underdevelopment and therefore had to be dispensed with.' In 1992, it was announced that Zimbabwean schools, particularly History teachers, should teach Zimbabwean content and Zimbabwean history. It was, however, important that the new rulers avoided the pitfalls of a historiography that would emphasize mere regurgitation of facts and not critical understanding of the new realities and how students were/are positioned in the new state as colonial history had done.

It is significant to note that since 2002 History has become a compulsory subject at the Ordinary level (equivalent to the UK General Certificate of Education) in Zimbabwe. This implies that the subject of History is now studied by all students who proceed beyond primary school. It therefore potentially impacts on and influences historical thinking and understanding of a significant

⁵⁴ UNESCO, "Pedagogical Use of the General History of Africa" Project, Elaboration of the common pedagogical content for use in African schools, First meeting of the drafting teams, Harare, Zimbabwe (September 4–9, 2011).

size of schooling youth. At the same time the nation's President Robert Mugabe made the call for the rewriting of the nation's history as follows:

Measures will be taken to ensure that the History of Zimbabwe is rewritten and accurately told and recorded in order to reflect the events leading to the country's nationhood and sovereignty. Furthermore, Zimbabwean History will be made compulsory up to Form Four.⁵⁵

The above concerns reflect only an increasing interest in the subject matter of school History by the Zimbabwean postcolonial state as Preben Kaarsholm observes that since independence in 1980, a new type of official history writing has been establishing itself which, "in certain respects, is just as mythologically oriented as its colonial precedent, as it strives to glorify a heroic African tradition and situate the roots of modern national identity in a rich and autonomous historical development."⁵⁶

This official history reached its apogee after 2000 as 'patriotic history' after the year 2000. As T.O. Ranger writes:

There is a public history in Zimbabwe that is still insistently propagated on state-controlled television, radio and in the state-controlled daily and Sunday press. This version of the country's past—now generally described as 'patriotic history'—assumes the immanence of a Zimbabwean nation expressed through centuries of Shona resistance to external intrusion; embodied in successive 'empires'; incarnated through the great spirit mediums in the first Chimurenga⁵⁷ of 1896–7; and re-incarnated by means of the alliance between mediums and ZANLA guerrillas in the second Chimurenga of the liberation war.⁵⁸

Thus, official rhetoric in Zimbabwe is redolent with its overtones of patriotic history and the school history cannot be immune to its direct and indirect influences. When propagated in the public discourse, patriotic history becomes what Michel Foucault calls regimes of truth⁵⁹ that serve to reinforce the taken-for-granted assumptions that are reinforced through commonsense knowledge. Patriotic history is thus the apogee of a long-drawn process of hegemonizing the nation-state on the basis of a selective historiography. This therefore calls for the problematization of the place of history in the curriculum

⁵⁵ Robert Mugabe, "Inside the Third Chimurenga," *Government of Zimbabwe* (Harare, Zimbabwe, 2001), 64.

⁵⁶ Preben Kaarsholm, *The Past as Battlefield in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe: The Struggle of Competing Nationalisms over History from Colonization to Independence*, In Harbsmeier, M. & Trolle Larsen, M., Eds, *Culture & History 6: Confronting Cultures* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1991), 156.

⁵⁷ The word Chimurenga is a Shona term which means war of liberation. It has since found its way in Zimbabwean history as a descriptor of the war(s) of liberation waged in Zimbabwe.

⁵⁸ Terrence, O. Ranger, *Constructions of Zimbabwe*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (2010), 505.

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 133.

and how it could be the basis for the reimagining of an inclusive and more democratic state in Zimbabwe. In order to make sense of what the different history syllabi implied for the teaching of history in Zimbabwe, the following section discusses the different orientations to school history as developed by history scholars such as Seixas, Segall, and Bain, among others.

ORIENTATIONS TO SCHOOL HISTORY: BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL AND 'NEW HISTORY' BINARY

In the international literature discourses on the teaching of History have generally distinguished between traditional/big story/best story and 'new history'/disciplinary approaches. The orientations which refer to the historiography of school history are inextricably interlinked with the very definition of what history is and what purposes it should serve in the school curriculum. Historiography is concerned with the critical values and methodologies that inform the historians' writing thus enabling historians to think in new ways about what they do and to consider the changing nature of their tasks as researchers and teachers.⁶⁰ More recent scholarship however identifies a third orientation to history as the critical or postmodern approaches. These orientations are about how we conceptualize, represent, interpret, and discover the past. The questions matter for how we teach history as Yilmaz reminds us that "conceptions that teachers have about their subject matter affect their curricular and pedagogical judgments and decisions."⁶¹ They also affect what one hopes to achieve through the teaching of history. The key tenets of each are explained below.

Traditional Approach

This is arguably the dominant approach to the teaching of history and is generally associated with the view of history as an unproblematic transmission of the nation's past. The traditional orientation presents history as a linear narrative that tends to focus on a narrow aspect of the past, often a particular political story or one of progress, and potentially presents a single, unifying story of events.⁶² As a pedagogical practice it views learning history as the process of mastering facts about an event in the past and then faithfully reproducing these facts in an examination. Such a practice reduces learners to passive recipients of knowledge, thus denying them opportunities to critically examine the past. Colonial history, as has been argued above, was founded on this traditional

⁶⁰ Kaya Yilmaz, *Social Studies Teachers' Conceptions of History: Calling on Historiography*, (The Journal of Educational Research, 2008).

⁶¹ Ibid, 158.

⁶² Richard Harris and Rosemary Reynolds, "The History Curriculum and its personal Connection to Students From Minority Ethnic Backgrounds," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 46, no. 4 (2014), 467.

approach as it was taught through a monological process that denied African students agency to interrogate the past and how it positioned them.

Such history has proved popular with politicians who seek to use history to legitimate versions of the nation-state by promoting a mono-perspectival view of the past that is favorable to their hold to power. Peter Seixas points out that such a view of history makes school history a “dogma, a catechism to be memorized and that it often takes as its central focus a narrow, celebratory story of the development of the nation state, which then begs questions of what is the ‘best’ story, and who decides.”⁶³ For Seixas such an approach runs the risk of presenting knowledge as authoritative and fixed, rather than subject to debate and questions of validity.

According to Harris and Reynolds:

The danger of using history as a means of inculcating a sense of social cohesion is that it can result in calls for a simplistic version of the past, which in turn can present an exclusive view of the past; rather than acting as a potential unifying focus such history can serve to alienate some individuals and groups. This notion is supported by identity theory.⁶⁴

Disciplinary Approach

The disciplinary approach also referred to as doing the discipline of history has its origins in ‘new history’ which came to the fore in England as a response to the growing unpopularity and perceived irrelevance of school History that was highlighted by Mary Price’s polemical assertion that history was in danger⁶⁵ of being relegated to the dustbin of history if urgent measures were not undertaken. Its main concern is to enable students to study history in the same way as professional historians do by sifting evidence and making interpretations. As a pedagogical practice ‘new history’⁶⁶ rejects the traditional, chronologically ordered curriculum that concentrates on mere transmission of facts and argues that history was a method of inquiry that aimed to investigate the past. Drawing from the above postulate, the study of history should not consist of a body of historical facts but of the basic concepts of historical thinking, such as evidence, continuity and change, causation, and empathy. Such an approach implies that, rather than pupils learning about the facts of the past, they should engage in critical analysis of the taken-for-granted facts that underpin the grand narratives of the nation.

⁶³ Peter Seixas Schweigen! die Kinder! Or, “Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?” In Stearns, P.N. Seixas, P., & Wineburg, S. (Eds.), *Knowing teaching & learning history: National and international Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press 2000), 23.

⁶⁴ Richard Harris and Rosemary Reynolds, “The History Curriculum and its personal Connection to Students From Minority Ethnic Backgrounds,” 467.

⁶⁵ Mary Price, “History in danger,” *History* 53, no. 179 (1968): 342–347.

⁶⁶ Schools Council History Project 1976 is associated with Lawrence Stenhouse’s Humanities Council Project in the United Kingdom.

Doing the discipline of history thus requires that students learn how to construct history like historians, so that they will have the skills to ask questions about the role of history in our present and eventually develop a foundation for building a common historical understanding of the past as it affects the present. As Ruth Sandwell explains, the disciplinary approach requires that students be provided with opportunities that allow them to be historians instead of passive readers of the historical accounts that other historians have produced.⁶⁷ It also calls for what Richard Bain refers to as adopting a “modicum of irreverence toward received wisdom”⁶⁸ through which to interrogate written texts. This can be done through encouraging students to pose questions such as:

- What does this tell us about the past and those acting in it?
- How might it better allow us to get closer to that which happened, to better understand it?

Critical Disciplinary History

Critical disciplinary history builds on the disciplinary orientation as it makes use of historical evidence by inviting students to engage with historiography and its competing traditions, each with their own conventions, methodologies, discourses, standards, and representations of the past. It however argues that the disciplinary orientation on its own is not enough and needs to be augmented by notions of criticality. For example, in addition to the questions that the disciplinary orientation asks, critical disciplinary history poses the following questions as regards historical evidence:

- What and whose discursive conventions does it comply with so as to be considered true?
- How might it be taken by others?
- What might it tell us about the assumptions, values, and worldviews of the person making it and the discourses enabling its production?
- How does it position those engaging it to read it in particular ways and from particular subject positions?
- How that ‘doing’ is orchestrated and orchestrates others to make meaning with/in/through it and versions and visions of the world—past, present, and future—are promoted by it.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Ruth Sandwell, “History is a Verb: Teaching Historical Practice to Teacher Education Students” in Penney Clark, Eds., *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 224–242.

⁶⁸Richard Bain, Rounding Up The Usual Suspects (Teachers’ College Record, 2006), 2091.

⁶⁹Anver Segall, “What’s the purpose of teaching a discipline, anyway?” In A. Segall, E. E. Heilman & C. H. Cherryholmes, Eds., *Social Studies – The Next Generation: Researching in The Postmodern* (New York, Peter Lang, 2006), 138–139.

The above questions, as Segall explains, help “make visible and problematic the presuppositions of discourses, values, and methodologies that legitimate and enforce particular versions and visions as to what the past is and what knowing and acting upon it entail.”⁷⁰ In doing so, critical disciplinary history echoes a key tenet of postcolonial theory, namely that, subjugated and marginalized histories be made visible through curriculum imagination to include previously excluded knowledges.⁷¹ Postcolonial theory in this context is a useful heuristic through which to question the master-narrative of a national history. Decentering this master-narrative is likely to open up spaces for a rethinking and reconsideration of the ways in which history as the institutional representation of the past has been used to “silence and marginalize the images, knowledge production systems and worldview and experiences of the colonized.”⁷²

Thus, a critical disciplinary approach to history teaching should in the words of Henry Giroux be about “blasting history open, rupturing its silences, highlighting its detours and organizing its limits”⁷³ and not about enabling students to comprehend a linear narrative that retraces the past as a patient and continuous development. This is critical because it enables us to “apprehend it [history] as open to change, and never the final word.”⁷⁴ In this way, teaching history can be understood a way of “engaging in interpretive acts, as we read the histories that are made available to us”⁷⁵ and not narrating the past.

It is critical that the above orientations are mapped on the different history syllabi that have been developed in Zimbabwe in order to understand the ways in which the subject has functioned in relation to the postcolonial state and its endeavors to promote democratic practice. As illustrated in Table 12.1 the different history syllabi in Zimbabwe have been informed largely by the traditional and disciplinary orientations. The colonial Syllabus 2160 drew heavily from colonial historiography to promote a Eurocentric worldview and a positivist epistemology that presented history as a linear representation of the past and mastery of facts through memorization and rote learning. Conceived as part of the grand agenda of colonialism, such a syllabus could never have embraced a critical approach to history. It was thus content to perpetuate the mental servitude of the African students by exposing them to a curriculum that emphasized their inferiority.

The successor syllabus, 2166, launched in the second decade of independence was a radical departure from the above practice in that it was largely

⁷⁰ Ibid, 149.

⁷¹ Dude Jankie, *When Post-colonial Critique Meets Curriculum History: The Possibilities and Limits of Post-Independence Nation-building, Curriculum Reform, and the Politics of Language and Literacy Education*, In Bernadette Baker, Eds (Rotterdam. Sense Publishers, 2009), 241–272.

⁷² Ibid, 245.

⁷³ Henry Giroux, “Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals,” *Communication and Critical Cultural Studies* 1, no. 1 (2004), 68.

⁷⁴ Robert Parkes and Debra Donnelly, “Changing Conceptions of Historical Thinking in History Education: An Australian Case Study” *Revista Tempo e Argumento* 6, no. 11 (2014), 69.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

informed by the disciplinary approach and foregrounded the study of primary sources as way of engaging with the history in the same way that historians do. It also placed equal emphasis on the substantive and procedural aspects of learning history as it availed relevant African and revolutionary content while not neglecting the disciplinary approach that informed its approach. For example, the second aim of the syllabus stated the need to “develop a national and international consciousness” among the pupils while also emphasizing that pupils should be able to “carry out simple research into aspects of local and national history using primary and secondary sources.”⁷⁶ The remainder of the aims included the need to develop historical skills and tools of analysis within the conceptual framework of historical and dialectical materialism.

At a theoretical level, such aims set the stage for shift away from the rote learning and regurgitation of the colonial era and opened doors to the doing of the discipline of history through the study of primary sources and documentary evidence. To ensure that this was done in the classroom, Paper One of the examination was based on sources. Passing this paper was not achievable through rote memorization as it required the application of historical thinking skills in answering the questions. The syllabus was in operation for just ten years as it proved difficult for the majority of students and teachers as well.⁷⁷ A combination of local and international factors led to the abandonment of the syllabus as the grand narrative of socialism on which it had been predicated had collapsed by 1989.

The next postindependence Syllabus 2167 was designed to address the perceived weaknesses of Syllabus 2166. It was however caught up in the political melee of the nation-state as faced with waning legitimacy the nationalist leadership sought to use school history for narrow partisan cause. Consequently, the disciplinary orientation so central in Syllabus 2166 was abandoned completely in Syllabus 2167. Syllabus 2167, instead, privileged a mono-perspectival view of history and students were no longer required to engage in critical analysis of history sources. In fact, it even became possible for candidates to pass the examination without attempting section C of the examination which required a modicum of the application of historical skills.

The syllabus thus became synonymous with patriotic history which as Ranger explains is averse to academic history as it regards as disloyal critical question. It is this syllabus that is in operation today and given that democratic practice has been under siege in Zimbabwe since 2000, it is apparent that there is need for a pedagogy that is against dogmatic transmission of a single version of the past. Such a pedagogy has, in the words of Kent Heyer and Alexandra Fidyk, the potential to transform classrooms into a “space of negotiation that is simultaneously past-, present-, and future-oriented; a space of ‘desirous imagination’ expressed through social groups struggling over what ought to be

⁷⁶ Ordinary level Syllabus 2166, (1996), 2.

⁷⁷ Hardy Chitate, “Post-independent Zimbabwe’s new ‘O’ Level History syllabus 2166: a crisis of expectations,” *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research* 17 no. 3 (2005), 234–257.

taught about who ‘we’ were, are, and will be.”⁷⁸ Such pedagogical practice is likely to provide students with opportunities to understand their own positioning in relation to the nation-state and the large world they inhabit.

TOWARD A PEDAGOGY FOR INCLUSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE

It is significant to note from the above analysis critical disciplinary history is ignored almost completely by those who make decisions on what history to teach or not teach in Zimbabwe. Critical disciplinary history is the missing dimension in Zimbabwean History education as the prevailing syllabus in operation foregrounds traditional history to the extent that it may be argued that current pedagogical practices closely resemble those which prevailed during the colonial era. As David Coltart, a Minister of Education between 2009 and 2013, observes:

the way that history has been taught in Rhodesian and then Zimbabwean schools over many decades has contributed to the notion that political leaders are demigods. That was certainly what was taught in white Rhodesian schools: Cecil John Rhodes and Ian Douglas Smith were elevated to the status of cult heroes. Little has changed since the advent of independence save for the fact that these political leaders have been replaced by Robert Gabriel Mugabe and other nationalist leaders.⁷⁹

We now know that merely Africanizing the school curriculum through inclusion of African content is a cosmetic change that does not address the epistemological irrelevance of curriculum and its undemocratic tendencies. As Alan Reid argues, “if the dominant grammars of the curriculum are undemocratic, then no amount of organizational change, the usual fare of educational reviews and reform strategies, will create more democratic outcomes. It is the internal logic of the curriculum that requires attention.”⁸⁰

Thus Syllabus 2167 by substituting Zimbabwean and African history for colonial history merely addresses the substantive issues in the teaching of history and leaves undisturbed the procedural issues by which such history can be known and critiqued. A postcolonial critique of curriculum imagination does not stop with inclusion, but as Segall states, it extends its investigations to the politics of inclusion by posing questions such as: “What and whose terms, or

⁷⁸ Kent Heyer, and Alexandra Fidyk, “Configuring Historical Facts Through Historical Fiction: Agency, Art-In-Fact, and Imagination as Stepping Stones between Then and Now,” *Educational Theory*, 57, No. 2 (2007), 149.

⁷⁹ David Coltart cited in Tendi, Blessing Miles (2009) A review of “Becoming Zimbabwe. A History, c.850–2009.” <http://www.davidcoltart.com/2009/11/zimbabwean-history-in-context-a-comparison-of-the-history-book-with-existent-history-curriculum-and-teaching>

⁸⁰ Alan Reid. “Social Justice, and Senior Secondary Education: Reflections on Undemocratic Schooling,” *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 27, No. 4, (2006), 557.

Who and whose purpose” is such inclusion being made.⁸¹ Segall goes on to say that the mere correcting or sanitizing of an otherwise colonially imposed curriculum does little to help students with those very issues in the broader society that gave rise to the problems that they face. As he writes:

What a critical approach then attempts to guarantee is that even those other histories are included (an important goal not to be overlooked) their contributions are not used to simply legitimize the “include.” If it were so, we would lose the ability to use these ‘new’ stories to question the very power relationship that differentiates between centre and margins, between ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ texts.⁸²

As the basis of school history in the postcolonial state, critical disciplinary history would thus provide the conceptual tools for both students and teachers to seek to destabilize the dominant narratives are purveyed as official history.

In history lessons, this notion of critique would help move students beyond the questions “whose stories are included and whose are” to calling into question the very idea of any fixed best story to be learnt. In the case of Zimbabwe, this means challenging the idea of an unquestioned national identity to which the subject of history is beholden. It also means demystifying the nationalist myths that were nevertheless critical in the founding of the nation and unmasking the undemocratic practices that have been an indelible mark of independence struggles. Such an undertaking is critical as it is likely to enable students to understand the social constructedness of Zimbabwean nation-state in ways that may illuminate their positionality in a local and even global context. In the words of Muwati such a critical disciplinary approach to school history would help

debunk the canonisation and promotion of the heroic view point by showing that there are numerous and equally legitimate historical alternatives and perspectives that potentially amplify national consciousness and in the process set the tone, agenda and basis for restorative action taking. This vision contributes significantly to the covert and overt contestations of nation and nationalism in the neocolonial era and the ongoing struggle for democratic order.⁸³

The failure of the postcolonial state in Africa to democratize its discourses has sensitized us to the danger of using history as a means of inculcating a sense of social cohesion that can result in calls for a simplistic version of the past, which in turn can present an exclusive view of the past; rather than acting as a potential unifying focus such history can serve to alienate some individuals and groups. This notion is supported by identity theory. Such pedagogy must have the potential to create cracks in the everyday commonsense taken-for-granted perceptions of everyday life in order to demystify some forms of ideological blindness.

⁸¹ Anver Segall. “What’s The Purpose of Teaching a Discipline, Anyway?”.

⁸² Ibid, 133.

⁸³ Itai Muwati, *Interface of History and Fiction: The Zimbabwean Liberation War Novel* (Unpublished DPhil Thesis, UNISA 2009), 141.

CONCLUSION

The chapter has with particular reference to the Zimbabwean postcolonial secondary school History curriculum sought to demonstrate that the political and educational decisions as regards what orientation of history to adopt are directly linked to the kind of society we are and wish to be likely in the future. A critical examination of the literature on the major orientations to school history highlighted the implications of each orientation for the teaching of history. In particular, the chapter emphasized the importance of critical disciplinary history to promoting the ideals of democratic practice through exposure to multiple interpretations of the nation-state's past.

What the postcolonial state in Zimbabwe has become and will most likely become in the future is being shaped by the particular choices that are being made as regards school History. It is only a school History that is philosophically grounded and is aware of what it is doing that can guarantee an inclusive and democratic state that allows for the celebration of difference in the imagined communities that constitute our nations. Such a curriculum ought to be characterized as Ahonen suggests by three key aspects that are "de-mythicalisation, social inclusiveness and connectedness to local history culture."⁸⁴ These aspects, it has been argued, are embodied in critical disciplinary history as it calls for the decanonization of given histories and their subjection to critique.

That critical disciplinary history has not found its way into the secondary school curriculum is a sad indictment of postcolonial state curriculum development and at the same time an indicator of the extent to which the postcolonial state remains an undemocratic leviathan colossus that needs to be democratized. As Wilfred Carr posits, in order to promote democratic practice in the postcolonial state, the curriculum has to reproduce "those forms of consciousness and social relationships that meaningful participation in democratic life requires."⁸⁵ Such a curriculum is likely to come to force when politicians and curriculum planners "abandon the idea of furthering a common identity through education, and view the development of criticality, and hence democratic competence, differently."⁸⁶ The persistence of patriotic history in Zimbabwe as part of the official silencing rhetoric renders this unlikely in the near future. It therefore remains an imperative for teachers to engage in critical pedagogic practice within the confines of their classroom as a way of rescuing the subject matter of history from political instrumentalization for narrow personal ends.

⁸⁴Sirkka Ahonen, "Education in Post-Conflict Societies," *Historical Encounters* 1, no. 1, (2014), 86.

⁸⁵Wilfred Carr, "Curriculum in and for a Democracy," *Curriculum Studies* 6, no. 3, (1988), 336.

⁸⁶Klas Roth, "Deliberation in National and Post-National Education," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 38, no. 5, (2006), 588.

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PART IV

National Curriculums, Reforms, and
Reassessments



Québec's History of Québec and Canada Ministerial Examination: A Tool to Promote Historical Thinking or a Hurdle to Hinder Its Inclusion?

Catherine Duquette

History can stir passions and emotions. In Québec, this holds true when it comes to the teaching of Québec and Canadian history in high school. Any modification to the national history curriculum gives rise to public debates as was the case with the most recent history curriculum reform from 2014 to 2017.¹ Following the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report,² the Ministry of Education was mandated with the task of rewriting the Québec and Canadian history (HQC) curriculum for the 3rd and 4th years of secondary school.³ Among other recommendations, the Beauchemin and Fahmy-Eid report suggests that the curriculum should emphasize a teaching of history based on

¹ Renaud Giraldeau, "Tirer la couverture à soi n'a pas sa place en classe d'histoire," *Le Devoir*, June 19, 2015, <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/443152/tirer-la-couverture-a-soi-n-a-pas-sa-place-en-classe-d-histoire>; Jean-François Cardin, "De la suppose 'denationalisation' des programmes d'histoire," *Le Devoir*, March 11, 2013, <https://www.ledevoir.com/opinion/idees/372963/contre-la-coalition-pour-l-histoire>

² Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport, *Le sens de l'histoire: Pour une réforme du programme d'histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté de 3^e et 4^e secondaire*, Jacques Beauchemin et Nadia Fahmy-Eid http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/dpse/formation_jeunes/sens_de_histoire_s.pdf

³ Grades 9 and 10 in other Canadian provinces.

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problematization and the use of evidence that would allow students to work with a range of understandings of the past.⁴ When a provisional copy of the new curriculum was published, controversy ensued.⁵

While certain historians and teachers welcomed the change on the basis that the new curriculum allowed a teaching of Québec's history that promoted French identity, minority groups, such as the Anglophone community, accused the curriculum of being one-sided. Many history educators such as Marc-André Éthier, David Lefrançois, Stéphanie Demers, and Vincent Boutonnet complained that the new curriculum promotes a nation-building narrative based on a collective memory and a transmissive approach to the discipline instead of fostering historical thinking.⁶ In their book, *Quel sens pour l'histoire; Analyse et critique du nouveau programme d'histoire du Québec et du Canada*, Éthier and his collaborators conclude that the HQC curriculum falls short of its mandate of establishing a problem-based approach in history class that reflects the scientific discipline.⁷

Éthier et al.'s opinion on the HQC curriculum is supported by two main arguments. First, they find that there is a lack of coherence between the theoretical framing found at the beginning the HQC curriculum based on historical thinking and the program content that enumerates long lists of declarative knowledge to be presented in class.⁸ For example, the HQC curriculum states on page 5 that students must work with evidence and learn to assess its validity. Yet the two competencies at the heart of the program do not mention the use of evidence as an ability that students should learn.⁹ Boutonnet contends that: "By wishfully resorting to critical analysis in a general way without specifying the way or the object of this reflection, it seems to us very probable that this analysis would be very variable, if not non-existent."¹⁰

The second argument is that the curriculum promotes a nation-building narrative that overlooks minority groups and diminishes the importance of citizenship education.¹¹ Again, citizenship education is mentioned in the scaffolding

⁴Beauchemin et Fahmy-Eid, *Le sens de*, 27; Vincent Boutonnet, "Une analyse du contenu propose par le nouveau programme d'histoire" in *Quel sens pour l'histoire; Analyse et critique du nouveau programme d'histoire du Québec et du Canada*, ed. Marc-André Éthier, Vincent Boutonnet, Stéphanie Demers, David Lefrançois (Montréal: M Éditeur, 2017), 63.

⁵Patricia Cloutier, "Un nouveau cours d'histoire qui divise," *Le Soleil*, August 15, 2016, <https://www.lesoleil.com/actualite/education/un-nouveaucours-dhistoire-qui-divise-6132eb449e1f1098f8597e947b7fb953>

⁶Marc-André Éthier, Vincent Boutonnet, Stéphanie Demers and David Lefrançois, *Quel sens pour l'histoire; Analyse et critique du nouveau programme d'histoire du Québec et du Canada*, (Montréal: M Éditeur, 2017).

⁷Éthier et al. *Quel sens*, 96.

⁸Boutonnet, "Analyse," 69.

⁹Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur, *History of Québec and Canada, Secondary III and IV*, 2017, 5, 11, 14. http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/education/jeunes/pfeq/PFEQ_histoire-quebec-canada_2017_EN.pdf

¹⁰Boutonnet, "Analyse," 69. Our translation.

¹¹Stéphanie Demers, "Pourquoi enseigner l'histoire? Pour l'apprendre? Un regard critique sur les visées du nouveau programme d'histoire du Québec et du Canada au secondaire" in *Quel sens*

section of the curriculum but the following sections of the document provide no precision on the manner it should be taught in class.¹² Demers, just as Boutonnet, feels that citizenship education will be set aside and that teachers would rather favor a pedagogy based on the memorization of declarative knowledge.¹³ Overall, Éthier and his collaborators are of the opinion that the HQC curriculum does not give itself the means to achieve its ends.

Although the collective work *Quel sens pour l'histoire* provides a thought-provoking analysis of the HQC curriculum, the study is limited to the curriculum per se and the authors did not specifically consider the assessment practices and the ministerial examination that are, in our opinion, integral parts of the whole program. In Québec, the Ministry of Education imposes a ministerial examination in history at the end of secondary IV,¹⁴ which accounts for 50% of the student's final grade. Success or failure at this exam has therefore a direct impact on the possibility of successfully completing the HQC course which is, in turn, mandatory for high school graduation. In other words, students failing to achieve a passing grade in secondary IV history do not receive their high school diploma. Thus, the ministerial examination can be understood as the main outcome of the Québec history curriculum. Is it possible that the lack of coherence within the curriculum as identified by Éthier and his collaborators could be partially resolved by a set of evaluation criteria based on historical thinking? Moreover, is it possible that the ministerial examination is constructed around a form of historical thinking and thus provides the pedagogical guidance that is lacking within the curriculum?

This chapter proposes to examine three complementary governmental publications: the HQC curriculum, the Framework for the Evaluation of Learning (FEL) document, and the Ministerial examination to observe whether they promote the teaching of historical thinking. To do so, this chapter will start by providing a description of each governmental document. Then, the principal models of historical thinking found in the province of Québec will be reviewed and a discussion regarding their assessment will follow. This will allow us to better understand the theoretical framework underlying the HQC curriculum. Then, using Messick's validity of assessment principle¹⁵ and Kane's assessing validity model, the chapter will analyze whether all three documents target the same assessment goals and if the validity of construct, the validity of content, the response process, the internal structure of the test, and the consequence of

pour l'histoire; Analyse et critique du nouveau programme d'histoire du Québec et du Canada, ed. Marc-André Éthier, Vincent Boutonnet, Stéphanie Demers, David Lefrançois (Montréal: M Éditeur, 2017), 92.

¹² Québec, *History*, 1–2.

¹³ Demers, "Pourquoi," 92.

¹⁴ Grade 10 in most Canadian provinces.

¹⁵ Samuel Messick, "Test Validity: A Matter of Consequence," *Social Indicators Research* 45, no. 1–3 (1998): 35–44; Samuel Messick, "Validity of Psychological Assessment: Validation of Inferences from Persons' Responses and Performances as Scientific Inquiry into Score Meaning" *American Psychologist* 50, no. 9 (September 1995): 741–749.

testing are in coherence with the program aims.¹⁶ Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the influence of the provincial evaluation on teacher practices and its impact on the teaching of historical thinking in Québec.

QUÉBEC AND CANADA HISTORY CURRICULUM, THE FRAMEWORK OF EVALUATION DOCUMENT, AND MINISTERIAL EXAMINATION

The lives of history teachers in Québec are influenced by three separate documents. First is the HQC curriculum, which specifies both the theoretical orientations of the program and the content knowledge to be presented in class.¹⁷ The second is the Framework of evaluation document that lays out the different assessment criteria and provides further explanation on their application.¹⁸ The third document is the Ministerial examination that students in secondary IV must complete at the end of the school year.¹⁹ This section of the chapter will describe the content of each document: an unavoidable task before comparing how historical thinking is assessed in each of them.

Québec and Canada History Curriculum

The HQC curriculum is a mandatory course taught at both secondary III and secondary IV levels in all schools in Québec. One hundred hours per school year are dedicated to the discipline and the course runs from September to June. According to Québec law, the Ministry of Education cannot impose a particular teaching strategy or specific documents to be studied in class as it would interfere with the teachers' professional expertise.²⁰ Thus, contrary to provinces such as New Brunswick where specific primary sources or activities are imposed by the curriculum, the HQC program can only give general orientations, the content knowledge to be learned, when it should be learned, and how it should be assessed.²¹

¹⁶Michael T. Kane, "Explicating validity," *Assessment in Education Principles, Policy and Practice* 23, no. 2 (1996): 198–211.

¹⁷Québec, *History*.

¹⁸Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur, *Framework for the Evaluation of Learning*, 2017. http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/education/jeunes/pfeq/CE_PFEQ_histoire-quebec-canada_EN.pdf

¹⁹Note that although questions change from one year to the next, the overall structure of the examination remains mostly the same. Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur, *Épreuve d'appoint, Histoire du Québec et du Canada, document d'information*, 2019, http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/dpse/evaluation/DI-HQC-4e-sec2019.pdf

²⁰Article 19 de la Loi sur l'instruction publique, <http://www.legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/fr/ShowDoc/cs/I-13.3>

²¹New Brunswick, Ministère de l'Éducation et du Développement de la Petite Enfance, *Programme d'Histoire du Canada 11^e année 42311–42312*, 2006, 101.

The Origin of the New HQC Curriculum

The HQC curriculum can be understood as the ministerial solution to the rising dissatisfaction with the previous history program named: History and citizenship education (HCE). The HCE program came into effect in 2005 and it did not have a long life span, only ten years, and one might wonder why the Ministry of Education of Québec deemed it was necessary to reform it only a few years after its publication.

The HCE program was the cause of many debates and it was either loved or hated by historians, history educators, and teachers alike.²² Numerous elements were controversial, and even the name of the program caused tensions. Many teachers felt that citizenship education undermined the discipline of history. Others saw citizenship education as history's natural partner for it allowed them to bridge past events with current concerns.²³ The second controversial element was the prescriptive teaching of historical thinking through the development of three competencies, namely examine social phenomena from a historical perspective, interpret social phenomena using the historical method, and strengthen their exercise of citizenship through the study of history.²⁴ While most history educators considered the competencies as a move toward a more progressive and active teaching of history, teachers felt at a loss in incorporating them in their pedagogical practices.

Although the Ministry of Education provided teachers with professional development opportunities, it was not sufficient for them to feel comfortable with the new curricular structure. Moreover, following the abysmal results to the first provincial examination, the Ministry backed away and decided to assess a single competency (interpret social phenomena using the historical method) in the provincial examination. This led teachers to abandon the teaching and evaluation of the two other competencies in their own classroom. A third controversy surrounded the repartition of the historical facts and periods to be taught in class. Teachers had advocated for a chronological presentation of the history of Québec where the Rebellion of 1837–1838 would become the turning point

²² Many historians and history educators and teacher associations have published texts either in support or against the HCE program. We only wish here to give a summary of the many debates. For more information on the topic, please consult Cardin, Jean-François. "Les programmes de sciences sociales: du pourquoi au comment," in *Faire aimer et apprendre l'histoire et la géographie au primaire et au secondaire*, 75–98, ed. Marc-André Éthier, David Lefrançois and Stéphanie Demers, *Québec: Éditions Multimonde*, 2014; Marc-André Éthier, Jean-François Cardin and David Lefrançois, "Épilogue sur le débat sur l'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec," *Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 26, Spring (2014): 89–96.

²³ Marc-André Éthier and David Lefrançois. "L'histoire et l'éducation à la citoyenneté: quelle citoyenneté est promue par les nouveaux programmes d'histoire," *Formation et profession*, March (2009): 25–28.

²⁴ Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, des Loisirs et du Sport, *History and Citizenship Education, Cycle 2*, 2005. http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/education/jeunes/pfeq/PFEQ_histoire-education-citoyennete-deuxieme-cycle_EN.pdf

from secondary III to secondary IV.²⁵ However, the program designers felt this would be unfair for students, who would leave school after secondary III to pursue a professional degree, as they would have been subjected only to a fraction of Québec's history. The workgroup decided, instead, to have a chronological teaching of Québec's history in secondary III and a thematic teaching in secondary IV. This created, in practice, a feeling of redundancy for students, who felt they were studying the same things two years in a row.

To help teachers discriminate between content that should be taught in secondary III from the one that should be seen in secondary IV, the Ministry published a learning progression, which was a precision of the declarative knowledge to be studied during each year. Soon, the learning progression replaced the curriculum and teachers went back to a more transmissive teaching of history.²⁶ Finally, the historical narrative proposed by the curriculum was also a source for debate. Certain teachers and historians felt that the program was a form of federalist propaganda for the uniqueness of the Québec experience was not central to the taught narrative. They were in favor of a more traditional approach to history education where teachers tell a set narrative and students are tasked with memorizing it.²⁷ Other teachers and History educators such as Marc-André Éthier and Jean-François Cardin debated that students should be taught to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct narratives so that they could form their own understanding of Québec's history.²⁸ Throughout the length of its application from fall 2005 to summer 2016, the debates surrounding the HCE program did not stop.

During the provincial elections of 2012, Pauline Marois, the leader of the Parti Québécois, took advantage of the growing frustrations toward the HCE program and promised that if she was elected, she would enact a reform. Once in power, the Marois government mandated Jacques Beauchemin and Nadia Fahmy-Eid to produce a list of recommendations to guide a work group tasked with the rewriting of the curriculum.²⁹ This was the origin of the HQC curriculum that will now be described in more details. Yet, the reader should keep in mind that the HQC curriculum was written with the clear intention of calming the quarrels that surrounded the HCE program.

Goals and Structure of the HQC Curriculum

The overarching goals of the HQC curriculum are to help students: “acquire knowledge of the history of Québec and Canada; develop the intellectual skills

²⁵ Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, *Les états généraux sur l'éducation: rénover notre système d'éducation: dix chantiers prioritaires*. Québec, ministère de l'Éducation, 1996, 90. <http://www.meq.gouv.qc.ca/etat-gen/rapfinal/tmat.htm>

²⁶ Sabrina Moisan. “Citoyenneté minimale, démocratie et individualism—representations sociales d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire” *Enseigner et apprendre l'histoire: manuels, enseignants et élèves*, ed. Marc-André Éthier and Jean-François Cardin, Montreal, Éditions Multimondes.

²⁷ Éthier et al. Épilogue, 93.

²⁸ Éthier et al. Épilogue, 95.

²⁹ Québec, *Le sens de l'histoire*.

associated with the study of history and develop critical thinking and discussion skills conducive to social participation.”³⁰ The program can be divided into three sections; the first section presents the theoretical framework which guides the choice of competencies, content knowledge, and assessment criteria. The section begins by defining the nature of history and explains the usefulness of school history as a discipline that fosters critical thinking and democratic participation. Teachers’ and students’ roles are specified: students having to learn to think historically and build their historical identity and teachers having to transpose into the classroom a form of historical thinking pedagogy. Historical sources and use of evidence are seen as primordial as it is through their studies that the past is characterized and interpreted.³¹

Historical sources should be varied in nature and thus, the curriculum lists possible resources such as libraries, archives, and museums to be consulted by students and teachers alike. Although the curriculum cannot impose specific teaching and learning sequences, it informs the teacher about the types of sequences that are better suited to its aims. In this case, the Ministry suggests that history be taught using an open pedagogy as: “it enables students to explore several avenues rather than only one, involves various tasks, favors the use of several different types of research and communication media, and allows for different types of student work.”³² Finally, the theoretical framework section concludes by addressing the question of assessment. According to the curriculum: “Evaluation has two purposes: to help students learn, and to recognize the learning.”³³ However, how historical thinking should be assessed is not explained in this section of the curriculum.

The second section of the HQC curriculum presents the two competencies to be developed by the students. The first competency is named: “Characterize a period in the history of Québec and Canada.” Here, students are supposed to establish historical facts, chronology, and consider geographical features of a specific period in the history of Québec.³⁴ In other words, students must be able to identify and describe the characteristics of a specific period of Québec’s history and see how these elements influence the society of the time. Figure 13.1 presents a diagram of the key features of Competency 1 as it appears in the HQC curriculum.

To identify the characteristics of each period, students are expected to consult historical sources and debate evidence.³⁵ The competency provides the angle from which students will interrogate the available evidence, thus reducing the scope of the historical study and making it more manageable for the teenagers. Evaluation criteria specific to the first competency are:

³⁰ Québec, *Histoire*, 1.

³¹ Québec, *Histoire*, 6.

³² Québec, *Histoire*, 7.

³³ Québec, *Histoire*, 8.

³⁴ Québec, *History*, 9.

³⁵ Québec, *History*, 10.

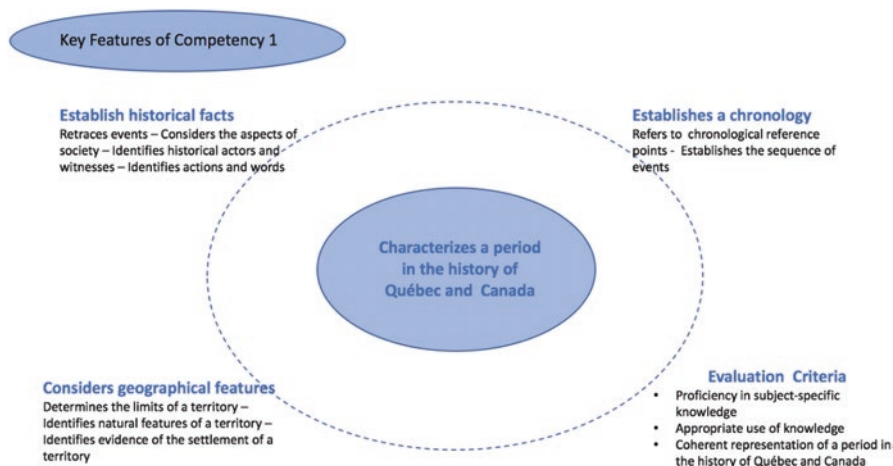


Fig. 13.1 Key features of Competency 1 as they appear in the HQC curriculum. (Québec, *History*, 11)

- Proficiency in subject-specific knowledge
- Appropriate use of knowledge
- Coherent representation of a period in the history of Canada.³⁶

The curriculum does not provide explanations on the choice of the criteria, nor a scoring rubric, it simply names them.

The second competency or Competency 2 is: Interprets a social phenomenon. This competency refers to a research method, based on Robert Martineau's historical method, where students must define the object of interpretation, propose hypotheses, analyze a social phenomenon and ensure the validity of his/her interpretation.³⁷ "Interpreting a social phenomenon requires the use of sources and contributes to the development of a set of intellectual skills that are associated with the study of history, such as conceptualization, analysis, examination of different interpretations, comparison and synthesis."³⁸ Students should be able to deconstruct and reconstruct the available narratives through the use of interpretation. To do so, they must be able to define the object of their interpretation, analyze historical phenomena by establishing causes and consequences and continuity and change, and ensure the validity of his/her interpretation by the careful use of available evidence. Figure 13.2 presents the diagram of the key feature of Competency 2 as stated by the curriculum.

³⁶ Québec, *History*, 11.

³⁷ Robert Martineau, *L'histoire à l'école, matière à penser* (Montréal: l'Harmattan, 1999), 149–151.

³⁸ Québec, *Histoire*, 13.

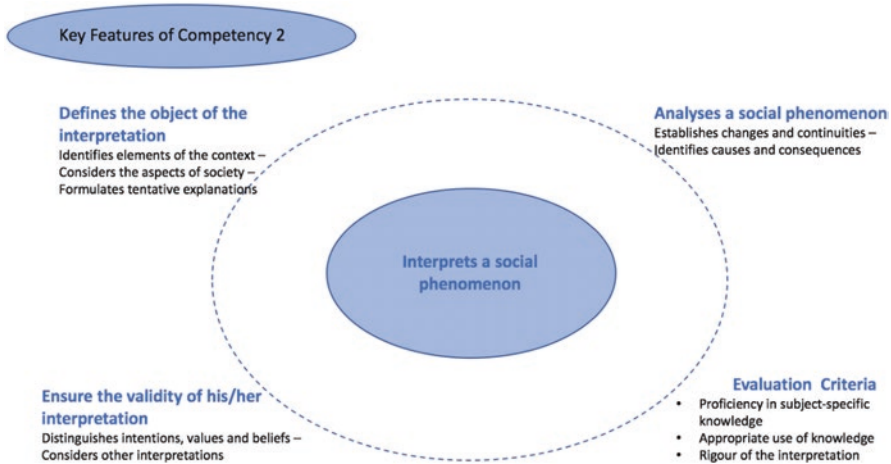


Fig. 13.2 Key features for competency 2

Again, the evaluation criteria specific to the competency are mentioned but the manner in which they must be implemented is not specified in the text. The first two evaluation criteria are identical to the ones found for Competency 1. Only the third criterion is unique to the second competency and asks that students be assessed on the rigor of their interpretation. What is a rigorous interpretation is not clearly stated but it could be assumed that it is an interpretation based on the key features of the competency.

The third section of the HQC curriculum includes a detailed enumeration of the content knowledge to be presented in class. Each school year will study a total of four historical periods. In secondary III, the historical periods are: origins to 1608, 1608–1760, 1760–1791, and 1791–1840; and in secondary IV, they are: 1840–1896, 1896–1945, 1945–1980, and 1980 to present. Each historical period is introduced by a summary of the historical context and a timeline identifying key events. Three specific first-order concepts are associated to each historical period to help organize and orient the study of the declarative knowledge. Events, dates, groups, and individuals associated to each period are specified in a bullet-point list. Table 13.1 proposes a summary of the historical period, their specific associated concepts, and the content knowledge to be acquired for each of them.

As it can be observed, the amount of content knowledge to be acquired by students varies from one historical period to the next. Most striking is the difference between the content knowledge associated with the experience of Indigenous people compared to the content associated with New France. To help teachers better understand the relationship between the competencies and the content knowledge, a diagram was created for each period. Figure 13.3 proposes an example of one of these diagrams.

Table 13.1 Content knowledge divided by year

Secondary III			
Historical period	Origins to 1608	1608–1760	1760–1791
	The experience of the Indigenous people and colonization attempts	The evolution of colonial society under French rule	The conquest and the change of empire
Specific concepts	Alliance Environment Trade	Adaptation Evangelization Mercantilism	Allegiance Assimilation Constitution
Content knowledge	First occupants of the territory Social relationship between Indigenous peoples Decision-making Indigenous trade networks Alliances and rivalries among the First Nations First contacts Exploration and occupation of the territory by the French	Monopoly of the chartered companies Royal Government French territory in America First Nations warfare and diplomacy Fur trade Catholic Church Population growth Cities in Canada Seigneurial system Economic diversification Adaptation of the colonist Indigenous populations Intercolonial wars War of the Conquest	Military regime Royal Proclamation Status of Indians Instructions to Governor Murray Protest movements Québec Act American invasion Loyalists Colonial economy Sociodemographic situation Catholic Church Anglican Church
Secondary IV			
Historical period	1840–1896	1896–1945	From 1980 to our times
	The formation of the Canadian federal system	Nationalisms and the autonomy of Canada	Societal choices in contemporary Québec
Main concepts	Federalism Industrialization Migration	Imperialism Liberalism Urbanization	Québec Civil society Neo-liberalism Sovereignism

Content knowledge	Canada's status in the British Empire	Power relations in the West	Redefinition of the state's role
Act of Union	Empire	Urban agglomeration	Indigenous rights
Colonial economy	Clerico-nationalism	Natural growth	Globalization of the economy
Responsible government	Canada's domestic policy	New arrivals	Québec's political status
Indian Affairs	Second phase of industrialization	Regional development	Sociodemographic change
British North America Act	Urban areas	Canadian federation	Gender equality
Federal-provincial relations	Mass culture	Indian residential schools in Québec	Cultural industry
National Policy	Women's struggles	Consumer society	Language issue
Migrations	Union movement	Duplessis era	Environmental concerns
Role of women	Catholic church	Neo-nationalism	Devitalization of communities
Presence of Catholic Church	Education and technical training	Quiet Revolution	International relations
Socio-cultural expression	Migration flows	Feminism	Information era
First phase of industrialization	First World War	Socio-cultural vitality	
Forestry industry	Great Depression	Self-determination of Indigenous nations	
Farms	Challenging capitalism	Employer-union relations	
	Second World War		

Period: Origins to 1608

Social phenomenon
The experience of the Indigenous peoples
and the colonization attempts



Fig. 13.3 Diagram for the origin to 1608 period. (Québec, *Histoire*, p. 21)

The manner in which the diagram should be understood is as follows: both competencies frame the study of the content knowledge which is, in turn, organized through the use of the specific concepts. Curiously, this diagram does not specify how each evaluation criteria should be adapted nor does it provide a scoring rubric detailing the awaited student abilities. To have a better sense of how the competencies and content knowledge should be assessed, teachers must turn to a separate document, the Framework for the Evaluation of Learning.

Framework for the Evaluation of Learning

The framework for the evaluation of learning is a separate document complementary to the HQC program that aims at explaining the assessment criteria associated with both competencies. It is rather a short document composed of only three pages. First, the document states that the proficiency in subject-specific knowledge is to be assessed as a separate item. The appropriate use of knowledge, the coherent representation of a period in the history of Québec and Canada, and the rigor of the interpretation all rely on the proficiency in subject-specific knowledge and thus their assessment is dependent on it. For example, a student interpretation is first and foremost assessed on the exactitude of its historical content and secondly on its rigor. The document also notes that the use and creation of technical tools, such as timelines, historical maps, or comparative tables, should not be considered in a student grade.³⁹

Each assessment criterion is then associated with a particular action that teachers will be able to observe and evaluate in their students. Proficiency in subject-specific knowledge is assessed by observing the exactitude of the content

³⁹ Québec, *Framework*, 2.

knowledge. For example, a research paper should be free of conceptual and chronological errors. The appropriate use of knowledge is evaluated through the execution by students of six intellectual operations, which are:

- Situate in time and space
- Establish facts
- Identify differences and similarities
- Determine changes and continuities
- Establish connections between facts
- Establish causal connections

The intellectual operations can be understood as procedural knowledge that allows students to play with the content knowledge and organize it in a manner that makes sense to them. Competency 1 is assessed by having students give a description of the cultural, economic, political, social, and territorial highlights of a period in time, while Competency 2 is evaluated through the: “explanation highlighting major cultural, economic, political, social and territorial changes relating to a social phenomenon.”⁴⁰ Although the framework for evaluation contributes to the understanding of the structure of the evaluation, it does not provide the value that should be attributed to each criterion, examples of answers expected of students at the end of secondary IV, and a set of scoring rubrics that takes into account students’ learning progression.

Ministerial Examination in History

Since the early 1970s, Québec’s Ministry of Education has been imposing on all secondary IV students, a ministerial examination in the field of Québec and Canadian history.⁴¹ Great emphasis is placed on the examination as all students must complete it at the same time in June and it is worth 50% of the student overall grade. Since a passing grade in HQC is mandatory to obtain a high school diploma, the provincial examination can have a considerable impact on a student’s possibility to graduate.⁴² The examination is divided into three sections that reflect the assessment criteria found in the Framework of evaluation document.⁴³ All three sections assess students’ proficiency in subject-specific knowledge, which means that the exam’s priority is the recollection and correct

⁴⁰ Québec, *Framework*, 3.

⁴¹ Jean-Philippe Werren, “Enseignement, mémoire, histoire: Les examens d’histoire de 4e secondaire du secteur de la formation Générale au Québec (1970–2012),” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* 25, no. 1 (Spring, 2013): 31–53.

⁴² Québec, *Épreuve*, 11.

⁴³ To alleviate teachers’ workload during the first years of the new HQC curriculum, the Ministry of Education is not imposing the provincial examination until June 2020. In the meantime, a provisional copy of the examination is provided and its value is decided by the individual School Boards. However, a quick comparison between the old version of ministerial examination and its

use of declarative knowledge. The first section of the examination is composed of 16 short answer questions that assess the appropriate use of knowledge through the work of the six intellectual operations. Each question focuses on a specific intellectual operation as observed in Fig. 13.4.

The number of questions dedicated to a particular intellectual operation appears to be random as it varies from one year to the next. To answer the 16 short answer questions, students must refer to the evidence found in a separate booklet, which provides primary and secondary sources of diverse natures (text, images, graph, maps, etc.) to be used. Texts are usually very succinct and they do not contain a clear cut and paste answer to the question as shown in Fig. 13.5, where we have the document associated with the question presented in Fig. 13.4.

The historical sources provided in the booklet are used in different ways. Some are the answers to a specific question, for example, students must place four documents in chronological order. Some questions will ask students to identify the correct document in the booklet and others will ask students to compare two documents. However, on many occasions, the documents only serve as a reminder of the declarative knowledge necessary to answer the question and the latter can be answered correctly by simply recollecting the correct information.⁴⁴ This section of the examination counts for a total of 44 points out of 60.

Document 6 refers to the economic policy France applied with its colonies. What is the name of this economic policy?

Establish Facts	1 point	0 point
	The student correctly the fact	The student does not establishes the fact correctly

Fig. 13.4 Example of a short answer question assessing a specific intellectual operation. (Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport, *Épreuve unique d'histoire questionnaire*, June 2016, 2)

"The production [...] intended uniquely to answer the needs of the [French] metropolis, profits very little the colony [...]. The policy [...] of the metropolis prevents the emergence of small businesses adapted to the needs of the colonies."

Jean-François Cardin and others, *Le Québec: Héritages et projets*, 2^e éd., Laval, Éditions HRW, 1994, p.97.

Fig. 13.5 Example of written document found in the evidence booklet. (Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport, *Épreuve unique d'histoire dossier documentaire*, June 2016, 3)

newest iteration shows very little difference in the overall focus and format of the exam. The only difference is the addition of a new question associated with Competency 1.

⁴⁴ Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement Supérieur, *Épreuve d'appoint, Histoire du Québec et du Canada, Document d'information*, June 2019, 8.

Describe the political and territorial aspects of colonial society between 1763 and 1774.

Name the constitution of the time _____		
Central element		
Limits of the territory under this constitution	Name of the colony under this constitution	Group for whom the south-west territory of the colony is reserved
Central element		
A concession made by the government to the Canadians	Name of the first governor of the colony under this constitution	Actions made by English merchants against this governor

Fig. 13.6 Example of diagram to be completed by student. (Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport, *Prototype d'épreuve, cahier de l'élève*, June 2018, 6)

The second section of the ministerial examination is associated with Competency 1 and thus, asks students to characterize a period in the history of Québec and Canada. To do so, students must identify, using the evidence found in the booklet, the cultural, economic, political, or social characteristics that represent Québec society at a given time. Students complete a diagram (Fig. 13.6) provided in their answer sheet.

To make the question more challenging, the evidence provided in the booklet contains lures or, in other words, documents from other historical periods than the one targeted by the question. Students must be able to discern the right documents from the set provided and use them to complete the diagram. This second section is worth 8 points out of 60.

Finally, the third section of the ministerial examination assesses the rigor of the interpretation criteria associated with Competency 2. Students are asked to explain either the causes or consequences of an event or the elements of continuity and change between two events. Contrary to the other sections, students have to write a short text to explain their interpretation. Historical documents are provided in the booklet and all of them can be used in the answer. The third section of the examination is worth 8 points out of 60.

Recent statistics show that the HQC exam has one of the least successful rates of all the provincial examination.⁴⁵ For example, the success rate for the

⁴⁵ Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, *Tableau 5: Résultats par matière, pour l'ensemble du Québec, de 2011 à 2015*, 2015. <http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/eleves/examens-et-epreuves/resultats-aux-epreuves-uniques-de-juin-2015/tableau-5/>

2012 history examination was 68.6%.⁴⁶ This is the second lowest pass rate, preceded only by the results obtained in mathematics (61.9%).⁴⁷ Considering the impact of the examination on students' ability to graduate, the current situation causes concern. A possible explanation for the poor success rate might be that the aim of the program and what is assessed by the provincial examination are not aligned. To verify this, a better understanding of the models of historical thinking found in the HQC curriculum is necessary.

HISTORICAL THINKING IN QUÉBEC

While a majority of history educators agree that historical thinking should be the focus of history class, few share the same understanding of what it means to think historically.⁴⁸ In this situation, the province of Québec stands at the crossroad of two different traditions. On one side is the French-Canadian tradition with Robert Martineau's model at its core,⁴⁹ which is partly based on Christian Laville's approach to history education.⁵⁰ Martineau describes historical thinking as: "an attitude and an appropriate language which, in relation to an object (the past) and from specific data (evidence), starts and directs the reasoning necessary to the production of a representation of the past (an interpretation)."⁵¹ Martineau's model divides historical thinking into three elements: a historical attitude, a historical method, and a historical language.⁵² Historical attitude includes students' historiographical knowledge, historical consciousness, critical thinking, an understanding of History as a discipline, and an understanding of the social value of school history. The historical method is the ability to problematize the past and following a hypothetico-deductive method, use evidence to answer questions and explain one's reasoning. Finally, historical language is composed of facts, concepts, and theories. Students are thus said to develop their historical thinking when they understand history as a discipline that seeks to better understand the past using a scientific method combined with literacy skills.

⁴⁶ Québec, *Tableau 5*. Note that in 2012, the HQC curriculum was not yet implemented or even created. However, the orientation and format of the provincial examination has underwent little to no change from 2012 to 2019, and thus we feel that the success rate of 2012 can serve as an indicator or the possible success rate in June 2019.

⁴⁷ Québec, *Tableau 5*.

⁴⁸ Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically, Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Peter Seixas, "What is Historical Consciousness," In *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada*, ed. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 11–22; Samuel Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and other Unnatural Acts. Changing the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴⁹ Martineau, *L'histoire*, 154–156.

⁵⁰ Christian Laville, "Enseigner de l'histoire qui soit vraiment de l'histoire," *Mélanges René Van Santbergen*. No. special des *Cahiers de Clio* (Brussels, 1984), 171–177.

⁵¹ *Our translation*, Martineau, "L'histoire," 154.

⁵² Martineau, "L'histoire," 155.

The second most commonly found historical thinking model is Peter Seixas' six second-order concepts.⁵³ Students can be brought to think meaningfully about the past by looking at the evidence, by establishing historical significance, by identifying causes and consequences, by observing the continuities and changes, by taking a historical perspective, and by considering the ethical dimension.⁵⁴ For Seixas' second-order concepts: "[...] underlie all or our attempts to come to terms with the past and its implications for decisions in the present. They are not 'all or nothing': students can get better at understanding them, using them and working with them."⁵⁵ Historical thinking does not spontaneously develop in students' minds. The model relies on the teachers to ask thought-provoking questions and engage students in a research process that puts all six second-order concepts in context.⁵⁶ This, for Seixas, does not imply that content knowledge is unimportant but that the second-order concepts give the students the proper tools to play with the historical knowledge and become more active in their learning of history.⁵⁷

Although both models have their particularities, they both understand history as a scientific discipline that seeks to better comprehend the present by the study of the past. They also rely on inquiry as the pedagogical framework that allows students to use either the historical method or the second-order concepts to deconstruct and reconstruct available narratives. Historical evidence is at the center of both models since without these traces, interpretation of the past is rendered impossible. Finally, both Seixas and Martineau view historical thinking as a form of critical thinking necessary to the development of tomorrow's citizens.

HISTORICAL THINKING AND THE HQC CURRICULUM

Which historical thinking model is used in the HQC curriculum? Contrarily to the new Ontario History program, which is clearly framed around Seixas' historical thinking model,⁵⁸ Québec's curriculum is less clear. Indeed, elements simultaneously found in both models are common in the published text. For example, history is described as a scientific discipline that relies on a set of historical skills and an historical method to make sense of the past.⁵⁹ In this brief description, Seixas' model is referred to when it comes to the intellectual skills

⁵³ Peter Seixas, "Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding," in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development*, ed. David, R. Olson et Nancy Torrance (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 765–783; Seixas, "What Is," 18, Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big 6 Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013), 3–4.

⁵⁴ Seixas "Conceptualizing," 765–783; Seixas, "What Is," 18; Seixas and Morton, *The Big 6*, 3–4.

⁵⁵ Seixas, "What is," 19.

⁵⁶ Seixas and Morton, *The Big 6*, 9.

⁵⁷ Seixas and Morton, *The Big 6*, 4.

⁵⁸ Ontario, Ministry of Education, *Canada and World Studies; Geography, History, Civics (politics)*, 2013, 13.

⁵⁹ Québec, *Histoire*, 1.

akin to the second-order concepts and Martineau's model with the reference to the historical method. Citizenship education is another common theme found in both models and picked up by the curriculum that aims: "to enable students to take part in the democratic life of the classroom or the school and to develop an attitude of openness to the world and respect for diversity."⁶⁰ Although Seixas' model sees citizenship education as one possible goal among many, it is at the core of what Martineau calls the historical attitude.⁶¹ Citizenship education is linked, in the HQC curriculum, with the development of students' critical thinking. Interestingly, critical thinking is more closely associated with certain second-order concepts such as cause and consequences, continuity and change, and historical perspective than with Martineau's historical method or historical attitude.⁶²

Inquiry and historical evidence play a crucial role in the learning of history, according to the program. Teachers should favor inquiry through the use of an historical method and students are made to question the past before trying to answer these questions through the use of evidence. Teachers have the responsibility to identify which intellectual skill will be predominantly developed by students in a given activity.⁶³ Students must, on their part, learn to analyze evidence by assessing its validity through the use of criteria and cross-checking the information with other available sources.⁶⁴ Diverging interpretations should be debated and students have the responsibility to question their own historical biases.

In this instance, the HQC curriculum seems to be merging Seixas' and Martineau's models as the historical methodology (Martineau) provides the scaffold in which the second-order concepts (Seixas) can be used. This mixed model is also present in the description of both Competency 1 and Competency 2. For example, Competency 1 (Characterizes a period of Québec and Canada's history) focuses on students' work with the available evidence in a fashion akin to what Martineau calls the historical language.⁶⁵ In doing this, they establish significance by giving importance to events that can be considered as a turning point in Québec and Canadian history.⁶⁶ Competency 2 (Interpret a social phenomenon) is also a good example of the intertwining of both models as it is framed around Martineau's historical method and identifies several second-order concepts to be developed by students. For example, the curriculum states "when students analyse a social phenomenon, they establish changes and continuities related to it, attempt to assign limits to its duration, and identify causes and consequences of these changes and continuities. [...] In addition, for each group studied, students observe that, viewed from different perspectives,

⁶⁰ Québec, *Histoire*, 3.

⁶¹ Martineau, *L'histoire*, 155.

⁶² Québec, *Histoire*, 5.

⁶³ Québec, *Histoire*, 6.

⁶⁴ Québec, *Histoire*, 5.

⁶⁵ Québec, *Histoire*, 9. Martineau, *L'histoire*, 155.

⁶⁶ Québec, *Histoire*, 9.

change may sometimes create advantages and sometimes disadvantages.”⁶⁷ Second-order concepts are seen here to work hand in hand with the historical method. Overall, it would appear that the HQC curriculum takes from both Martineau’s and Seixas’ model using Martineau’s model to frame the students’ work and using the second-order concepts as a form of procedural knowledge that allows students to play with the content knowledge in a meaningful manner.

This understanding of historical thinking based on a mixed model is also found in the program’s assessment criteria. The proficiency in subject-specific knowledge is related to Martineau’s historical language as it refers to students’ ability to establish facts, understand overarching concepts and different historical interpretations. The appropriate use of knowledge common to both competencies is composed of the six intellectual operations where four of them (identify differences and similarities, determine changes and continuities, establish connections between facts [perspectives], and establish causal connections) are related in a certain manner to Seixas’ second-order concepts. The characterization of a period of history is based on students’ ability to use historical evidence and make inferences, something which is common to both models.

Finally, the rigor of the interpretation is conditional to students’ capacity to question the past using the second-order concepts and conduct research following the steps of the historical method. The framing of the HQC curriculum, even if it also aims at the building of identity and cultural memory, focuses heavily on the development of historical thinking. However, the evaluation criteria provided by the curriculum remain vague when it comes to describing student awaited abilities or the degree of sophistication their historical thinking skills must reach. The curriculum and associated documents thus leave the teacher with a pressing question: how should historical thinking be assessed?

HOW SHOULD HISTORICAL THINKING BE ASSESSED?

We have argued that the HQC curriculum aims at developing students’ historical thinking but how should it be assessed? Because the program is elaborated around two competencies, ultimately what should be assessed is the students’ ability to use the competencies’ key criteria in a given situation.⁶⁸ Moreover, the emphasis given to inquiry based learning makes problem-solving one of the better suited assessment model available.⁶⁹ Problem-solving is akin to Martineau’s historical method as the latter is an adaptation of the former for the specific needs of history education.⁷⁰ This proximity is not only observed by Martineau, but other authors such as Bruce VanSledright, who proposes an assessment model based on inquiry, problem-solving, and

⁶⁷ Québec, *Histoire*, 12.

⁶⁸ Gérald Scallon. *L'évaluation des apprentissages dans une approche par compétences* (Saint-Laurent: Édition du renouveau pédagogique, 2004), 107, 156.

⁶⁹ Scallon, *L'évaluation*, 141–142; Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 9.

⁷⁰ Robert Martineau, *Fondements et pratiques de l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école: Traité de didactique* (Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2010), 168–186.

students' ability to use evidence in a critical manner.⁷¹ Seixas and Morton also suggest activities that require from students some problem-solving skills as the pedagogical structure provides a natural environment for the development of the second-order concepts.⁷² Problem-solving gives meaning to the use of evidence as students find their answers in the available historical sources and learn a form of historical literacy by assessing the author's intent, by establishing the validity of the source, by corroborating the information with other forms of evidence, and by noting the limits of the available documentation.⁷³

What about the memorization of content knowledge? Martineau and Seixas all agree that content knowledge acquisition goes hand in hand with the learning of historical thinking, but they note that its rote memorization is not useful in the long run.⁷⁴ The Framework for Evaluation Document specifies that proficiency in the subject-specific knowledge is essential but it does not state that this proficiency equals the memorization of content.⁷⁵ Subject-specific knowledge cannot be reduced to facts either. It can include a myriad of declarative knowledge (facts and first-order concepts) and of procedural knowledge (second-order concepts). Thus, proficiency should not be limited to memorization mostly when it comes to procedural knowledge as VanSledright notes: "Being able to simply state a definition of one or more of these concepts can help, but is likely insufficient. It is how students deploy them in practice—perform them as it were—that is of most interest [...]."⁷⁶ Thus, assessment of historical thinking should have a double focus, first an interest on how students gain historical knowledge by the use of evidence and second, an interest on student ability to use procedural knowledge such as the second-order concepts in an inquiry-based activity.

Although scoring rubrics for historical thinking are available in the literature, information on what makes a good answer is more difficult to find. Since there is no end point to the development of a competency, what level of sophistication are students supposed to reach? VanSledright proposes a few examples of assessment scoring rubrics for interpreting account-based questions.⁷⁷ Although the criteria used in the scoring rubrics provide insight into students' awaited abilities, it is more related to historical literacy than historical thinking. Denos and Case also provide a few scoring rubrics in their teacher-oriented

⁷¹ Bruce A. VanSledright, *Assessing historical thinking & understanding* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 81–93.

⁷² Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 9.

⁷³ VanSledright, *Assessing*, 94, Virginie Martel, *Développer des compétences de recherche et de littératie au Primaire et au Secondaire: Former à l'enquête en classe d'histoire* (Montréal: JFD Éditions, 2018), 62–65.

⁷⁴ Martineau 2010, 252; Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 4.

⁷⁵ Québec, *Framework*, 1.

⁷⁶ VanSledright, *Assessing*, 82.

⁷⁷ VanSledright, *Assessing*, 91.

book, but they do not seem to be assessing historical thinking as much as students' ability to debate.⁷⁸ Seixas and Morton's *The Big Six* has guide posts for each of the second-order concepts.⁷⁹ For example, historical significance has four guide posts:

1. "Events, people, or developments have historical significance if they resulted in change.
2. Events, people, or developments have historical significance if they are revealing.
3. Historical significance is constructed. That is, events, people, and development meet the criteria for historical significance only when they are shown to occupy a meaningful place in a narrative.
4. Historical significance varies over time and from group to group."⁸⁰

Each guidepost has a demonstration of both limited and powerful understandings. For the first historical significance guidepost, the example of a student with a limited understanding is: "student shows an unexamined faith in the textbook or other authority as a basis for significance, or relies on simple personal preference as the basis for historical significance,"⁸¹ while powerful understanding is described as: "student explains the historical significance of events, people, or development by showing that they resulted in change."⁸² If the guideposts allow teachers to assess whether or not their students have reached the level of sophisticated thought associated with the second-order concept, they do not provide criteria to monitor a form of progression. Can students' answers fall in between a limited and a powerful understanding? Moreover, what is to be expected of students in different age groups?

The lack of a model of progression of historical thinking has been voiced since the 1990s and yet, no empirical model has been proposed due, in part, to the complexity of the task.⁸³ However, in the early 1990s, British scholars Lee, Ashby, and Dickenson have conducted a longitudinal study (the CHATA

⁷⁸ Mike Denos and Roland Case. *Teaching about Historical Thinking: A Professional Resource to Help Teach Six Interrelated Concepts Central to Students' Ability to Think Critically about History* (Vancouver: Critical Thinking Consortium, 2006).

⁷⁹ Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 24.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Pierre-Philippe Bugnard. "En histoire enseignée, l'évaluation des compétences se heurte à l'écueil de la progression," In *Didactiques de l'histoire, de la géographie et de l'éducation à la citoyenneté, recherches et pratiques*, ed. Marc-André Éthier et Éric Mottet (Louvain-la-Neuve: De Boecksupérieur, 2016), 39–54; Peter Seixas, "Assessment of Historical Thinking," In *New Possibilities for the Past; Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 139–153; Denis Shemilt, "The Validity of Historical Thinking Assessments," In *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking*, ed. Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas (New York: Routledge, 2015), 246–256.

project)⁸⁴ of school-aged children to establish a progression model of their historical understanding.⁸⁵ According to these authors, historical understanding can be measured through the students' understanding of history as a discipline and their ability to make sense of historical sources.⁸⁶ Through their results, they have identified six levels of historical understanding where at the lowest level the student considers the traces of the past as a simple story and at the highest level where evidence must be read in the light of a specific question.⁸⁷ The authors also note the non-linear nature of historical understanding development where the understanding of a seven-year-old student may exceed that of an older student.⁸⁸ However, the CHATA project focused solely on the progression of historical understanding and did not consider the different second-order concepts associated with historical thinking. One could hypothesize that students' ability to think historically develops in a non-linear fashion and that progress might be linked with students' epistemological understanding of the discipline.

In summary, the assessment of historical thinking is not a simple task. Yet, using the available literature, it is possible to circumscribe six general criteria that need to be met for an evaluation to truly assess historical thinking:

1. Assessment should take the form of a problem-based task and focus on students' ability to make sense of the past using the historical method, first and second-order concepts.
2. Assessment should have students performing certain tasks since second-order concepts or, in the case of the HQC curriculum, competencies can be considered to be a form of procedural knowledge.
3. Assessment of students' work with evidence should be based on criteria for historical literacy.
4. Memorization of declarative knowledge should not be assessed as it is not an integral part of historical thinking.
5. Right or wrong questions should be avoided as it is the sophistication of students' thinking that should be at the core of the evaluation.
6. Although a progression model is not available, the structure of an evaluation should enable students to show their level of sophistication of understanding of history as a discipline.

⁸⁴ Peter Lee and Rosalyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding in Students Ages," 7–14; In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 199–222.

⁸⁵ Historical understanding can be understood as a form of historical consciousness where students realize both the distance that separates them from the past and the influence of the past on their present and future.

⁸⁶ Lee and Ashby, "Progression," 203.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 213.

Thus, if the HQC curriculum aims at developing historical thinking, its' assessment should respect these six criteria. To see whether it does or not, we must turn toward the ministerial examination as it is the only complete assessment example provided by the government.

BREACH IN COHERENCE FOUND BETWEEN THE HQC CURRICULUM AND THE MINISTERIAL EXAMINATION

To assess whether or not the ministerial examination and HQC curriculum are perfectly aligned when it comes to the assessment of historical thinking, both documents were analyzed using Laveault and Grégoire validity of testing model.⁸⁹ This model is inspired by Messick's concept of validity,⁹⁰ as well as Kane's assessment of validity model,⁹¹ where validity can be understood as: "an overall evaluative judgment of the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of interpretations and actions on the basis of test scores or other modes of assessment."⁹² According to Laveault and Grégoire,⁹³ validity can be measured through test construct, content tested, answering process, internal structure of the test, and consequence of the test. Each aspect mentioned here will be briefly explained before proceeding to the analysis of the quality of the alignment between the HQC curriculum and the ministerial examination.

Validity of Construct

Validity is derived from the principle of coherence, in that there is a close connection between what is evaluated and what is learned. According to Messick, the proof of validity is that of the "construct."⁹⁴ Thus, when elaborating a measuring instrument, here the ministerial examination, it is important to begin by identifying the curriculum theoretical foundations since it is this framework that will orient the structure of the measuring instrument and give it value. It is possible to conduct an analysis of the proof of validity by comparing the theoretical framework found in a curriculum and the one emerging from a particular examination. The theoretical framework on which the HQC curriculum rests is the development of historical thinking through the mobilization of the two competencies (e.g., characterize a period in the history of Québec and Canada and interpret a social phenomenon).

⁸⁹ Dany Laveault and Jacques Grégoire. *Introduction aux théories des tests en psychologie et en science de l'éducation* 3rd éd. (Louvain-La-Neuve: De Boeck, 2014).

⁹⁰ Messick, "Validity," 741.

⁹¹ Kane, "Explicating," 202–203.

⁹² Messick, "Validity," 741.

⁹³ Laveault and Grégoire. *Introduction aux théories*.

⁹⁴ Messick, "Validity," 742.

Thus, the Québec ministerial examination should assess whether students have reached the level of development required for both competencies. As a guide, the curriculum provides evaluation criteria for both competencies and at the surface the provincial examination does seem to be built around these criteria. However, a closer look shows that this might not be the case and that what is assessed is not what is prescribed by the curriculum.

As previously described, the ministerial examination is divided into three parts. The first part aims at assessing the proficiency in subject-specific knowledge and the appropriate use of knowledge, which are the two criteria common to both competencies. Consequently, one could assume that the first section of the provincial examination wishes to assess both competencies at the same time. However, following an analysis of the type of questions found in the first part of the examination, it would appear that they require students to memorize facts rather than examining how students use knowledge in a procedural fashion. This observation is shared by Déry, who argues that most questions do not need students to rely on the provided evidence as they can simply recall the information in order to answer the question correctly.⁹⁵ Blouin, in her forthcoming master thesis, has questioned students on the strategies they used when completing the first part of provincial examination and corroborating Déry's conclusions, she has found that students principally rely on memorization skills as they feel it is the most effective strategy.⁹⁶

Moreover, a careful reading of the questions shows that this part of the examination does not target the specific concepts associated to each historical phenomenon studied but rather isolated events and historical figures that might not have been taught in class. It would thus appear that there is a coherence breach between what the HQC curriculum and provincial examination consider to be an appropriate use of knowledge, the former associating it to a form of procedural knowledge and the latter on the memorization of declarative knowledge.

The second part of the examinations is said to focus on the criteria for coherent representation of a period in the history of Québec and Canada and thus be linked to the first competency. According to the program: "Characterizing a period in the history of Québec and Canada requires the use of evidence and contributes to the development of a set of intellectual skills that are associated with the study of history, particularly conceptualization, comparison and synthesis."⁹⁷ The ministerial examination does require students to use historical sources and discriminate them to complete the diagram found in this section of the test. However, no marks are attributed to students work with the available

⁹⁵ Catherine Déry, "Description et analyse des postures épistémologiques sous-tendues par l'épreuve unique ministérielle de quatrième secondaire en histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté," *McGill Journal of Education* 52, no. 1, (2017). <http://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/9456/7216> 2008

⁹⁶ Lauriane Blouin, *L'influence de la compétence à lire sur la réussite de l'épreuve unique d'histoire nationale des élèves de 4^e secondaire*, (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi, 2019).

⁹⁷ Québec, *Histoire*, 10.

evidence. Points are only given to the answers found in the diagram on the basis of their accuracy. Students' ability to contextualize, conceptualize, compare, and synthesize information is not directly assessed. Also, by already providing the structure for the diagram, the examination takes away the possibility to observe the mobilization of skills associated with historical thinking. Again, the provincial examination seems to mostly focus on the restitution of declarative knowledge.

The third part of the provincial examination is directed toward the second competency and wishes to assess the rigor of an interpretation. In order to do so, the curriculum states that students must identify elements of the historical context, analyze a social phenomenon by establishing changes and continuities and by identifying causes and consequences, and he or she must ensure the validity of their interpretation by distinguishing between values and beliefs and by considering different interpretations of the past.⁹⁸ It appears that the only manner to assess all these elements would be through the completion of a complex problem-solving task based on the interpretation of evidence. The provincial examination does ask students to use the provided historical sources to answer a short essay type question requiring them to identify either the causes or consequences of an event.⁹⁹ However, the answer is not assessed on the quality of the students' argument but on the historical plausibility of the identified causes or consequences.¹⁰⁰ For example, a student who would conclude that the direct consequences of a given historical event are difficult to pinpoint because historians hold opposite opinions and proceed to argue this answer using historical evidence would not be given any marks in the Québec provincial examination even though such reasoning is clearly associated with the competency in the curriculum.

Although the Québec ministerial examination is elaborated from all three evaluation criteria found in the HQC curriculum, there is an important variation between the understandings of what they encompass. Both documents seem to rely on two different theoretical frameworks, one aimed at the development of historical thinking and the second at the memorization of content knowledge. This variance affects the validity of the construct of the provincial examination as it does not appear to be constructed with the aim of assessing students' historical thinking.

Validity of Content

Laveault and Grégoire explain that the validity of the content can only be reached if the evaluation is reviewed and formalized by experts of all the characteristics of the items that the test claims to measure.¹⁰¹ In the case of the ministerial exami-

⁹⁸ Québec, *Histoire*, 14.

⁹⁹ Québec, *Épreuve*, 8.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰¹ Laveault and Grégoire, *Introduction aux théories*.

nation, this would mean that all questions should be reviewed by experts in the field of history and history education and by skilled teachers. In addition, once the questions have been formulated, they must be submitted to experts in the field of assessment to ensure that the test actually assesses what it should.

Available information says that the Ministry of Education consults a small group of teachers when elaborating the provincial examination.¹⁰² However, historians and history educators seem to be absent from this group as significant historical inconsistencies are present in the available copies of the ministerial evaluations. Indeed, as we have argued, historical thinking is not evaluated in the provincial examination. Questions are not framed around problem-solving tasks nor do they focus on procedural knowledge. In the curriculum, the intellectual operations are akin to Seixas' second-order concepts and should be: "helping students to think about how historians transform the past into history and to begin constructing history themselves."¹⁰³

The intellectual operations found in the ministerial examination only orient the kind of answer students will have to provide. For example, in the June 2014 iteration, question 3 read: "Find a cause of the rivalry between New France and the British colonies starting in the 17th century."¹⁰⁴ In this case, students do not need to explain the cause or use the cause to build a narrative, they only need to name it, something they might achieve by memorization. Overall, points are given to the correct answer and not the quality or rigor of the interpretation provided by the student. These few points raise questions about who the Ministry consults when preparing an examination. Historians, history educators, skilled teachers and assessment specialists would probably notice the distortion between the aims of the program and what is being assessed in the provincial examination.

Answering Processes

Analyzing the validity of a measuring instrument also involves analyzing student answering processes.¹⁰⁵ To do so, one must verify if the steps taken by the students to produce their answers correspond to what is foreseen in the curriculum. Again, we can identify gaps between the aims of the HQC program and what is asked of the student in the provincial examination. According to the curriculum, students should be sufficiently proficient to use the different intellectual operations associated to each competency in order to characterize and interpret the past.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the focus of the evaluation should be on assessing whether or not students have reached that level of sophistication. However, the fact that most of the examination is constructed around short and closed

¹⁰²This information was shared by M. Pierre Barbe, the person in charge of evaluation for the field of history during a meeting held in Québec, in October 2018.

¹⁰³Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six*, 3.

¹⁰⁴Québec, *Ministerial Examination*, June 2014, question 3.

¹⁰⁵Laveault and Grégoire, *Introduction*.

¹⁰⁶Québec, *Histoire*, 8.

questions does not provide the space necessary for students to demonstrate their skills. It leads them to rely on their memory to complete the task as they feel it is the most advantageous strategy for success.¹⁰⁷

The curriculum mentions at numerous occasions the importance of developing a form of historical literacy by having students work with historical documents in a critical manner.¹⁰⁸ However, the examination does not grant any marks for completing such a task and the question structure does not always make explicit why a document should be used or not. The quality of the iconographic documents can also be questioned as some are difficult to decode and do not allow the pupil to deepen his or her thinking. For example, a painting of Grosse Île found in the June 2015 provincial examination provides no clear information to the student apart from its caption. The poor quality of the impression paired with the non-emblematic landscape makes it a difficult document for students to use in an argument. This type of document does not provide the context necessary to observe a student's answering process and is thus, of little value in an examination.

The Internal Structure of the Test

The analysis of the internal structure consists in verifying that the relationship between the items and between the components of a test is in conformity with what the reference model provides.¹⁰⁹ In the case of the ministerial examination, there are several missing elements to ensure that the internal structure is held. First, the examination aims to certify that students have reached the level of competency in historical thinking required for graduation. Yet, 42 out of 60 points are given to knowledge-based questions as opposed to the 18 points given to skill-related questions. Second, historical sources should be used by students to support their interpretation of the past. However, in the examination, sources often lack legibility (black and white photocopies often of poor quality). They sometimes give the answer to a question in their caption while others have been so condensed that they can hardly be considered a form of evidence. Third, at no moment does the provincial examination assess whether the student has developed the critical thinking skills that allow them to distance themselves from the past, which is an integral goal of the HQC curriculum.¹¹⁰

The Consequences of Testing

According to Kane, it is important to consider the purpose of the test and what will be the overall consequences for both students and teachers.¹¹¹ In the case of the ministerial examination, its primary function is the certification that

¹⁰⁷ Blouin, *L'influence*, forthcoming.

¹⁰⁸ Québec, *Histoire*, 8, 10, 13.

¹⁰⁹ Laveault and Grégoire, *Introduction*.

¹¹⁰ Québec, *Histoire*, 13.

¹¹¹ Kane, "Explicating," 202–203.

students have minimally achieved the expectations of the HQC curriculum. The value of the examination, 50% of the student's overall history grade, and the fact that secondary IV history is mandatory to obtain a high school diploma in Québec increase its influence upon teachers' pedagogical choice and students' understanding of the discipline.

Although teachers know they should not teach to the test, when faced with a provincial examination that has such an influence on students' academic progression, very few do not consider its format in their teaching. The emphasis given on content knowledge by the provincial examination might explain, in part, why Québec teachers are reluctant to move away from a knowledge acquisition pedagogy to a more open classroom and inquiry-based style of teaching.¹¹² Moreover, this causes an imbalance in the HQC curriculum itself as more importance is given to the list of declarative knowledge thus diminishing the centrality of the two competencies. As result of this, teachers find it difficult to discriminate between important and trivial facts listed in the program.

Every event and every detail listed has to be studied in class in case it appears in the provincial examination. The history course then becomes a yearly marathon where the goal is less the development of students' thinking skills but the checking of all the boxes to make sure no information has been left behind. At the opposite, a teacher who would mainly focus on historical thinking through the development of the two competencies would probably set their students for failure at the provincial examination. Students who are used to inquiry-based learning, critical analysis of available evidence, and master construction and deconstruction of historical narratives would possibly be lost when confronted with the exam as their understanding of history as a discipline would be diametrically in opposition with the type of history that is assessed. Thus, the ministerial examination does not provide any incentive for teachers to "move from the periphery to the core" when it comes to history education and, on the contrary, acts as a hurdle that assures a form of stagnation in teacher practices.¹¹³

CONCLUSION

In his analysis of the HQC curriculum, Boutonnet has argued that historical thinking was present but not enough was done to ensure its teaching in the classroom.¹¹⁴ However, article 13 of the Loi sur l'instruction publique prevents the Ministry of Education from imposing a pedagogical structure that would render the teaching of historical thinking mandatory in the classrooms.

¹¹²Vincent Boutonnet, Vincent. *Les ressources didactiques: typologie d'usages en lien avec la méthode historique et l'intervention éducative d'enseignants d'histoire au secondaire*. Doctorate Thesis, (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 2013).

¹¹³Alan Sears, "Moving from the Periphery to the Core: The Possibilities for Professional Learning Communities in History Teacher Education," in *Becoming a History Teacher, Sustaining Practices in Historical Thinking and Knowing*, ed. Ruth Sandwell and Amy von Heyking (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 11–29.

¹¹⁴Boutonnet, "Une analyse," 69.

Thus, the Ministry does not have many cards up its sleeves when it wishes to promote a pedagogical change. One of these cards is the choice of a competency-based program that focuses on skills mobilization. Because both competencies in the HQC curriculum have strong ties with Seixas' and Martineau's models of historical thinking, by mobilizing the competencies in class, students would be developing their ability to think historically at the same time. The second card is the one of assessment.

This is where, in our opinion, the Ministry has not gone far enough. The HQC curriculum does not provide sufficient information on the evaluation criteria. For example, the term "proficiency in content specific knowledge" can lead to confusion as many teachers believe it relates to the memorization of declarative knowledge. The absence of scoring rubrics and of a progression model signifies that teachers have no means of reassessing their understanding of what should be assessed and how it should be assessed. This confusion is reinforced by the ministerial examination, which seems to assess solely students' ability to recall information. As Kane states: "[...] a state mandated testing program that is used to hold schools accountable for student learning as measured by the test might help to focus attention on particularly valued parts of the curriculum and encourage higher standards of performance (positive consequences), but they might also encourage teaching to the test and contribute to a narrowing of the curriculum (negative consequences)."¹¹⁵

Unfortunately, the actual format of the provincial examination does not focus on the overall program objectives but only on a limited section that pertains to the acquisition of declarative knowledge. Something that the curriculum does not place much emphasis on but that is very easy to assess. The ministerial examination thus appears to be an example of intellectual laziness for it does not tackle the difficult task of assessing historical thinking favoring instead the overused and obsolete evaluation of memorized knowledge. Until this is changed, teachers will have little to no incentive to move away from a pedagogy based on the memorization of content and history class may remain the dry and intellectually unchallenging subject that most students abhor.

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¹¹⁵ Kane, "Explicating," 213.

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From Knowing the National Past to Doing History: History (Teacher) Education in Flanders Since 1918

Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse

In 2019, a double educational reform was introduced in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking northern part of Belgium. New final attainment objectives, so-called standards, were gradually implemented in secondary school education (starting from the 7th grade onwards) for each school subject, including history. This reform coincided and co-evolved with another reform that transformed the teacher training program into a master's program for those students aiming to teach in the upper years of secondary.

This contribution analyzes both reforms in a long-term perspective, focusing primarily on history (teacher) education. The guiding question asks how secondary school history education as well as academic history teacher education evolved throughout the past century, and how both interacted. What were the main aims attributed to history education? What pedagogical and didactical methods were put to the fore to implement these goals into practice? Who decided upon those aims and methods, and to what extent were history education scholars and history teachers involved in the decision making process? How were prospective teachers prepared for teaching? And who were the stakeholders involved in reforms?

In what follows, the contribution first provides a brief historical overview of curriculum reforms in Belgian/Flemish secondary school history education since 1918. The subsequent main aims of history education as well as the peda-

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gological/didactical methods put to the fore are analyzed, against the backdrop of broader societal evolutions, such as the Belgian nation-state being in decline and the rise of regional nationalism, as well as against the backdrop of developments within academic historiography and (history) education research. The analysis includes the identification of the different actors and stakeholders involved in the curriculum reforms. The second part focuses mainly on the current reform of secondary school history education. Again, the main aim at present attributed to history education, its operationalization, and the stakeholders involved in the reform are addressed. Subsequently, after providing a brief overview of the historical development of academic (history) teacher education, the way the new educational master of history is organized in order to train prospective teachers to implement the renewed history standards in classroom practice is examined.

In so doing, the contribution makes use of and refers to both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources consist of history curricula and standards, policy notes, decrees approved in the parliament, and testimonies of stakeholders involved in the reforms. The secondary sources are peer-reviewed published research studies addressing history education and its development stemming from different disciplines, such as: the history of (history) education and history education research.

SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY EDUCATION AND ITS PATRIOTIC, CIVIC, AND DISCIPLINARY ASPIRATIONS (1918–2018)¹

Belgium has been established as an independent nation-state in 1830. Previously, the territory belonged to various political entities, such as the Spanish and Austrian Low Countries under the House of Habsburg, France, and the United Kingdom of Netherlands. Belgian society was, right from the start, marked by various lines of fracture. Next to ideological (between Catholics and non-Catholics) and socio-economic (between laborers and entrepreneurs) divergences, a communitarian line of fracture divided the young nation-state in a Dutch-speaking and a francophone language group. However, in order to cope with the opponents of Belgian independence, the various groups in the young Belgian state initially decided to work together. This led to the Liberals having a strong voice in the new Constituent Assembly, and to the Belgian Constitution having a strong liberal character. In that constitution, freedom of education was one of the cornerstones. As a consequence, the Belgian government traditionally did not have a strong presence in matters of education in Belgium.² By contrast, the educational networks established independently of

¹Largely based on Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse. "Torn Between Patriotic, Civic and Disciplinary Aspirations. Evolving Faces of Belgian and Flemish History Education, from 1830 to the Future." *Nationalities Affairs*. "New Series // Sprawy Narodowościowe." *Serianowa* 50 (2018): 1–16.

²Els Witte, Jan Craeybeckx and Alain Meynen, *Political history of Belgium from 1830 onwards* (Brussels: Academic and Scientific Publishers, 2009).

the state, had (and still have) a strong autonomy. Initially, there were two networks: the ‘free,’ mainly catholic and the public network. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new networks were established, such as the municipal or provincial educational networks and very small educational networks such as the Steiner schools network.

The two largest networks, however, were and still are the Catholic and the public networks. At present, they house nearly 73% and 20% of all students in Flemish secondary education, respectively. The government did not impose standards upon the educational networks, which could therefore develop their own curricula. The government nevertheless established a state inspection that examined whether the curricula the networks developed were implemented as intended. The principal goal both main (private and public) networks throughout the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century attributed to history education was, in line with many other Western countries, the fostering of patriotism.³

History Education in the Inter-War Period: In the Service of the Nation

The First World War exerted an important influence on the reflection about history education in Belgium (and elsewhere).⁴ Soon after the end of the ‘Great War,’ and in line with other Western European countries, debates took place in political and educational circles as well as in society at large, about the main aim of history education. On the one hand, some (including many politicians) pleaded that history education had to make a renewed effort to foster Belgian patriotism and a national identity. In their opinion, the collaboration of a number of Flemings with the German occupier during the War and growing Flemish nationalism clearly showed that there was still a lot of work to be done in this respect. Stimulating the remembrance of the sacrifice Belgian soldiers made at the front was considered a good means to foster patriotism. Others, by contrast, from their interpretation that exaggerated patriotism had been one of the causes leading to the devastating First World War, made a plea that history education rather had to foster international peace and reconciliation. This could be achieved, amongst others, via the remembrance of the horror of the

³Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Kaat Wils, “The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source: History Education in Belgium. A Historical Perspective,” in *National History Standards. The problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*. (International Review of History Education vol. 5), ed. Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: IAP, 2009), 15–31.

⁴Mona Siegeland Kirsten Harjes, “Disarming Hatred: History Education, National Memories, and Franco-German Reconciliation from World War I to the Cold War.” *History of Education Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (2012): 370–402.

war. These pleas were in line with what the *Commission Internationale de Coopération Intellectuelle* in the lap of the League of Nations promoted.⁵

Those two contrasting viewpoints led to fierce debates during the inter-war period about the cultural conception of the curriculum: which aim was desirable for citizens in society?⁶ A growing number of history teachers, pedagogues, and opinion makers declared themselves in favor of a history education serving peace and reconciliation. From that point of view, they attacked the preponderant attention for *histoire bataille* in history education and wanted to see it replaced by the history of human civilization, paying more attention to the study of culture, economy, social questions, and customs and traditions. Furthermore, they advocated for an integration of national, Belgian history into the account of general (European-oriented) history instead of the national past being treated separately.⁷ Academic historians stood somewhat aloof from these debates, as they opposed in principle the idea of *historia magistra vitae*. In their opinion, the study of history should not serve contemporary civic goals, of any kind.

The debates during the inter-war period about the aims of history education and what historical contents it should address coincided with pedagogical discussions about the educational conception of the curriculum.⁸ Reform pedagogues—history education scholars were not available in the inter-war period in Belgium—made strong pleas for a more active education. They rejected a purely teacher-centered, lecturing approach in the history classroom. In their opinion, the past should no longer be approached in an encyclopedic way, oriented towards learning historical facts by heart; they required that students be actively involved in history education.⁹

History Education 1945–1970: From Patriotic to Democratic Citizenship Aims

Despite the heated discussions, no real reforms were implemented in the inter-war period, during which fostering patriotism remained history education's main goal. On a didactical level, the teacher continued to occupy center stage in the history lessons; the students were only assigned a passive role in the classroom.¹⁰ After the World War II ended, the abovementioned debates

⁵Tine Hens, Saartje Van den Borre and Kaat Wils, *Oorlog in tijden van vrede: De Eerste Wereldoorlog in de klas, 1919–1940* (Pelckmans: Kalmthout, 2015).

⁶Arie Wilschut, "Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference? The cultural and the educational approach to the debate about standards in history teaching," in *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History* (International Review of History Education vol. 5), ed. Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: IAP, 2009), 113–135.

⁷Hens et al. *Oorlog in tijden van vrede*, 2015.

⁸Wilschut. "Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference," 2009.

⁹Van Nieuwenhuysse, "Torn Between Patriotic, Civic and Disciplinary Aspirations," 2018.

¹⁰Wils, "The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source," 2009.

related to the cultural conception of the curriculum were nevertheless relaunched. Initially, a fairly widespread consensus arose that the Belgian educational system had failed to encourage a sense of patriotism and civic duty, given the significant collaboration with the German occupier, particularly in Flemish as well as in Catholic circles.¹¹ Education policymakers' answer to this conclusion in a first instance was a plea for a renewed patriotic zeal. From the late 1950s onwards, however, a left-wing group of influential history educators and inspectors in public education hatched on an alternative and proposed a so-called 'planetary' view on history. National Belgian history should not be taught in its own right anymore, yet should be embedded in a more internationalist, even global discourse, or so they claimed, in order to reinforce democratic citizenship instead of patriotism.¹² This plea, in which echoes resounded of the ideas of, for instance the American educationalist Harold Rugg, was accompanied by a request to pay more attention to recent history and emphasize more of its importance in history education.¹³ For recent history was presumed to stir more interest among students, and to be more relevant for them. Educators and teachers from the Catholic, private education network reluctantly followed those pleas.¹⁴ This attitude can be explained by a Catholic discomfort about the own time, in which Catholic faith lost prominence in society. Moreover, the Catholic network, concerned with its autonomy, was suspicious of representatives of another network, and of inspectors appointed by the government.

The incessant efforts of this left-wing group to feed the debates on history education led to gradual changes during the 1950s and 1960s. From small, pure practice-based pilot projects that they set up in a limited number of schools (in which members taught themselves), this group gradually started to weigh on the curriculum, particularly that of public education. Some innovative trends were also introduced in Catholic education.¹⁵ The changes affected the goals and content as well as the didactics of the school subject. The main goal of history education slowly but surely evolved from fostering patriotism to instilling a Western-oriented democratic and critical citizenship. National history became gradually integrated into an account of general (Western) history. At the same time, the national past was stripped of the teleology it had had throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Histoire bataille* made way for the history of (Western) civilization, in which a balance was sought between

¹¹Tessa Lobbes, "Verleden zonder Stof. De Gedaanten van het Heden in het Belgische Geschiedenisonderwijs (1945–1989)" (PhD diss., University of Leuven, 2012).

¹²Tessa Lobbes, "Geschiedenisonderwijs tegen de Horizon van het Heden. Het Experiment van Leopold Flam in het Nederlandstalige Rijksonderwijs (1955–1970)," *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 42, no. 1 (2012): 139–92.

¹³Winters, E.A., "Harold Rugg and Education for Social Reconstruction" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968).

¹⁴Lobbes. "Verleden zonder Stof," 2012.

¹⁵Lobbes, "Geschiedenisonderwijs tegen de Horizon van het Heden," 2012; Wils, "The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source," 2009.

political, economic, social, cultural, and religious topics, and attention was paid to intra-European intercultural contacts. Under the influence of the *Annales* school and the social history approach in historiography, the account of the past in history education started to focus more on major, large-scale phenomena (such as imperialism, urbanization, or capitalism) and underlying structures (such as ownership structures, power relations etc.) in the past. Besides, recent and contemporary history was attributed a much more prominent place, particularly in the public network. This choice was legitimized by civic and motivational arguments. In order to turn them into good, democratic citizens and to enable them to play their role in future society, so the reasoning went, students particularly had to be taught the historical roots of contemporary society. Moreover, it was argued that the recent past, much more than issues from a remote past, would stir interest in history among students. The focus on students was not only present in selecting content, but also caused a slow shift from a teacher-centered to a student-centered history education. Active teaching strategies started to appear, particularly via the introduction of primary sources, which were used to allow students to empathize with agents in the past.

Those changes were instigated by history teachers, inspectors, and pedagogues, with little input from academic historians. Various reasons can explain this evolution. First, teachers and inspectors, as they united in history teacher associations, gained a stronger position at the expense of academic historians. Besides, the guild of academic historians themselves lost its interest in history education being oriented towards the recent past and civic goals. In academia, the expertise in contemporary history, which gained strength in the secondary school subject, was very limited. It was only after 1945 that contemporary history was acknowledged as a scientific sub-discipline within the field of history, and it was still considered, by most academic historians, to be inferior when compared to ancient, medieval, and early modern history. Furthermore, academic historians continued to reject the idea that history should be ‘useful,’ and be put in the service of citizenship. Also, they did not feel at ease anymore in debates on history education. For, pedagogical aspects which fell out of the scope of their expertise, started to prevail. As a result, the divide between academia and secondary school history education widened.¹⁶ The fact that no history education research was conducted at universities, and thus no expert history education scholars were available, further contributed to this widening divide.

History Within the ‘Reformed Secondary Education’ (1970s–1980s): Existential Crisis

The gradual reforms being implemented in history education reflected a widespread and broader demand for radical social and cultural reform in secondary

¹⁶ Lobbes, “Verleden zonder Stof,” 2012.

education in general, particularly emerging during the 1960s, inspired by the democratization paradigm of education. This advocated for encouraging more students to make the transition from primary to (upper) secondary education, and for a more egalitarian education ensuring that all students would go through the same content and educational dimensions. Subsequent socialist ministers of education from 1963 onwards (such as Victor Larock, Henri Janne, Fernand Dehousse, Elie Van Bogaert, and Piet Vermeyleen) supported this demand, which would culminate in a big educational reform with the establishment, in 1970, of the so-called ‘Reformed Secondary Education.’¹⁷

This introduced a series of structural and pedagogical innovations, such as a common core curriculum, particularly for the first two years of secondary education, as students were considered too young to make a well-considered study choice yet; new evaluation techniques not purely focusing on the reproduction of knowledge, but rather on group work and creativity; teaching methods geared towards engaging students; new subjects addressing economic and social sciences; and interdisciplinarity bringing together various disciplines into one school subject (e.g. ‘Man and environment’ combining aspects of history, geography, and economics). The latter was in line with curriculum reforms in the United States, where a curriculum entitled ‘Man: A course of study’ was developed by Jerome Bruner and colleagues, and in the United Kingdom, where Lawrence Stenhouse worked on the Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP).¹⁸ Both clung to inter- and multidisciplinary educational approaches. The students, the subject matter or the teacher were not put at the center of education any longer. Furthermore, it was claimed that all students ought to have access to and participate in present day’s democracy. Education, therefore, strongly concentrated on explaining contemporary society.¹⁹

This viewpoint heavily impacted history education, whose position came under attack. According to critics within education as well as society at large, history lessons were antiquated and unnecessary, because of little social or civic use. Furthermore, they criticized the fact that the school subject history was insufficiently oriented towards global history. They, therefore, wanted to replace history education by a new subject of ‘societal education.’ In order to defend the position of their school subject, history inspectors for their part stressed the importance of current questions of human rights, social justice, emancipation, and democracy.²⁰ It is worthwhile to note in this respect that these statements were prepared on the basis of personal beliefs and experiences,

¹⁷ Bregt Henkens, “The Rise and Decline of Comprehensive Education: Key Factors in the History of Reformed Secondary Education in Belgium, 1969–1989,” *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 1–2 (2004): 193–209.

¹⁸ Jerome Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966); Lawrence Stenhouse, “The Humanities Curriculum Project,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 1(1968): 26–33.

¹⁹ Lobbes, “Verleden zonder Stof,” 2012.

²⁰ Van Nieuwenhuysse, “Torn Between Patriotic, Civic and Disciplinary Aspirations,” 2018.

and were not evidence-based. History education research was still not conducted in Flanders/Belgium; history education scholars were not available.

After long and fierce debates between advocates and opponents, a compromise was reached. History education remained, but in a reduced form, and with a different outlook. National history was almost abolished: history itself was stripped of its national framework and was resolutely replaced by a (Western-)European historical framework. This was connected to the fact that the memory of the Second World War in Belgium had become ideologically charged and communitarian, as particularly (Dutch-speaking) Flemish and Catholic circles had collaborated with the Nazi-German occupiers.²¹ This raised the question of how to give shape then to a memory of the war, acceptable for all groups in society. Every memorial activity for instance was very delicate and bore the risk of causing turmoil, and hence possibly endangering the very existence of Belgium. As a result, the Belgian government chose not to invest in national identity building anymore in popular historical culture. This decision was also influenced by the growing political visibility of both Flemish and Walloon nationalist movements. Subsequent Belgian governments aimed to avoid stirring a memory of war between national (Belgian) and regional (Flemish and Walloon) memories.

This line was continued in history education, where patriotic discourse was replaced by a Western, Eurocentric discourse of attachment to democracy, human rights, tolerance, and solidarity. History was, thus, put in the service of democracy. It was expected to serve democratic citizenship and to pass on democratic, human rights, and enlightened values. Within this new paradigm, special attention was paid to the ‘dark pages’ of the past, particularly connected to colonialism, war, prejudice, and social inequality. As learning from and following *exempla* of great and virtuous men from the past had proven not to be effective, curriculum developers became increasingly convinced that young people might probably learn lessons in a more efficient way from the ‘wrong’ past, providing examples not to follow.²²

This new orientation and the main goal of history education had the effect that contemporary history occupied center stage. For the recent past was considered more ‘useful’ and ‘relevant’ for students than the remote past. Furthermore, the approach of the past became very presentist and sometimes even anachronistic; moral judgment prevailed over historical understanding.²³ The new thematic rather than chronological approach contributed to this, as the themes primarily consisted of dark pages from the past, which were

²¹Valerie Rosoux and Laurence van Ypersele, “The Belgian National Past: Between Commemoration and Silence,” *Memory Studies* 5, no. 1 (2012): 45–57.

²²Lobbès, “Verleden zonder Stof,” 2012; Wils, “The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source,” 2009.

²³Lobbès, “Verleden zonder Stof,” 2012. For examples, see Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, “From Triumphalism to Amnesia: Belgian-Congolese (Post) Colonial History in Belgian Secondary History Education Curricula and Textbooks (1945–1989),” *Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics* 35 (2014): 79–100.

subsequently condemned according to contemporary moral standards. Slavery in ancient Greece was for instance condemned, as a violation of human rights. Another characteristic was that historical themes were addressed in a very structural and social sciences way, searching for large, underlying patterns in the past.²⁴ In so doing, history education was clearly influenced by social history and the *Annales* School. This also became visible through the fact that attention was mostly paid to political and socio-economic issues; cultural and religious issues were less addressed.

The reform of history education addressed both the cultural and the educational conception of the curriculum.²⁵ The way in which history was taught also changed. A pedagogization of the subject occurred, meaning the attention shifted from a pure reflection on the content of the subject to how the subject should be taught. The new curricula in the 'Reformed Secondary Education' put skills and attitudes to the fore, particularly critical thinking ones. Source analysis was highly valued, as a means to both engage students and exercise critical thinking skills. The latter were considered in a realist way: the analysis always led to determining 'the truth.'²⁶

Even though history education remained, its position was only temporarily secured, for the debates about its right to exist continued. As the subject had become very present-oriented, Daniel Coens, Flemish Minister of Education in the 1980s, suggested once more to replace history education altogether with a new subject titled 'societal formation.' This fuelled fierce debates again. On this occasion, academic historians re-appeared on the scene and took part in the debates. They did so, on the one hand out of concern for the preservation of history as a school subject as such, but on the other hand, because they saw a decrease in the number of history students at the universities and feared that the disappearance of the secondary school subject history would only strengthen this process.

Academic historians, supported by many history teachers and associations of history teachers, started to strongly oppose what they called 'the dictatorship of the present' and the 'indoctrination of societal formation.' They made a plea for the reevaluation of the disinterested study of the past, and for the necessity of teaching a chronologically inspired historical frame of reference and critical source handling.²⁷ The renewed interest in secondary school history education led to the history departments of the universities becoming gradually more aware of the importance of maintaining good contacts with the field of secondary school history education, and starting to slowly stimulate historical research (particularly in the 1990s).

Educational debates in the 1980s were not limited to history; they also addressed 'Reformed Secondary Education' as a whole, regarding its feasibility

²⁴ Wils, "The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source," 2009.

²⁵ Wilschut, "Canonical Standards or Orientational frames of reference," 2009.

²⁶ Wils, "The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source," 2009.

²⁷ Lobbes, "Verleden zonder Stof," 2012.

and desirability, particularly in the private, Catholic network. Here, ‘Reformed Secondary Education’ was not generally introduced in all schools. By contrast, schools could freely choose to either implement the new program or stick to the existing one. This resulted in a battle between ‘traditional’ and ‘reformed’ schools in the Catholic network. The battle only ended in 1990, when secondary education in Belgium, as an answer to the ongoing battle, faced a new reform, and a ‘unified’ type of education was established. This ‘Unified Education’ provided a compromise between the reformed and the traditional type of secondary education. Its implementation coincided with a second major development: the regionalization of (secondary) education. As a result of the increasing communitarian tensions, the continuous rise of the Flemish and (to a lesser extent) Walloon nationalist movement, and their call for more regional autonomy for the different language communities within the country, it was decided that several policy matters would be gradually transferred to the regional Communities. With regard to education policy, in 1989 a long process came to an end, with the handover of all educational matters from the federal (Belgian) level to the Flemish, the French, and (the very small) German Communities.²⁸ Education in the Flemish Community consequently became an exclusive policy matter of the regional Flemish government and parliament. In the next paragraphs, the focus will be solely on Flemish history education.

History Education in Flanders Since 1990: Compulsory Subject Torn Between Civic and Disciplinary Ambitions

In the new ‘unified’ type of education in the Flemish community, history education acquired a fixed place in the basic curriculum of general (where it was studied for two hours a week) and technical secondary education (where it was studied for one hour a week). In vocational education, aspects of history were merged with other subjects into a new subject entitled ‘Project General Subjects.’ The regionalization of education brought about a major policy change. For the first time in Belgian/Flemish history, the regional governments set final attainment objectives or standards, delineating the minimum targets students should meet, per stage, for each school subject in secondary education.²⁹ The networks could then ‘translate’ and concretize the standards in their own curricula, which had to be in line with the standards.

The standards for history education were among the last being finalized. Long and fierce debates, among (history) educators and pedagogues in particular, preceded the approval. In the first instance, in January 1993, a commission responsible for the development of history standards was established,

²⁸Tessa Lobbes and Kaat Wils, “Belgium,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Conflict and History Education in the Post-Cold War Era*, ed. Luigi Cajani, Simone Lässig, and Maria Repoussi (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 101–111.

²⁹Wils, “The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source,” 2009. Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse and Kaat Wils, “Remembrance Education between History Teaching and Citizenship Education” *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 7, no. 2 (2012): 157–71.

composed of a pedagogue (the head of the Department for Educational Development at the Flemish Ministry of Education and Formation), (history) inspectors, and members of the different educational networks, of which some were generalists and other history educators. They were expected to develop new history standards by the end of March 1993. The Commission did not, however, succeed in reaching an agreement.

The major obstacle, in which both cultural and educational conceptions of the curriculum echoed, was the question whether in the first stage of secondary education (grades 7 to 8) a general chronological overview of history, including all seven periods of the traditional Western historical frame of reference (Prehistory, Ancient Near East, Classical Antiquity, Middle Ages, Early Modern Period, Modern Period, and Contemporary History), needed to be provided. A proposal was introduced that identified fifteen milestones throughout the human past, such as 'nomadic people,' 'the Frankish empire,' or 'the era of discovery.' These milestones were expected to be taught in the first stage; they addressed particularly Western political and social history. Representatives of the public network were in favor while those of the private, Catholic network were against this idea. This led to an impasse. The addition of Lieve Vanmaele, a Professor of Instructional Psychology, who was asked to adjust the proposal by applying a scientific approach in line with learning methods, complicated things further. The stalemate remained.

The Ministry of Education then turned, in July 1994, to the history departments of the Flemish universities. History professors, at the same time responsible for history teacher education in their institution, and taking their first steps in history education research, were invited to compose a new proposal. This was an important development, as it bridged to a certain extent the gap between academia and secondary school history education that had widened ever since 1945. The academic experts mainly relied on evidence-based and theoretical-conceptual research literature, developed by English (such as Peter Lee and Denis Shemilt) and German scholars (such as Bodo von Borries and Hans-Jürgen Pandel). By the fall of 1994, the three history education scholars, Raf De Keyser (University of Leuven), Werner Goegebeur (University of Brussels), and Frank Simon (University of Ghent) reached an agreement on history standards for grades 7 to 8, which was finally approved in 1995 by the Flemish parliament.

The new standards left a lot of freedom to the educational networks with regard to the sensitive issue of the general chronological overview of history. The networks were free to pay much or little attention to this in grades 7 to 8. Besides, the new standards stated that history teachers needed to maintain a balance between political, socio-economic, and cultural issues in their history classes. In the subsequent years, history standards were also developed for grades 9 to 12.

The compromise that had been reached shows that history educational scholars had managed to leave a strong mark on history education. Looking back at the debate on the history standards, it is notable, furthermore, that this

debate was mostly held among educational stakeholders. Only in the build-up to the approval of the standards in the Flemish parliament in 1995, politicians started to intervene in the discussion. Chris Vandembroeke, Member of Parliament for the Flemish-nationalist party *Volksunie*, demanded that a final attainment objective be added, stating that young people “spontaneously propagate a Flemish consciousness.” Politicians of all other political parties protested, and ultimately, this proposal was rejected.³⁰

This shows that after the regionalization of education, regional authorities continued not to interfere too much in (history) education. In popular historical culture, the Flemish government did actively interfere in memory politics, among others, via promoting the official Flemish holiday (July 11). This policy did not, however, fundamentally affect history education. The Belgian tradition of freedom of education and autonomy for the school networks was left intact.³¹

The history standards consisted of three parts: an explanatory text in which the main goals and principles of history education were explained, some 25 to 29 specific attainment targets per stage, and guidelines to follow when selecting concrete historical knowledge. In general, as explained in the explanatory text, the history standards put two main aims to the fore. On the one hand, they required that the school subject offer an introduction to history as a scientific discipline, in which the past can be discerned after an extensive learning process of source criticism. On the other hand, they expected history education to help prepare young people to become good and responsible citizens, and ascribed the subject four functions with regard to ‘pupils as members of society’:³²

- to develop ‘historical consciousness’ (i.e. “the establishment of relationships between past and present and [...] the opening up of lines of thinking in the direction of the future”)
- to offer cultural training (with a special focus on “the way in which people from European and non-European societies perceived their reality and on the basis of their perception of that reality shaped it further”)
- to offer training in ‘social resilience’ (the critical handling of information)
- to stimulate ‘identity building’

³⁰ Hans Cools, “An Ongoing Past: The Second World War in Flemish History Textbooks for Secondary Schools.” *Historical Understanding and Reconciliation in the EU and Asia: How Do We Represent Aggressors and Victims of War in History Education?* 1, no. 1 (2011): 57–68.

³¹ Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse and Kaat Wils, “Historical Narratives and National Identities. A Qualitative Study of Young Adults in Flanders.” *Journal of Belgian History* 45, no. 4 (2015): 40–72.

³² Flemish Ministry of Education and Training, “Secundair onderwijs, derde graad ASO: Uitgangspunten bij de vakgebonden eindtermen geschiedenis,” Brussels, 2000.

The standards stated that history education should support young people in their search for both personal and social identities. In so doing, they emphasized the plural character of identity. They did not refer to, nor tried to support, a (sub)national identity.

The main frame of reference was rather Western (and especially Western European) oriented. Belgian (or Flemish) history was hardly referred to.³³ Only one final attainment objective in the third stage (grades 11 to 12) explicitly referred to the Belgian past, requiring that “students analyze the lines of fracture within the evolving Belgian society from 1830 onwards.”³⁴ The values underlying the history standards—democracy, critical citizenship, human rights, and Enlightenment values such as freedom and equality—were also Western-oriented. Despite their Western orientation, the standards did explicitly encourage students to frame historical phenomena in a broader global context, that is, through the requirement to address at least one non-Western society per stage. In so doing, the standards showed the ambition that they wanted to take into account the growing impact of supranational political structures, globalization, and intercontinental migration. At the same time, this strategy reaffirmed the Western orientation of the history curriculum, suggesting that the most important part of history was to be found in the historical trajectory of Europe and the Western World. For, by studying non-Western societies in a separate manner, the standards created the impression that ‘they’ (those societies) could be considered completely unrelated to ‘us’ and thus fell outside of the ‘regular’ history.³⁵ In that sense, the curriculum constituted a new articulation of the old division between ‘the West and The Rest.’³⁶

In defining the standards, the three abovementioned history education scholars made a deliberate choice not to enumerate specific factual knowledge that had to be taught. This decision was confirmed by the Flemish parliament, since it approved the standards. The specific attainment targets per stage did not list historical facts required to be addressed in history education, yet rather put forward broad and general ideas such as ‘Students show the relativity of the Western periodization by confronting it with periodization elements conceived in another culture or from a global perspective’ or ‘Students formulate a coherent representation for each development stage of Western civilization, with attention to connections between and interactions within societal domains.’ They mostly only suggested some guidelines to follow when selecting concrete historical knowledge to address in the classroom. The standards nevertheless put some content-related principles to the fore. The history teacher had to ensure a balance between political, socio-economic, and cultural issues

³³ Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, “Historical Narratives and National Identities,” 2015.

³⁴ Flemish Ministry of Education and Training. “Secundair onderwijs, derde graad ASO vakgebonden eindtermen geschiedenis,” Brussels, 2000.

³⁵ Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, “Historical Narratives and National Identities,” 2015.

³⁶ Stuart Hall, “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity* (Understanding Modern Societies: An Introduction – Book 1), ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge: Polity Press-Blackwell-Open University, 1992), 185–227.

throughout each school year. The curriculum was set up in a chronological way. In the first stage, apart from a general historical overview, the historical periods of Prehistory, Ancient Near East, and Classical Antiquity had to be addressed; in the second stage the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period; and in the third stage the Modern Period and Contemporary History. In general, the standards continued to adhere to a very structural and social sciences approach of the past. The influence of the *Annales* School, for example, became very obvious via references to Braudel's concept of *la longue durée*.³⁷

Instead of listing content, the standards put critical thinking skills and attitudes to the fore, in order to connect to the academic discipline of history. In so doing, however, they adhered to an outmoded 'realist' disciplinary approach, geared towards a search for 'the historical truth.' The 'perspectivist' approach was only implicitly touched upon. This approach, however, prevailed since the 1990s in academia in Flanders, and emphasized the constructed and interpretative character of history.³⁸ Concrete suggestions and guidelines on how to critically assess the usability, trustworthiness, and value of sources in constructing a historical account were not provided. Reasoning about sources—the critical assessment of the value of information and the usefulness and limits of the source, recognizing the author's perspective and analyzing what sources *do*, while taking into account the context in which the source was produced—was almost paid no attention to.³⁹ In general, the standards did not explicitly address the need for epistemological reflection. They promoted constructivist elements, especially in terms of student-centered teaching methods and engaging students rather than epistemology.⁴⁰

The absence of epistemological reflection was also reflected in the standards' partly contradictory expectations with regard to the position of the present. On the one hand, they expected teachers to teach their students in line with the academic history discipline, to place historical facts in their historical context and detach themselves from the present. On the other hand, however, they encouraged the examination of the past starting from a concern for contemporary social problems and aiming to develop a sense of good civic behavior.⁴¹

³⁷ Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, "Between Non-Human and Individual Agents: The Attribution of Agency in Flemish History Textbook Chapters on the Cold War," in *Teaching the Cold War: International Perspectives on Memory Practices in Educational Media and in the Classroom*, ed. Barbara Christophe, Peter Gautschi and Robert Thorp (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 159–180.

³⁸ Wils, "The Evaporated Canon and the Overvalued Source," 2009.

³⁹ Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Hanne Roose, Fien Depaep, Lieven Verschaffel and Kaat Wils, "Reasoning with and/or about Sources? The Use of Primary Sources in Flemish Secondary School History Education." *Historical Encounters* 4, no. 2 (2017): 48–70.

⁴⁰ Van Nieuwenhuyse, "Torn Between Patriotic, Civic and Disciplinary Aspirations," 2018. Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse and Kaat Wils, "History Educational Research into Historical Consciousness in Flanders." in *Contemplating Historical Consciousness: Notes from the Field*, ed. Anna Clark and Carla Peck (Berghahn Books: New York, 2019), 46–60.

⁴¹ Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, "Remembrance Education," 2012.

This tension was even more explicitly present in the so-called cross-curricular final objectives of secondary education, established in 2010.⁴² These final objectives constituted a set of minimum school targets that had to be addressed beyond specific subjects, on a school level, and that aimed at developing young people's personality and raising them to be good and active citizens. Remembrance education was one of these objectives; it was defined as 'a means of instructively looking back to the own past and that of societies elsewhere in Europe or the world, in order to learn where society should go from here.'⁴³ Translated into a specific final objective, it was formulated as to 'learn from historic and present-day examples of intolerance, racism and xenophobia.'⁴⁴ Remembrance education thus instrumentalized the past and put history solely in the service of present-day citizenship objectives. This led to a very narrow-minded, one-sided, and limited approach of the past, in which only those elements of historical elements serving the present-day civic aims were withheld, and in which historical contextualization and differentiation between collective memory and history were completely absent.

HISTORICAL THINKING AT THE CENTER OF SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY EDUCATION (2019–)

In the summer of 2014, soon after a new Flemish government was sworn in, the new Minister of Education, Hilde Crevits, announced the reform of secondary education. As the standards were almost a quarter of a century old and society had, meanwhile, experienced profound changes, she considered that the time was right for a modernization of secondary education in Flanders. The eight European key competencies for lifelong learning, as identified in 2006 by the European Commission, served as a guiding principle and as a starting point.⁴⁵ Those eight European key competencies were translated into sixteen Flemish key competencies, such as: self-consciousness and expression, citizenship competence, cultural consciousness and expression, geographical consciousness, and historical consciousness.⁴⁶ For each competence, new standards

⁴² See Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse, "'Remembrance Education' and the Historization of Holocaust Memories in History Education." *Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics* 33 (2012): 207–26.

⁴³ Flemish Ministry of Education and Training, *Starting Points for the Cross-Curricular Final Objectives Outlined for Secondary Education* (Brussels, 2010).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ European Commission, *Key competences for lifelong learning: European Reference Framework* (Publications Office of the European Union, 2007).

⁴⁶ Flemish government, *Ontwerp van decreet betreffende de onderwijsdoelen voor de eerste graad van het secundair onderwijs. Memorie van toelichting* (Brussels, 2018). On the one hand, 'consciousness,' so it was confirmed by officials of the Ministry of Education, was chosen as a uniform term beyond specific competences; while using 'historical consciousness,' they did not deliberately refer to the concept of 'historical consciousness' as used in history education research by many scholars such as Peter Seixas (ed.), *Theorizing historical consciousness*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, Buffalo & London, 2004) and Jörn Rüsen, *History: Narration, Interpretation,*

had to be developed. This implied a major change compared to the previous standards, which were established by subject. The government now continued to impose new standards, but gave the educational networks the freedom on how to achieve them. The networks could decide autonomously how to combine final attainment objectives of various competencies in specific school subjects. Meanwhile, with the start of the reform in September 2019, it has become clear that the educational networks still cling to history as an autonomous school subject; they do, however, add a number of final attainment objectives belonging to the citizenship competence to the school subject of history.

In contrast with the previous process of the 1990s, academic historians responsible for history teacher education and actually conducting history education research were now involved in the standards' development process from the very beginning. The Flemish government explicitly required that the new standards for each key competence would connect to relevant and internationally accepted frames of reference. In so doing, it acknowledged the importance (and existence) of subject-specific education research and the expertise of particularly university scholars in this field. For history education in particular, history education research conducted in Flanders had increased significantly from the 1990s onwards.⁴⁷ At the same time, the government also continued the policy of not interfering with the content of the standards.

In 2015, Bruno De Wever (University of Ghent) and Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse (University of Leuven), both responsible for history teacher education at their respective universities and active as history education scholars conducting research in this field, were asked to write a 'frame of reference text' which would underlie the development of the new history standards. Based on international research literature, on research they conducted (themselves or with colleagues such as Kaat Wils), and on examples of standards/curricula of other countries (such as of the province of British Columbia in Canada, England, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, South-Africa, and the French Community in Belgium), the two experts had to develop a general framework for the 'historical consciousness' competence. Subsequently, and within the bounds of this framework, standards would be developed.

The two experts decided not to orient history education towards 'historical consciousness' (even though the key competence was named that way), yet put 'historical thinking' to the fore as history education's ultimate aim.⁴⁸ In so

Orientation, (Berghahn Books: New York & London, 2005). On the other hand, the officials' initial idea of how 'historical consciousness' should be given shape was nevertheless closely related to its key idea of connecting past, present, and future to each other.

⁴⁷ Bruno De Wever and Christophe Verbruggen, "De toekomst van geschiedenisdidactiek in Vlaanderen. Evidence based?," in *Essays over de leraar en de toekomst van de lerarenopleiding*, ed. Ruben Vanderlinde, Isabel Rots, Melissa Tuytens, Kris Rutten, Ilse Ruys, Ronald Soetaert and Martin Valcke (Gent: Academia Press, 2013), 137–150; Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, "History Educational Research into Historical Consciousness in Flanders," 2019.

⁴⁸ For an overview of the conceptual differences between both, see Peter Seixas, "Historical consciousness and Historical thinking," in *Palgrave handbook of research in historical culture and*

doing, they relied on their own history education research expertise, with regard to the use of sources (including movies), to the position of the present in history (education), and to the interplay between students' historical narratives, their identification, their civic attitudes, and their historical thinking ability. Besides, they also relied on the influential work of, on the one hand, Sam Wineburg, and Peter Seixas and his team—who took the practices of professional historians as a starting point for conceptualizing historical thinking—and, on the other hand, Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie—who developed a model of historical reasoning based on concepts from research literature, and adapted it through the analysis of historical reasoning in students' essays.⁴⁹ The two Flemish experts defined the concept of historical thinking as follows:

Historical thinking is first and foremost about understanding and organizing information about the past, with the aim of describing, comparing and explaining historical phenomena (people, groups, events and developments from the past) in their historical context and in a long-term. It is important, in this respect, to understand that past and present are fundamentally different. Therefore, historical thinking is also about an understanding of and a reflection on the complex relationship between past, present and future. This can, among others, be done by drawing analogies between the past and the present, in search for similarities and differences. Historical thinking hence requires an understanding of both the past and historical practice, which are inextricably bound up with each other. For one needs to know how knowledge of the past is constructed, and one needs to understand the tentative character of historical knowledge. Only then, one can start thinking critically of (representations and uses of) the past.⁵⁰

In this definition, the somewhat naïve (instrumental) idea of *historia* as *magistra vitae* as expressed in the previous history standards was tempered. At the

education, ed. Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger and Maria Grever (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 59–69.

⁴⁹ Sam Wineburg, *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: Charting the future of teaching the past*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin and Chauncy Monte-Sano, *Reading like a historian. Teaching literacy in Middle and High School History Classrooms* (New York-London: Teachers College Press, 2013); Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel, "Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning about the Past" *Educational Psychology Review* 20, no. 2 (2008): 87–110; Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013); Peter Seixas and Carla Peck, "Teaching Historical Thinking," in *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, eds. Alan Sears and Ian Wright (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004), 109–117; Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie, "Historical reasoning in the classroom. What does it look like and how can we enhance it?" *Teaching History* 150 (2013): 32–40.

⁵⁰ Agency for Higher Education, Adult Education, Qualifications and Study Grants, *Vlaamse Referentiekaders voor de Europese sleutelcompetenties. Inhoudelijke kaders voor het ontwikkelen van einddoelen in het onderwijs* (Brussels, 2017). Also, see Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse. "Knowing & Doing History? De Spanning in Aandacht Voor Historische Kennis 'versus' Kennisconstructie Door Historici." *Tijdschrift Voor Geschiedenis* 130, no. 2 (2017), 265–268.

same time, the definition included a more sophisticated, epistemologically grounded perspectivist dealing with the past.⁵¹

The scholars aimed to move beyond the field of tension that existed in the previous standards between disciplinary versus civic aims and between a past versus present orientation, and to connect to the currently prevailing view of what history actually is, as broadly accepted by scholars in the discipline of history. Adding to the existing concepts of historical thinking, they elaborated a ‘didactical translation’ of the concept. In so doing, they tried to combine a cultural and educational approach of the standards.⁵² They proposed an operational model of historical thinking, evidence-based and feasible to apply by secondary school history teachers while developing lesson series and teaching them in concrete classroom practice.

This operationalization involved five subcomponents⁵³:

- Historical thinking starts when historical questions are being asked about the past, or include the past.
- Subsequently, as a first step in coming to answer them, such historical questions need to be situated in a broader historical context, thus requiring a historical frame of reference.
- In order to answer a historical question, one needs to select and critically analyze historical sources.
- Based on a critical source analysis, and applying typical historical reasoning, a substantiated answer can then be formulated on a historical question (constituting a historical representation).
- Such dealing with the past is expected to ultimately lead to ‘historically conscious behavior,’ meaning young people can go beyond the issues of the day by taking a long-term perspective, show respect for facts and evidence, formulate ideas in a nuanced and reflected way with a sense of perspective and relativism, and are willing to enter a dialogue with other value systems and cultures in an open-minded way.

In so doing, the two experts aimed to show that the development of historical thinking can *in se* contribute to citizenship, and thus the difficulties and pitfalls accompanying a naïve epistemological dealing with the past (as is for instance the case in remembrance education) can be avoided. The operationalization can be visualized as follows (Fig. 14.1):

Those five subcomponents subsequently had to be each connected to three so-called learning dimensions: understanding (gaining insight in), applying (using or creating), and interpreting (connecting to other key competencies).

⁵¹ Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, “History Educational Research,” 2019.

⁵² Wilschut, “Canonical standards or orientational frames of reference,” 2009.

⁵³ Agency for Higher Education, Adult Education, Qualifications and Study Grants, *Vlaamse Referentiekaders*. Also, see Van Nieuwenhuyse. “Torn Between Patriotic, Civic and Disciplinary Aspirations, 2018.

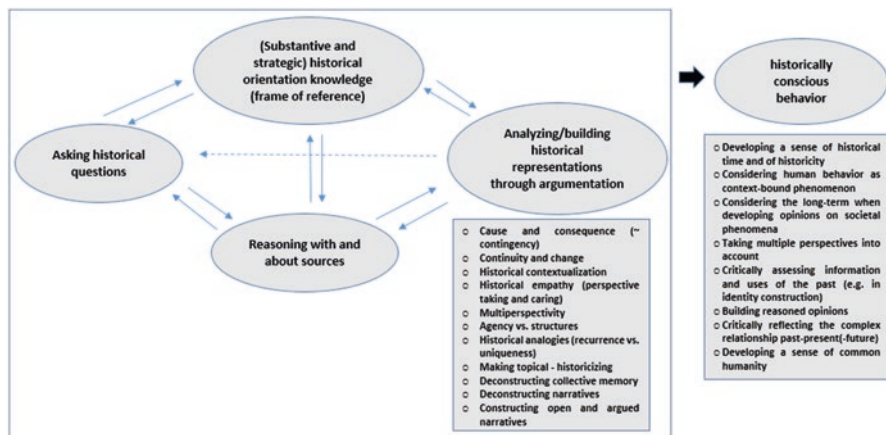


Fig. 14.1 An operationalization of historical thinking

Once the ‘frame of reference text’ was accepted and approved by officials of the Ministry of Education and Training, a committee entitled to develop standards for historical consciousness was established. In a first instance, this committee was ordered to develop history standards for grades 7 to 8. It was composed of officials of the Ministry of Education and Training, representatives of the five (various) public and private educational networks (of which some were familiar with history education in particular), a history teacher delegated as a representative of the Flemish Association for History Teachers, and an academic expert in history education research.⁵⁴ The assignment of the committee to carry out was twofold: first, ‘building blocks’ had to be identified for the key competence of historical consciousness, and subsequently, second, for each building block, final attainment objectives had to be developed for the 1st stage (grades 7 to 8) of secondary education.

The identification of building blocks for each key competence was meant to ensure the consistency and coherence of the final attainment objectives across the three stages. Also, they had to be formulated in a generic way and had to provide content-related direction to the final attainment objectives for each of the three stages.⁵⁵ Those final attainment objectives signify the minimum targets that should be achieved on a student population level at the end of each stage, and for each education level (general, technical, and vocational). Clear guidelines were provided for their formulation: they had to be soberly formulated, clear, competence-oriented, and evaluable; they also had to make knowledge and skills explicit, and, if applicable, address attitudes such as ‘showing interest’ or ‘appreciating certain values.’ Four kinds of knowledge were

⁵⁴This expert was one of the two previously named experts responsible for writing a ‘frame of reference text’ for historical consciousness: Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse.

⁵⁵Flemish government, “Ontwerp van decreet betreffende de onderwijsdoelen,” 2018.

discerned: factual knowledge (concepts and terms that students should be able to actively use), conceptual knowledge (understanding of classifications, theories, models, and principles), procedural knowledge (techniques or methods), and metacognitive knowledge (self-knowledge or strategic knowledge). Each final attainment objective also had to be situated within a cognitive dimension for which a revised taxonomy of Bloom was used.⁵⁶ The last guideline was that the final attainment objectives were not expected to include references to pedagogical-didactical methods. The didactics to realize the standards *in concreto* were considered the freedom and the responsibility of the educational networks and the teachers.

To a large extent, in line with the previously mentioned five subcomponents of historical thinking, four building blocks were identified: ‘situating historical phenomena in a historical frame of reference,’ ‘critical reasoning with and about historical sources,’ ‘come to substantiated historical representations from multiple perspectives,’ and ‘reflect upon and interpret the complex relationship between past, present and future.’

Asking historical questions was not retained as a building block. The act of asking questions was considered by a majority of the Committee too generic to be dedicated a particular building block solely within the competence of historical consciousness. It was, nevertheless, agreed upon to dedicate a specific final attainment objective to ‘asking historical questions,’ in the 2nd and in the 3rd stage. Based on an evidence-based proposal developed by the academic expert in history education research in the Committee, concrete final attainment objectives for grades 7 to 8 were then discussed.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, they have been approved by the Flemish parliament, on 5 December 2018. In contrast to 1995, no political debate on the history standards in particular preceded the final vote in the Flemish parliament. The standards have been adopted and approved by the parliament as they were agreed upon in the Committee (Fig. 14.2).

The development of final attainment objectives for grades 9 to 12 is ongoing. In this process, again, officials, representatives of the educational networks (both generalists and subject-specific educators, such as Tom De Paepe and Luc Vernailen) and history teachers are involved. In addition, not one, yet three academic experts in history education research take part in the process: Bruno De Wever (University of Ghent), Paul Janssenswillen (University of Antwerp) and Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse (University of Leuven). Next, the requirements of the standards for each building block (in particular for general secondary education) are explained. A distinction in this respect is

⁵⁶ Lorin Anderson, David Krathwohl and Benjamin Bloom, *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom’s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: Longman, 2001).

⁵⁷ At first officials of the ministry of Education and Training had asked a history teacher trainer, otherwise not involved in the whole process, from a college to develop a proposal. This proposal was, however, considered very weak and inadequate by all Committee members and hence immediately and unanimously rejected.

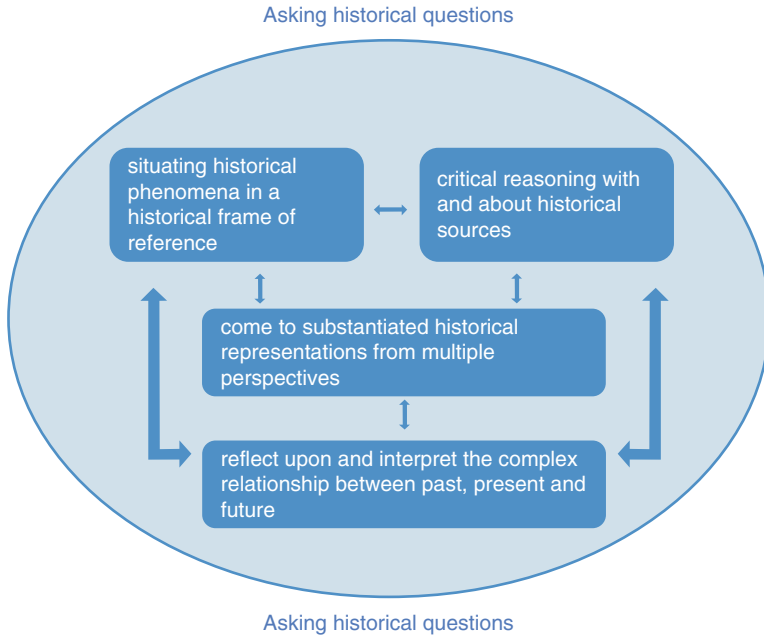


Fig. 14.2 The operationalization of historical thinking in the history standards, via four ‘building blocks’

made between what has already been approved for grades 7 to 8 and what is yet to come for grades 9 to 12.

Situating Historical Phenomena in a Historical Frame of Reference

This building block expects students to be capable of situating historical phenomena, sources, and representations in time, space, and societal (political, economic, social, and cultural) domains, which are considered to be the three dimensions of a historical frame of reference. To that end, the standards establish a chronological structure and advancement of a frame of reference, following the traditional Western periodization of the past in seven periods: Prehistory, Ancient Near East and Classical Antiquity (to be addressed in grades 7 to 8), the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (grades 9 to 10), and Modern Period and Contemporary History (grades 11 to 12). The choice of specific societies to study within a period is left open.

The standards continue to use the traditional Western historical frame of reference as a structuring principle for three reasons. The development committee insisted that the new standards would imply recognizability for teachers and thus could not change the traditional periodization. In popular historical culture, these periods are also commonly used—continuing this periodization would therefore, best enable to connect school history with extramural history.

In all Flemish universities, furthermore, this periodization is still used as the historical frame of reference and is the basis for the large historical overview subjects offered to undergraduate students.

No concrete factual knowledge is imposed. The standards only list historical key (substantive) concepts that need to be addressed when studying societies. Some forty key (substantive) concepts are listed for the first stage, ten per domain on average. As regards to the political domain, it covers concepts such as autocracy, aristocracy and democracy, imperialism, and colonization; on the social domain: nomadic and sedentary societies, migration, (in)equality, patriarchy, slavery, war and peace, and civil rights; on the cultural domain: mythology, philosophy, multicultural society, oral tradition, writing system, artistic expression, and poly- and monotheism; on the economic domain: agriculture, commerce, barter, and money economy. The historical key (substantive) concepts are all deliberately formulated very generically. They are, hence, applicable to every ancient society and can serve to answer all basic historical questions, such as how societies organize their rule, how people live and survive, and how they understand the world and humanity. Besides the substantive concepts, the standards also list second-order procedural concepts related to the dimensions of time and space, such as continuity and change, or local, regional, and continental and maritime.

The construction of a historical frame of reference allows students to connect small (even private) history to ‘big’ history, to contextualize historical phenomena and reflect on them in the long term, and to situate themselves and present-day society in a long-term perspective. From grades 9 to 12, students are expected to connect the different studied periods to one another, and thus, to make diachronic connections. Besides, in line with the previous standards, students must study both Western and non-Western societies.

In addition, the new standards require that students also examine from multiple perspectives the intercultural contacts between societies, in order to avoid addressing non-Western societies as ‘exotic curiosities.’ At the same time, students must be able to deconstruct the ‘us-them’ thinking, in-group/out-group mechanisms, and homogenization processes occurring in intercultural contacts and in representations of other cultures. Furthermore, as the proposed periodization of the past is Western-oriented, in the first stage a final attainment objective requires that students understand its constructed nature and can explain its limitations; in later stages, the idea is that students should be able to name and explain alternative types of periodization and also understand the possible consequences of an unreflective dealing with the traditional Western periodization (e.g. fostering ethnocentric perspectives on the past).

Critical Reasoning with and About Historical Sources

As historical sources are key in answering historical questions, the standards attribute substantial weight to source analysis. They require that students discern different kinds of historical sources and can also make a distinction

between primary and secondary historical sources. Furthermore, students are expected to both reason with and about sources. Reasoning ‘with’ sources refers to the skills involved in selecting information from sources and using this information to support a claim about the past. Reasoning ‘about’ sources (in relation to the historical question at stake) concerns students’ skills at critically assessing the value of information, whether or not in corroboration with other sources, and the usefulness and limits of the source, recognizing the author’s perspective, and analyzing what sources *do*, while taking into account the context in which the source was produced.⁵⁸

Final attainment objectives within this building block offer concrete suggestions and guidelines of how to critically assess the usability, trustworthiness, and value of historical sources. They state that students must assess the usefulness, the reliability, and representativeness of historical sources in the light of a specific historical question, by taking into account the context in which the source originated, the author’s perspective and intention, and the target audience. They emphasize that reasoning with and about historical sources must always go hand in hand. In so doing, the standards require attention for the interpretive and constructed nature of historical knowledge.

Come to Substantiated Historical Representations from Multiple Perspectives

This building block encompasses two issues. On the one hand, students should be able to critically deconstruct existing historical representations; while on the other hand, they are also expected to construct a substantiated historical representation (i.e. a historical narrative, or an answer to a historical question) themselves. In so doing, students extend their historical frame of reference. In order to (de)construct historical representations, students must get acquainted with referring to evidence from historical sources, taking multiple perspectives into account, and analyzing and applying typical historical modes of reasoning (and related second-order and procedural concepts), such as cause and consequence (including contingency), continuity and change, the attribution of agency, historical contextualization, historical empathy (perspective taking and caring), drawing historical analogies (including reflection about recurrence vs. uniqueness), and deconstructing schematic narrative templates.⁵⁹ Only when taking all these aspects into account, students are able to critically assess the value and quality of accounts of the past, and construct well-founded and high-quality historical representations themselves.

Of course, students do not have to achieve all this at the end of the first stage. These expectations are gradually imposed on students throughout the

⁵⁸ Van Nieuwenhuysse et al., “Reasoning with and/or about Sources,” 2017.

⁵⁹ Jolien Gijbels, Koen Lagae and Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse, *Hoe Historici Geschiedenis Schrijven. De Eerste Wereldoorlog en de Historische Praktijk* (Historisch denken vol. 2). (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2017).

six grades of secondary education. It is within this building block, in final attainment objectives for grades 9 to 12, that the analysis and design of historical questions will be included. An important innovation compared with the previous standards is that students now have to apply historical modes of reasoning in an explicit way. This requirement connects to the importance of explicit teaching, that is, the explicit naming and modeling in the history classroom of strategies used by professional historians.⁶⁰ The effectiveness of explicit teaching as a strategy for enhancing different aspects of historical thinking and epistemological beliefs has already been demonstrated by various scholars.⁶¹

*Reflect Upon and Interpret the Complex Relationship
Between Past, Present, and Future*

The new standards aim to give short shrift to naïve understandings of the relationship between past, present, and future. In so doing, they go beyond the previous history standards and constitute a rupture with the cross-curricular final objective on remembrance education, which, as stated earlier, approaches the past in a narrow-minded, one-sided, and limited way. They encourage young people to go beyond a ‘traditional’ or ‘exemplary’ and shift towards a genetic historical consciousness—according to Rüsen’s typology.⁶² They require that students understand that past and history are not synonyms, yet that history is a matter of interpretation and construction, of course based on reasoned arguments and on evidence stemming from critical source analysis. Students are expected to understand that historical representations always originate in a specific context that influences the representation. They must become aware of the positionality of others and of themselves, and of the influence and pitfalls of this positionality, such as presentism. This enables students to critically reflect on uses and misuses of the past in public discourses, in processes of collective identity construction and in group, ideology, and value formation. The standards no longer expect that history supports young people in their search for both personal and social identities. They aim, by contrast, to enable students to deconstruct identity building processes, in order to turn them into reflective, critical, and resilient thinkers.

⁶⁰ Allan Collins, John Brown and Ann Holum, “Cognitive apprenticeship: Making thinking visible.” *American Educator* 15, no. 3 (1991): 6–91.

⁶¹ Susan De La Paz and Mark Felton “Reading and writing from multiple source documents in history: Effects of strategy instruction with low to average high school writers.” *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 35, no. 3 (2010), 174–192; Avishag Reisman, “Reading like a historian: A document-based history curriculum intervention in urban high schools.” *Cognition and Instruction* 30 (2012): 86–112; Gerhard Stoel, Jannet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel, “The effects of explicit teaching of strategies, second-order concepts, and epistemological underpinnings on students’ ability to reason causally in history.” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 109, no. 3 (2017): 321–337.

⁶² Jörn Rüsen, “Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development,” in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. P. Seixas (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, Buffalo & London, 2004), 63–85. Rüsen. *History: Narration, Interpretation, Orientation*, 2005.

The final attainment objectives aim to enable students to critically reflect on the complex relationship between past, present, and future, to burst through generalizations and stereotypes, and to critically deconstruct collective memories. This is connected to what the Canadian educationalist Kieran Egan calls ‘ironic thinking’: fostering students’ nuanced thinking by making them understand that there are always exceptions and nuance, by encouraging them to go beyond simplistic dichotomies and take multiple perspectives into account, and by making them aware of the complexity of historical events and developments that cannot be understood through one simple frame.⁶³ All this can ultimately stimulate students to take responsibility for present-day and future society.⁶⁴

Again, the concrete final attainment objectives will gradually work up to these aims throughout the six grades of secondary education. In grades 7 to 8, for example, students particularly have to become aware of their own and others’ positionality, and have to explain the mythologization of historical events. Only from grade 9 onwards, are they expected to become acquainted with the concepts of ‘historical significance’ and of ‘collective memory’; at the end of grade 12 students must be able to underpin their answers to topical societal challenges with historical arguments, within the borders of the democratic principles of the constitutional state. The latter illustrates how the standards, via fostering and promoting historical thinking, attempt to reconcile disciplinary and civic expectations to history education.

In developing new standards, the committee has not only tried to connect to research on historical thinking, yet also took into account recent insights from various disciplines. It sought for instance to connect to cultural history, new imperial history, and public history, and to acknowledge findings from recent yet flourishing research areas such as migration and gender history, and memory studies. Theories of constructivism and socio-constructivism from the field of education studies and pedagogy also guided the drafting of the standards. The same applies to insights from social psychology—related to a thorough collaboration between historians, social psychologists, and history education scholars in a European project entitled ‘Social psychological dynamics of historical representations in the enlarged European Union.’⁶⁵

A developmental psychological perspective was included as well, particularly drawing on the work of the abovementioned scholar Egan, who distinguishes

⁶³ Kieran Egan, *The Educated Mind. How Cognitive Tools Shape Our Understanding*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). See also Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, “Going beyond Eurocentric us-them thinking in history education: Multiperspectivity as a tool against radicalisation and for a better intercultural understanding,” in *Radicalisation. A Marginal Phenomenon or a Mirror to Society?*, eds. Noel Clycq, Christiane Timmerman, Dirk Vanheule, Rut Van Caudenberg and Stiene Ravn (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2019), 215–241.

⁶⁴ Marjolein Wilke, Fien Depaepe and Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, “Students’ Understanding and Perception of Agency in past and Present.” *International Journal for History and Social Sciences Education* 23, no. 2 (2019): 28–32.

⁶⁵ See Laurent Licata, “Social psychological dynamics of historical representations in the enlarged European Union,” Cost IS1205, last modified 2019, <http://costis1205.wixsite.com/home>

between romantic, philosophical, and ironic thinkers.⁶⁶ ‘Romantic thinkers’ are interested in concrete and in far-off and exotic issues (which was one of the reasons to establish a chronological curriculum, starting with the remote, far-off past). From the age of 15 to 16 years onward, students become ‘philosophical thinkers,’ able to think in a more abstract manner, and focusing on and especially interested in ‘the real truth’ as a coherent system that can explain the world and reality in its entirety. The standards will address this by introducing more abstract historical key (substantive) concepts such as ‘modernity’ of ‘capitalism.’ At the same time, the standards will also further initiate students’ ‘ironic thinking,’ by showing that there are always exceptions and nuance, by pointing to the unique instead of the general and by revealing the complexity of historical events and developments that cannot be understood through one simple conceptual framework.

ACADEMIC HISTORY TEACHER EDUCATION SINCE 1918: FROM A HISTORY COURSE TO A RESEARCH-BASED EDUCATIONAL MASTER OF HISTORY

The overview of how secondary school history education was and is given shape raises the question as to how historians were and are trained to teach history in secondary education. The law of 1890 attributed the responsibility of teacher education for upper secondary level to the universities. The program led to an autonomous diploma titled ‘qualified upper secondary schoolteacher.’ Until the 1990s, theory and practice were not linked in history teacher education. As the government did not provide an additional financing of teacher education, established faculty members had to take responsibility for the program on top of their other duties. Academic historians with no particular pedagogical expertise and not conducting history education research were thus expected to guide history teacher education.⁶⁷ As a result, theory and practice, as well as academic and secondary education, remained, to a large extent, separate worlds, as could be witnessed throughout the subsequent reforms of secondary education until the 1990s.

Only after the regionalization of education in 1989, the situation gradually evolved. The Flemish decrees on teacher education of 1996 and 2006 acknowledged the societal duty of universities to provide a teacher education.⁶⁸ In history, a program of 30 credits (1996) and 60 credits (2006) was prescribed, containing a theoretical and a practical component. Universities, also encouraged

⁶⁶ Egan, *The Educated Mind*, 1997.

⁶⁷ Bruno De Wever and Christophe Verbruggen, “De toekomst van geschiedenisdidactiek in Vlaanderen,” 2013. Paul Janssenswillen, Wil Meeus, Mathea Simons and Tom Smits. “De hervorming van de Vlaamse academische lerarenopleidingen in de achteruitkijkspiegel: blijven ze een speelbal op het universitaire veld?” *Tijdschrift voor onderwijsrecht en onderwijsbeleid* 1 (2018): 97–113.

⁶⁸ Janssenswillen et al., “De hervorming van de Vlaamse academische lerarenopleidingen,” 2018.

by the fact that this research area was booming, particularly in the Anglophone and German research world, started to invest in history education research and in appointing history education scholars. As a consequence, teacher education and secondary education became more connected and the gap between them reduced, as could be witnessed throughout the reforms of secondary school history education in the 1990s and 2010s.

In 2014, the minister of education in the freshly sworn in Flemish government, Hilde Crevits, announced that she wanted to reinforce teacher education. She expressed the ambition to enhance the quality of the program, to increase the societal reevaluation of the teaching profession, to convince more people to choose the teaching profession, and to better align the program with the needs of the educational field and with the reality of metropolitan diversity.⁶⁹ To that end, she decided to replace the title of the diploma ‘qualified upper secondary schoolteacher’ by a regular educational master diploma.⁷⁰

What did the decree entail for history teacher education? It stipulated that the educational master of history involves 120 credits. This issue was preceded by a fierce battle on the precise amount of credits. Initially, the Flemish government had proposed only 90 credits for the educational master of history, 60 credits for the teacher education component, and 30 credits for the history domain component. Historians and history education scholars at Flemish universities strongly protested against this decision. They argued—in line with history education research findings—that high-quality history education can only be guaranteed if history educators are also well acquainted with the methods of historical research (‘doing history’) and the critical attitude resulting from it. In their opinion, this could not be guaranteed in only 30 credits for the history domain component. After an intense campaign via the media,⁷¹ political contacts,⁷² and a direct conversation with the Minister of Education, the Flemish government reconsidered its decision and agreed to allocate 120 credits to the educational master of history.

The 120 credits are divided into 60 credits dedicated to domain competences in history and 60 credits to competences in teaching. All four Flemish universities organizing an educational master of history anchor in the domain component historical research (via writing a Master’s degree thesis in history), and provide a deepening of historical understanding (of both contents and

⁶⁹ Hilde Crevits, *Beleidsnota 2014–2019. Onderwijs* (Brussels, 2014).

⁷⁰ Flemish government. “Decreet over de uitbouw van de graduaatsopleidingen binnen de hogescholen en de versterking van de lerarenopleidingen binnen de hogescholen en universiteiten” Brussels, 2018. <https://www.vlaamsparlement.be/parlementaire-documenten/parlementaire-initiatieven/1236666>

⁷¹ Bruno De Wever, Idesbald Goddeeris, Paul Janssenswillen, Karel Van Nieuwenhuyse, Christophe Verbruggen, Paul Erdkamp, Tim Soens and Koen Verboven “Leraars geschiedenis in de solden.” *De Standaard*, December 13, 2017.

⁷² For a discussion in the commission of Education and Training of the Flemish parliament on 18 January 2018, see <https://www.vlaamsparlement.be/commissies/commissievergaderingen/1220807/verslag/1224159>

methods). The teaching component focuses on general as well as theoretical and practical subject-specific pedagogical-didactical competences, pre-service training, conducting practice-oriented history, educational research, and dealing with diversity. It ensures, in line with the decree, that half of the teaching competence (30 credits) concerns practice. It also emphasizes the importance of research- and evidence-based education, not only by providing research-based understandings in every subject, yet also by obliging students to conduct (small-scale) history education research themselves, in order to stimulate them in developing an inquiring attitude.

The educational master of history has the intention of building bridges between the domain and the teaching components by involving historians, history education scholars, and teaching assistants with secondary school teaching experience in the program, and throughout the various subjects in both components. This is considered important, as a sophisticated epistemological understanding for instance is key in both understanding and teaching history. This requires that students understand the (evolving) epistemological underpinnings of the discipline of history, become aware of their own epistemological beliefs and their influence on teaching practice, and adopt at all times an inquiring and critical attitude—which constitute the core elements of historical thinking. Furthermore, as upper secondary school history teachers are expected, according to the new standards, to break through Eurocentrism in their teaching practice and to address intercultural contacts from multiple perspectives, their history training needs to provide them with a solid knowledge basis on non-Western cultures.⁷³

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION: THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUOUS DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE VARIOUS STAKEHOLDERS IN EDUCATION

In this complex twenty-first century information society that faces a series of urgent and global challenges, beset by fake news and a growing post-truth mentality, the ability to think historically is definitely no superfluous luxury. As a result of two coinciding and co-evolving reforms being implemented in 2019, both secondary school history education and academic history teacher education in Flanders are currently strongly oriented towards historical thinking. These reforms have been the result of a close dialogue and cooperation between different stakeholders in education: historians, history education scholars, history teachers, pedagogues, and representatives of the various educational networks, within the frameworks, guidelines, and boundaries outlined by the political authorities. In order to implement the reforms successfully, it appears indispensable that this dialogue is continued. Secondary school history education and history teacher education will have to rely on each other. For secondary

⁷³ Van Nieuwenhuyse and Wils, “History Educational Research,” 2019.

schools need good history teachers, well trained in history and in teaching history. History teachers can, however, only be trained well in collaboration with secondary schools and based on solid research into history teaching and learning processes conducted in schools. Developments within Flemish history education since 1918 have clearly shown the importance of close contacts between history education scholars and secondary school history teachers, and of history education research. Collaboration between the academic discipline and teacher education of history is essential too. It is through disciplinary training that history teachers become content-related experts; in turn, teacher education can help to further sharpen an understanding of the complex relationship between past, present, and future, and contributes in arousing interest among secondary school students in academic studies in history. Pedagogy and other academic disciplines also enrich history (teacher) education. Finally, it remains necessary for the educational world to engage in a dialogue with the political world. After all, freedom of education and the related large degree of autonomy the educational networks have in designing educational reforms require reciprocal trust. Continuous dialogue between all stakeholders is thus necessary and at the same time beneficial for all.

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Dochum glóire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann: Revising History in Ireland

David Limond

INTRODUCTION: GOOD NEWS, BAD NEWS

First the good news. By 2017–2018 some 3000 publications offering “evidence-based research” about aspects of Irish history were being produced annually, a six-fold increase on the production of equivalent publications in the 1970s, according to one estimate.¹ Further, more than half a dozen academic and commercial publishers in Ireland, and as many again in the UK and USA, “publish[ed] regularly on Irish topics.”² It was against the background of such success in the field that the multi-volume *Cambridge History of Ireland* was launched in a glamorous ceremony held in the Long Room in Trinity Dublin College’s Old Library. Writing about that event, and the new publication as a whole, one of its editors enthusiastically claimed that, alongside existing debates and discussions in Irish historiography, “‘new’ questions ... that were scarcely touched on ... earlier” were now being raised.³ He referred to questions about

¹This work refers in its title to revising history *in* Ireland but it is also almost exclusively about the history *of* Ireland. I do not propose to discuss the balance of Irish/non-Irish material taught in schools. Irish syllabi were highly parochial in their content even in the early twenty-first century. Regardless of the wisdom or desirability of that, when I mention the teaching, learning, studying, or researching of history hereafter, unless otherwise specified, I refer to Irish history only.

²Bartlett Thomas, “The Cambridge History of Ireland: Facing Up to Ugly Truths and Reflecting Today’s Ireland,” *Books Ireland* 380 (2018): 22.

³*Ibid.*, 23.

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matters such as “memory” as representing the new, but concluded his article on the ambitious project by returning to the past, saying: “As with the Irish historians of old, this history is dedicated: *Dochum glóire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann* [to the glory of God and the honor of Ireland].”⁴ I explore who these historians of old were below, but at the same time there was good news, there was also bad. This was delivered by the launch’s guest of honor.

That guest was the incumbent president of Ireland. He became the specter at the feast when he took the opportunity to denounce certain proposals then being made that were widely expected to have the effect of “downgrading” history in the Irish school curriculum. I discuss the details of these proposed changes at a later stage. For now, it suffices to note that the president described having knowledge and understanding of the past as being “intrinsic to our shared citizenship,” adding that “to be without such knowledge is to be permanently burdened with a lack of perspective, empathy and wisdom” (quoted in McGreevy 2018). His was a less sanguine vision of the future of Irish historical knowledge and scholarship; it might be thriving but it could be heading for sharp decline if the changes went ahead as planned. That was (potentially) the bad news.

All historical periods are lines in the sand. They exist because we say they exist, but we say they exist because it is useful to do so. Irish history as a whole, and modern Irish history all the more so, is often thought of as pivoting on the fault line of Irish independence: pre/post-1921. However, I shall divide this chapter in a way that is calculated to follow more of the pedagogical or intellectual than constitutional or political contours of the events, thus: 1830s–1900, 1900–1970s, and 1970s–2000s. These periods run from the inception of a recognizable school system in Ireland to that system’s first major reforms; from that moment of reform for the next 70 or so years; and from then to more or less the time of writing. Using a range of official publications, quasi-official sources (especially school textbooks), and items selected to provide a series of “cultural soundings,” impressions of various shades of popular/official/academic opinion, I attempt to give a narrative account of key developments in these periods and move toward a tentative conclusion that projects past trends into the immediate future.

1830s–1900

It is commonplace to say that Ireland was an English or British colony from the twelfth century to 1922: an English colony from c.1170 to 1707, when the union of the Scottish and English parliaments created Great Britain, and a British colony for more than two centuries thereafter. This view has been dismissed as a nationalistic simplification of a complicated historical interaction that ignores Irish participation in the British *and* Irish Empires (Kennedy

⁴Ibid.

1992/1993). But the point is largely moot for present purposes. By 1831 it probably *felt* to many, perhaps most, Irish people as though this was the case. A largely Catholic population sat at the base of a pyramidal social structure the upper reaches of which were dominated by Protestants who were either of Anglo-Irish descent or of British. From the turn of the nineteenth century Ireland no longer had a separate parliament, with power transferred from Dublin to London, but three decades after that shift, it acquired a state-funded school system. In this much it was ahead of the rest of the union. The new national schools had ambitions that were not necessarily entirely ignoble, though it has long been an article of faith on the part of many Irish nationalists that the principal purpose of that system was the calculated extirpation of the Irish language and knowledge of Irish culture and history. In truth, what was created at the behest of the most senior elected politician in the union parliament charged with managing Irish affairs, the Chief Secretary, Edward Stanley [1799–1869; later Earl of Derby], had some aspiration to heal longstanding cultural, socio-political, and religious tensions. Stanley's 1831 proposals allowed religious groups to receive state funds for the establishment of elementary schools (though subject to strict conditions intended to minimize the extent of religious proselytizing in these). The resulting Board of National Education (comprising political appointees representing the various religious communities) thus administered a system that was intended to provide at least minimal schooling to working class children.

Not all schools in the country were included in these arrangements. Endowed schools (prestigious and historic establishments that served the needs of the most elite fraction of the Protestant community) and some others were separate. Significantly, the Christian Brothers, an influential Irish Catholic teaching order founded by Edmund Rice [1762–1844] 20 or so years previously, maintained its own network of elementary or primary schools without state funding. The Brothers' decision may have been crucial in the future of Ireland, or at least in the subsequent development of modern Irish nationalism. Whether they intended to do so or not, the Brothers became, for some, a symbol of cultural resistance to what were taken to be Anglicizing tendencies.

Little history of a kind that would be recognizable in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries was taught in Irish elementary or national schools in the nineteenth century. This was hardly surprising, given how controversial it had the potential to be on an island beset by the legacy of major inter-communal tensions and hatreds since at least the mid-1500s. Books for use in these schools were subject to approval by the Board and dealt with subjects other than religion, control over the teaching of which remained in the hands of the religious body (known as a patron) operating each school. In essence, the emphasis was on basic literacy (in English), moral virtue, and social discipline.

Class-books for the teaching of reading began with the development of word recognition skills and then moved on to sequences and short passages. From this foundation the reading levels of the textbooks became incrementally more

difficult. In an effective teacher's hands, the moral lessons embedded in the class-books' prose selections could encourage discussions that furthered comprehension. The transition from simple verse to poetry as the young scholar moved from book to book was an added opportunity to expand horizons. The subject of history and reading passages with Irish content, however, were limited to the fourth and fifth books. There, history shared instructional time with literature, because it was considered to be one of literature's special branches.⁵

An influential example of such a reader was longwindedly entitled *The literary class-book; or, readings in English literature: to which is prefixed an introductory treatise on the art of reading and the principles of elocution*, by Robert Sullivan [1800–1868]. A Trinity College graduate and school inspector, he included a small number of passages on historical topics, some biographical sketches and extracts from works by the philosopher and historian David Hume [1711–1776] and the philosopher and politician, Henry St John Bolingbroke [1678–1751; Viscount Bolingbroke] on the importance of historical study.⁶ But, generally, historical content was excluded from the national schools until 1900 and when it was included what was on offer was frequently British or imperial content, to nationalists' chagrin. Appearing before an important commission into the future of Irish schools that sat from 1868 to 1870 (Royal Commission of Inquiry into Irish Education, chaired by Edward James Herbert [1818–1891], Earl of Powis), Cardinal Paul Cullen [1803–1878], the most powerful Catholic leader of the time, expressed the view that Irish history, by which he meant primarily Irish *Catholic* history, was “not so disreputable as to be unfit to be studied by children,” going on to complain that there was “scarcely a page ... worthy to be called Irish history” in the textbooks being used at the time.⁷ Cullen was not so much an Irish nationalist as a Catholic Universalist but he took the history of Ireland to be synonymous with Catholic history. A specifically Catholic story had to be central to what was being taught because Ireland's “soul” was Catholic.

Such a view was never going to be acceptable to Protestant unionists and there thus continued to be, at best, an armed peace over the teaching of history in Ireland's national schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The commissioners whom Cullen addressed so trenchantly were not utterly opposed to the teaching of Ireland's past in such schools, but they did not share the identification of Catholic and Irish that was key to his thinking, preferring to maintain the *status quo ante*. Consequently, they did not recommend rescinding the Board's power of veto over contentious (i.e. nationalistic or Catholic-influenced) school texts. Catholic schools did press for more Irish/Catholic history but the Board largely declined those demands. However, if curricula

⁵Lawrence W. McBride, “Young Readers and the Learning and Teaching of Irish History, 1870–1922.” In *Reading Irish Histories: Texts, Contexts and Memory in Modern Ireland*, edited by Lawrence W. McBride, 80–117 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003) 82.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 86.

remained essentially unchanged, at an administrative or structural level what increasingly emerged was an acceptance of there being “*de jure* and *de facto* ... publicly financed, denominational schools.”⁸ It was a legacy of such denominationalism that the “British colonists” bequeathed to the Irish at independence.

Elsewhere, however, especially in schools being run by the Brothers, there was no reticence about adopting more controversial curriculum content. Criticism of Brothers’ teaching and textbooks may sometimes have involved a degree of “caricature” of the extent to which they promoted nationalism, though it was never *simply* a Protestant/unionist fantasy that they inclined to teach along such lines.⁹ The same commission Cullen had addressed heard the Brothers’ *History of Ireland* textbook described as being “preoccupied with horrible cruelties, perfidy and oppression against the Irish perpetrated by rapacious English foreigners” and as the number of Brothers’ schools increased and they branched out into more advanced education, coming over time to educate many of the sons of the growing Catholic middle class of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, their influence grew.¹⁰ From the 1850s they published a class-book that unambiguously stressed a specifically Irish Catholic identity, saying: “It is strikingly observable in the annals of Ireland, that, since the days of the apostle and sainted Patrick [c389–c461], an undying attachment to the faith has always formed the most distinguishing feature as well as the most pleasing aspect of the national character.”¹¹ The roots of Ireland’s status as a near ethnostate and quasi-theocracy in the decades immediately after independence did not lie entirely in such teaching. They went deeper than that. Such teaching *reflected* rather than *created* these beliefs. The Brothers largely taught what many, or most, Irish Catholics already thought. But their schools fed those roots and nurtured the plant that grew.

In 1878, under the terms of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, a new board was created to oversee and fund intermediate or secondary schools. The Act in part responded to rising demand for Catholic respectability through education and funding for these schools came via “payment-by-results.” This was already obtained in national schools but was now extended to schools primarily intended for those male pupils aspiring to university admission or the various professions, and also for female pupils from middle-class Catholic and Anglican backgrounds who may still have been denied university admission and professional work but had intellectual interests. If pupils in such schools gave a good showing in the examinations set for them, their schools received more

⁸ *Ibid.*, 87–88.

⁹ Doherty Gabriel, “The Irish History Textbook, 1900–1960: Problems and Development” *Oideas* 42 (1994): 12. See, also, Andrews [1979] 2001 for a personal recollection of Christian Brothers’ teaching in the early twentieth century that attempts to rehabilitate them by downplaying claims of overt nationalism on their part.

¹⁰ Lawrence W. McBride, “Young Readers and the Learning and Teaching of Irish History, 1870–1922.” In *Reading Irish Histories: Texts, Contexts and Memory in Modern Ireland*, edited by Lawrence W. McBride, 80–117 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 86–87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 92.

funding. Officially examinable subjects did now include history, combined with historical geography, though the incentive to study in this field was limited by the fact that the payments made to schools for pupils' success in others were greater. Classical languages were especially favored for socio-cultural reasons, but even utilitarian success in book-keeping was rewarded more highly.

The creation of the examinations overseen by the Intermediate Board had the effect that assessment and syllabus became one and the same in Ireland. Intermediate schools were not subject to anything comparable to the degree of supervision and oversight visited on the lower-level national schools, where a powerful inspectorate dictated a great deal, but the intermediate schools largely danced to the tune played by the Intermediate Board through its examination system. The system was moderated over time and abolished in 1924, but its shadow was long and grinding out examination success became central to the very idea of formal education in Ireland.

However, swept along by modernizing influences in and from Britain and Europe, the turn of the twentieth century brought reform in the content and conduct of Ireland's national schools. History finally became a meaningful/recognizable subject in such schools and there was a more generous attitude toward the Irish language. Although the system established in 1831 had probably been characterized more by benign neglect *of* than outright hostility *to* Irish, bilingual teaching became possible in a way not so hitherto and there was a general sense of increased tolerance of "Irishness," or Irishness of a certain sort.¹² These concessions went some way to assuaging the concerns of the Gaelic League, formed in 1893 by cultural nationalists, including Douglas Hyde [1860–1949], to promote the Irish language and Irish culture, though Irish political nationalism was to take a more violent direction in the twentieth century nonetheless. I explore that development below, but first I proceed to discuss educational/cultural issues.

1900–1970s

A range of new subjects, including history, became available in Irish national schools from 1900 and more or less systematic study of the past became mandatory in 1908. The Board's publication *Notes for Teachers* (a *vade mecum* issued to encourage uniform teaching in schools) stressed that there could be aspects of the subject more important than Irish material ("unquestionably ... more valuable," in fact) but accepted that "a knowledge of the country of his [sic] birth" would be more interesting to the typical pupil so that it was "clearly preferable that Irish history should be the starting point of any formal study of the subject in Irish schools" (1913 edition, quoted in McBride).¹³

¹² Kelly Adrian, *Compulsory Irish: Language and Education in Ireland, 1870s–1970s*. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002).

¹³ McBride, "Young Readers," 98.

This new turn of events was not tantamount to any official endorsement of nationalism or nationalist aspirations. If anything, “from 1900 to 1908 ... the teaching of History [was promoted] on the basis that it was the course most likely to *stymie* the spread of nationalism,” a condoned cultural nationalism or patriotism perhaps being expected to be a “safety valve” that would divert attention away from politics.¹⁴ But there was now a huge demand for history textbooks for the simple and rather obvious reason that “textbook culture” had become deeply entrenched in Ireland. A new subject entailed demand for new books from which to teach that new subject because nobody involved with the system could easily imagine it being otherwise.

Demand was met by authors such as the prolific Patrick Weston Joyce [1827–1914], an academic, teacher, and moderate unionist. Stressing “theme[s] of moral and material progress” he generally eschewed controversial and divisive issues in his writing.¹⁵ But in society at large cultural nationalism, though it could be mild, such as that of Douglas Hyde, gained ground and more and more influence came to be in the hands of figures such as the historian Alice Stopford Green [1847–1929]. Like Hyde, she was a member of the Anglican Protestant minority; unlike him she became a convert from cultural to political nationalism and has been described as belonging to a group of “zealots” whose writings influenced political nationalism.¹⁶ There continued to be an approval system for works being used in schools operating under the auspices of the Board and authors with overtly political or at least cultural nationalist inclinations were unlikely to be adopted for official use, but teachers seem increasingly to have read works by Stopford Green and her like, along with *An Claidheamh Soluis*, newspaper of the Gaelic League and comparable publications.

It was almost inevitable that concern about suspected nationalistic teaching would grow on the part of Protestants/unionists, especially “[a]fter the Easter Rising in 1916 ... [when many] concluded that both the curriculum and the key educational officials had ‘gone green’ [a traditional symbol of Irish nationalism],” as reflected in what some unionists saw as the education commissioners’ reckless advancement of the nationalist construction of history that had “turned Irish [school] students into disloyal subjects.”¹⁷ The then provost of Trinity College, the notoriously waspish John Pentland Mahaffy [1839–1919], claimed that some teachers had been teaching history in a way “calculated to make rebels.”¹⁸ These were hasty and panicked words, spoken by people, Anglo-Irish unionists, who, as they saw it, faced an existential crisis and feared

¹⁴ Gabriel Doherty, “The Irish History Textbook, 1900–1960: Problems and Development” *Oideas* 42 (1994): 7. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁶ Roy F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600–1972* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 447.

¹⁷ McBride 113–14.

¹⁸ Ciara Boylan, “The Great Famine in Irish History Textbooks, 1900–1971,” In Keith O’Sullivan and Pádraic Whyte, Eds., *Children’s Literature Collections: Approaches to Research*, 53–69 (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017), 55.

being wiped out as their ancestors might have been at various times, including during previous rebellions in the 1640s and 1790s. In fact, there had not actually been any such “reckless advancement of the nationalist construction of [Irish] history” but it *seemed* so to them. And some national schools under Catholic patronage had sought to have works such as the highly partisan *The Story of Ireland* sanctioned for use. A representative body for Catholic schools, the Catholic Association of Clerical Managers, actively pressed for this, complaining about what it called an “ancient policy of keeping the Irish people ignorant of the history of their country and stamping out the spirit of nationality amongst them” (Central Council of the Catholic Association of Clerical Managers 1907, quoted in Doherty).¹⁹ The Board repeatedly decided that such a work was not going to be allowed, but for some it was evidently not emphatic enough in its condemnations. Perhaps most telling from the point of view of those who thought like this was the fact that it had been a highly nationalistic teacher, and author of popular histories of an overtly politicized/nationalistic kind, Patrick Pearse [1879–1916], who had been central to the events of 1916. Albeit he taught in a thoroughly idiosyncratic school he had founded himself, outside the state-funded system, Pearse’s role in 1916 (the events hymned by William Butler Yeats [1865–1939] in his poem “Easter 1916”) and certain other evidence made it appear to some in the Anglo-Irish/unionist community that history teaching had been, in an ugly but useful neologism, “weaponized” by nationalists. The facts will not conform to any simplifying tendency on the part of those viewing these events naively: there *was* nationalistic history teaching and fears about that teaching *were* somewhat justified, though *also* exaggerated.

The state increased restrictions on history teaching in national schools in 1919 to assuage these fears but nationalism was in the ascendant.²⁰ From 1922 there was an Irish Free State, an uneasy compromise that saw Ireland, or the larger part of the island of that name, become independent though in ways still circumscribed by residual British influence. The majority population of what was now legally Northern Ireland remained in union with Britain. A minister-led Department of Education was created shortly after independence, unifying the powers of the now defunct boards.²¹ A major work of nation-building was soon underway, in and through Ireland’s schools, especially those in the national/primary/elementary sector over which the Department had great sway.²²

¹⁹ Gabriel Doherty, “The Irish History Textbook, 1900–1960: Problems and Development” *Oideas* 42: (1994): 13.

²⁰ Boylan, “The Great Famine in Irish History Textbooks, 1900–1971,” In *Children’s Literature Collections: Approaches to Research*, edited by Keith O’Sullivan and Pádraic Whyte, 53–69 (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017).

²¹ Since the 1920s, it has been known variously as the Department of Education and Science and Department of Education and Skills. It went by the latter in 2019.

²² John O’Callaghan, *Teaching Irish Independence: History in Irish Schools, 1922–1972* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

The first report of the new Department (1923–1924, quoted in O’Callaghan) was adamant that the aim of education in the Free State was: “the strengthening of the national fibre by giving the language, music, history and tradition of Ireland their natural place in the life of Irish schools.”²³ In large part, this entailed allowing the Catholic Church to promote a vision of the enmeshing of Catholicism, nationalism, and the Irish language that owed a great deal to the Jesuit scholar, Irish language revivalist, and promoter of the kind of quasi-theocratic (sometimes called Catholic integralist) politics mentioned previously, Timothy Corcoran [1871–1943]. Corcoran’s influence in those early years should not be underestimated. In retrospect that influence is often seen as baleful but Joseph O’Neill [1886–1953], Permanent Secretary to the newly created Department from 1923 to 1944, the new country’s most senior educational bureaucrat, wrote admiringly that he was “the master-builder” of Ireland’s post-independence schools (O’Neill 1943, quoted in O’Callaghan).²⁴ In brief, Corcoran’s own account of the history of Irish education (and modern Irish life and culture in general) was one that stressed the supposed harm done by the official system from 1831 at the lower age levels, and to those aged 14 and upward who had anything more than basic schooling from 1878. He contrasted these depredations with the work of Brothers and other avowedly Catholic institutions that had arisen in the nineteenth century when laws restricting such schools had been repealed: “Between 1831 and 1870 the State Board for Primary Education ... [brought ab-out a] distinct lowering of the standards of attainment in the fundamental branches of education ... and the injection of alien methods, subject-matter, and aims.”

He went on to state that the:

popular system of Secondary Schools was about the last cultural factor in Ireland to undergo some measure of Anglicisation ... [but this] was never as effective as ... in the local elementary schools ... [Catholic secondary schools] always [remaining] definitely religious in character and aim.

However, writing after a decade of independence, he concluded emphatically that Ireland’s once distinctive educational traditions (*Catholic* traditions) were “being rapidly, universally, and thoroughly restored.”²⁵ Two strands of Irish nationalism, the Catholic strand, represented by Corcoran and the Brothers, and the non-Catholic, but equally romanticized, Gaelic revivalism of Stopford Green, Hyde, and others, sat a little awkwardly alongside each other but their general direction of travel was the same: triumphalist nationalism. History teaching in schools served this.

²³ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴ John O’Callaghan, “Politics, Policy and History: History Teaching in Irish Secondary Schools, 1922–1970” *Études Irlandaises* 36 no. 1 (2011): 29.

²⁵ Timothy Corcoran, *National University Handbook, 1908–1932* (Dublin: National University of Ireland, 1932), 275–276.

It is thus almost embarrassingly easy to “cherry pick” passages from the *Notes for Teachers* document issued by the Free State’s Department of Education in 1934 (and continually thereafter without being revised for almost 30 years) if one wants to make the point that Irish national schools in the decades immediately after independence were deeply implicated in the work of national building and that history teaching was central to that:

In an Irish school in which History [sic] is properly taught, the pupils will learn that they are citizens of no mean country, that they belong to a race that has a noble tradition of heroism, and persistent loyalty to ideals

[History] written from the enemy’s standpoint ... attempt[ed] to justify conquest and expropriation ... depict[ing] the Irish as a perverse people, who wickedly resisted the gifts of culture and civilisation, which a kindly conqueror sought to bestow upon them.

The *Notes* recommended “setting forth of the simple [i.e., nationalistic] truth” henceforth and promised that Ireland was “guarantee[d] ... a great future” (Department of Education 1934–1961, reproduced in O’Callaghan).²⁶

This was an attempt at the rapid, universal, and thorough cultural restoration Corcoran wanted and an uncritical distillation of the unreconstructed nationalist historiography of Pearse, Stopford Green, and various other writers. But there were ideas in the *Notes* that bear a more sympathetic hearing. Much attention was paid to the potential for studying local history, which was said to be able to “rouse the interest of the pupils as no mere book lesson can do” (Department of Education, 1934–1961 in O’Callaghan) though it was still seen as serving a political cause by making the national struggle more concrete and immediate to pupils.²⁷ Maps, wall charts, and illustrations were recommended and the tendency that perhaps more than any had dogged Irish school teaching for a century, excessive reliance on textbooks, was expressly condemned.

While there is a place in good teaching for the use of a text-book, it is necessary to stress the point that no skillful teacher will confine his [sic] oral instruction to the matter of the pupils’ text-books, or allow the text-book to dominate his instruction ... a mere reading lesson ... [is] dull and lethargic [and] cannot be considered ... teaching History in any real sense.²⁸

I intend to return to the question of textbook reliance in Irish schools later in this chapter but in the next section, I want to concentrate on the schools for older/more advanced pupils in an attempt to see how they, even though they were far less closely monitored by the Department, became embroiled in such nation-building.

²⁶ O’Callaghan, 73–74.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 83.

State-validated academic awards were introduced early in the history of the Free State. The first Irish pupils to sit the terminal Intermediate Certificate and Leaving Certificate examinations did so in 1925. The former existed, in one form or another, from the 1920s to the 1980s–1990s. It operated at a lower level than the Leaving Certificate and its history syllabus remained essentially unchanged (“dominated by political and military history”) from 1941 to 1968–1969.²⁹ From that turning point in the late 1960s, in a way that was not uncommon in other comparable countries, both in university research and teaching and in school history, there was greater emphasis on socio-economic topics. The Leaving Certificate had a somewhat different structure but also dealt in Irish and European topics, largely political, until it, too, was reformed in the late 1960s–early 1970s to include more social and economic material.³⁰

Especially in the first decades after independence, just as in the national schools, history at this level could be bent to meeting certain overtly political purposes. Thus, for example:

[t]he Leaving Certificate elective course on the development of national industries, with special reference to several small European countries [specifically Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland], may have been an attempt to use history in the service of a citizenship that defined itself, not in terms of a patriotism based only on political and military struggle, but in terms of a patriotism that emphasised the contribution ... [anyone might] make.³¹

In terms that are now very familiar, textbooks could be skewed toward nationalistic ends. Writing in the radical literary and political journal *The Bell* in 1943, Eileen Webster [1905–2003], a history teacher in Waterford, complained “in Irish history as it is written today every villain is a foreigner ... and if there is such a thing as an Irish villain, his [sic] existence must be hushed up” (quoted in O’Callaghan).³² But it might be a mistake to look at textbooks for *truly* propagandist material being aimed at adolescent pupils in these decades.

For such propaganda, keeping in mind that as not everything that happens in any school is educational, so not all education takes place in formal institutions, we must pause to look at popular culture. Although Doherty has alerted us to the existence of a degree of caricature in the depiction of Brothers’ teaching in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth they themselves resorted to literal cartoon simplicities and gross caricatures in the form of an Irish language comic entitled *Éire Sean is Nua*, first published in the 1950s and still available

²⁹ Ibid., 40.

³⁰ There were examinations for younger pupils, the controversial Primary Certificate (1929–1967), and those in the specifically vocational schools established in 1930, but these are not relevant here.

³¹ Ibid., 42.

³² Ibid., 47. On her influence, localized though it was, see her obituary, available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/well-loved-teacher-of-history-and-liberal-nationalist-1.388707>

in the 1960s.³³ Using line drawings and accompanying text panels, it attempted to illustrate selected episodes from Ireland's past beginning with semi-mythical events and progressing through a litany of key episodes for Catholic nationalists, culminating in the rise of modern nationalism in the early 1900s, with the seminal events of 1916 and war of independence thereafter. Anything likely to be controversial was edited from or elided in the narrative; the anguished civil war that followed independence merited only one panel (the last) on a page that was replete with images of British and locally recruited paramilitary police and soldiers being defeated by Irish/Catholic patriots.³⁴

Even the images, the work of the cartoonist George Altendorf [1904–1966], pressed home the message with a lighter, cleaner style on those pages depicting the pre-Christian and early Christian periods giving way to steadily darker drawings as Ireland's situation was depicted as worsening at the hands of the English/British, before brightening again as it showed an independent country that had industry, education, thriving agriculture and fisheries, and wise leaders. Some of the last illustrations showed a highly successful Catholic Eucharistic Congress in 1932 and people streaming into Catholic churches. The newly revitalized country might have lacked sovereignty over six northeastern counties, shown by a union flag imposed on that corner of the map in the last panel on the second last page, and not all the island enjoyed freedom, the accompanying text claimed, but that was soon to be rectified young readers were promised, with the single word *Éire* (Ireland) provocatively stamped on the entire map at the end of the comic.³⁵

Everything about *Éire Sean is Nua* was calculated to impart the unambiguous message that Ireland had suffered, but endured. That such a highly partisan, propagandist work was in circulation until at least the early 1960s allows me to begin a description of the changes, both official and cultural, that came about in the teaching of history in Irish schools in the latter part of the twentieth century. It may not have been produced to be a school textbook but it was textbook case, so to speak, of everything that the movement that has come to be known as Irish historical revisionism existed to counteract. *Éire Sean is Nua* typified exactly what the revisionists whom I discuss below wanted to change in Irish popular historical consciousness.

The revision of history, or historical revisionism, has a very specific meaning in the Irish context. It does not relate to that form of pseudo-history sometimes known as holocaust denial or revisionism. (On this unfortunate overlap of language and other meanings of revisionism, see: Lipstadt 1994, especially 20–21.) *Irish* historical revisionism means or refers to the project initiated by a group of Irish historians including Theodore William Moody [1907–1984]

³³ Christian Brothers, *Éire Sean is Nua* (Dublin: Christian Brothers/M. H. Mac An Ghoill, [1953] 1961).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 47, 48.

and Robert Dudley Edwards [1909–1988], often centered on the journal they co-founded, *Irish Historical Studies* [*IHS*].

In crude terms, inspired by what they considered the more thorough and searching historical investigations being undertaken elsewhere, especially in Britain, these authors and others among their contemporaries in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, began a re-evaluation of Irish history and historiography that steered away from simplistic and divisive tropes and discourses, toward a more thoughtful, less overtly politicized, more measured and nuanced examination of Ireland's past. This project seemed important to those active in the period of the 1930s to 1950s but all the more so to members of a new generation of Irish historians in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. These later revisionists were concerned that distorted histories were being used, almost literally, as weapons of war in the seemingly intractable struggle taking place in Northern Ireland.

The preface to the first edition of *IHS* ended with a rhetorical flourish: “We dedicate this work, as did the historians of old: ‘Dochum glóire Dé agus onóra na hÉireann.’”³⁶ The origin of the term (recycled by the Cambridge History co-editor, as noted above) lies in the seventeenth century, a period of vitriolic and bitter religious and communal hatred in Ireland, when it featured in the dedication of a work commonly known as *The Annals of the Four Masters*. Written between 1632 and 1636 *The Annals* consisted of a compilation of stories intended to provide “a carefully constructed chronicle of history for the Irish Catholic community in Ireland and overseas.”³⁷ The work's compilers, a quartet of Catholic priests, were the “historians of old” whom the editors of *IHS* had in mind and the Cambridge History editor was presumably quoting *both* the “Four Masters” *and* the *IHS* editors who had quoted them previously.³⁸ Much controversy has arisen around the idea of revisionist historiography in Ireland, but the originally very modest and circumspect intentions expressed by Moody and Dudley Edwards (who never actually used the words revisionist or revisionism) are now largely forgotten. It may thus be worth unpacking and exploring their intentions in some detail.

³⁶ Moody Theodore William and Robert Dudley Edwards, “Preface” *Irish Historical Studies* 1 no. 1 (1938): 3.

³⁷ Cunningham Bernadette, “John O’Donovan’s Edition of the Annals of the Four Masters: An Irish Classic.” In *Editing the Nation’s Memory: Textual Scholarship and Nation-Building in 19th-Century Europe*, Ed., Dirk Van Hulle and Joep Leerssen, 129–150 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 145.

³⁸ The same words also appear at the end of Ireland’s 1937 constitution. This replaced the Free State constitution, ending residual British power over Ireland. Its architect, Éamon de Valera [1882–1975], then the leader of a highly conservative nationalist political party that represented the more militant strand of the nationalism at work in the febrile period of the 1910s–1920s, had also used the words before. In 1931 he founded a nationalistic newspaper, *The Irish Press*. It employed them as part of its masthead, in an apparent attempt “to propagate the notion of Irish history, Irish Catholicism and Irish destiny being intertwined,” p. 145. Perversely, the 1937 constitution is often thought of as the very embodiment of a particular version of Irish identity: Irish-speaking, Catholic, and deeply socially conservative (Farrell 1988; Chubb 1991; Foley and Lalor 1995; Keogh and McCarthy 2007).

The founders of *IHS* were accidental revolutionaries. They did not call for what has since come to be known as revisionism in a specific way. Instead, they mapped out their ideas as to how Ireland's history might be better written about in very general terms.

Crucially for our purposes they had quite a lot to say about teachers and history teaching, though this seems also often to be forgotten. They began as follows.

The bulk and diversity of the material which have now to be handled by the historical investigator are such that he [sic] cannot afford to work in isolation. Historical research has become a highly elaborate science ... and if the teaching of history is not to be divorced from the results of historical research, there must be co-operation between historian and teacher.

They went on to bemoan the lack of an infrastructure of research in Ireland comparable to that provided by such organizations as the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) in London and journals including *English Historical Review*, both of which they were personally familiar with from time spent in Britain.³⁹

We hope to be of service to the specialist, the teacher, and the general reader who has an intelligent interest in the subject. We have before ourselves two main tasks, the one constructive, the other instrumental. Under the first head are to be included activities embodying the results of original research ... [offering] re-interpretation[s] and re-evaluation[s].⁴⁰

Only on the final page of the preface did they mention "Historical revisions," referring to a regular feature in which authors offered new views on old debates in another British journal, *History*, published by the Historical Association, a body open to the mixture of specialists, teachers, and interested amateurs they had earlier described as their own potential audience.⁴¹ This was an additional aspect of the first aim: providing a chance for discussions that were more historiographical or second order. In particular, they hoped that this would "help to reduce the time-lag between historical research and the teaching of history."⁴² But they also wanted, instrumentally as they put it, to provide

articles on the scope and the teaching of Irish history; articles on research methods and problems; select documents with editorial comment; select and critical bibliographies and guides to sources, manuscript and printed; [and] annual lists of writings on Irish history.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Taken as a whole, their aims were never doctrinaire. They were not seeking to build a movement or launch a manifesto. Academic work was to be “brought up to date” and non-specialists, especially teachers, were to be “kept up to date.” This was novel for Ireland, but it was hardly revolutionary.

Moody was even quite optimistic about the prospect of a non-partisan history emerging from their efforts. In 1968 he wrote: “Ireland is [not] in the van of ecumenism, but in a surprisingly short time a good deal of theological ice has been thawed out.”⁴³ A decade later he made clear what he wanted Irish historical writing and research to involve, calling for works that “[faced] the facts of Irish history, however painful some of them may be.” He contrasted history and mythology, saying: “[t]he study of history ... opens the mind ... [mythology] perpetuates the closed mind.” But this was not simply to be an anti-nationalist project.

He was as scathing of what he called the “many-sided mythology” of the Protestant Orange Order as that of nationalist authors and activists from Thomas Davis [1814–1845] onward, Davis often being seen as the father of modern Irish nationalist historiography and a keen proponent of using historical writing to galvanize the population into political action. Thus, while what might be called the “revisionist turn” has often been seen as something fundamentally anti-nationalist, it was never intended to be simply or solely that. It was supposed to be “proper” history, written seriously and without rancor. From the mid-1960s, and all the more so in the 1970s, it came increasingly to be adopted as an orthodoxy in Irish schools. I want now to consider how and why this happened.

1970s–2000s

I have drawn my line in the sand in the 1970s because I am less interested in structural change than issues of curriculum in and after the 1970s. But I cannot discuss those without first briefly sketching the general program of economic and social modernization commencing in the 1960s and its educational implications. In 1962, the then Minister for Education, Patrick Hillery [1923–2008], revolutionized Ireland’s education policy by indicating that it would now be led by political and economic, not religious and socio-cultural, priorities. The most immediate practical implication of this was a decision to have the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) produce a comprehensive analysis. This followed reports by a Council of Education (first on primary schools in 1954 and subsequently on secondary establishments in 1962) that were widely considered deeply unsatisfactory in their fundamentally conservative tone. What had previously been “[a] remarkable ... reluctance [on the part] of the state to encroach on the entrenched position of the Catholic Church” was about to end.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ibid. Quoted in Bartlett.

⁴⁴ O’Callaghan, 29.

A Steering Committee to direct the OECD's efforts met for the first time in October 1962 and Hillery addressed it. Given the importance of the subsequent report, known as *Investment in Education*, his speech bears quoting at some length.

One aspect of education which, perhaps, there has been inadequate emphasis on in the past is the role of education in connection with economic development

The study is intended to assess the educational needs of our expanding economy as well as the economic implications of ever increasing demand for education. Economic expansion and the full development of the potential of our citizens is impossible if at every level the necessary educational resources do not exist to sustain and advance these aims

Education is now accepted as an investment of national resources ... a major factor in economic growth. A country that allows its "human capital" to lie fallow will ... be left behind culturally, as well as economically.

The point could not have been clearer: education would serve economic needs from this juncture. In a memorable turn of phrase, he noted: "The future, we may be sure, will not be like the past, Hillery."⁴⁵ This is a theme he drove home in a later speech in which he stressed that "policy matters would not [thereafter] be submitted to outside bodies prior to their promulgation."⁴⁶ There would never again be a Corcoran-like Catholic "master-builder."

The most dramatic change in Irish education in the period immediately after the *Investment in Education* report was the introduction of free universal secondary schooling under Minister Donogh O'Malley [1921–1968] announced in 1966. He made the link with economics quite explicit in insisting that Ireland was "not a nation which can deploy substantial financial resources. ... Investment in education must get priority, for it is a form of productive investment, O'Malley."⁴⁷

Free schooling of this kind would cost money, but it would repay its cost: a utilitarian calculation. In subsequent years new forms of school, community and comprehensive, came into being, part of a trend toward wresting control from religious bodies. The national or primary schools had significant curricular reform in 1971.⁴⁸ The Intermediate Certificate was the subject of a damning

⁴⁵ Patrick Hillery, "Investment in Education, Inaugural Speech: October 1962." In *Irish Educational Documents: Volume II*, edited by Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, 29–33. (Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education, 1962), 30–31.

⁴⁶ O'Callaghan, 29.

⁴⁷ Donogh O'Malley, "Speech Made by Donogh O'Malley, Minister for Education" In *Irish Educational Documents: Volume II*, edited by Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, 264–267 (Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education, 1966).

⁴⁸ Intended to introduce greater emphasis on "child-centered" methods in Irish classrooms the new curriculum may quickly have become moribund, a victim of the frequent tendency toward what can be an unhelpful inertia in those classrooms. More sweeping change followed in the late 1990s (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment 1999). Whether the methods falteringly introduced in 1971 and more emphatically in the 1990s were, taken as a whole, educationally wise and justified is a question beyond the scope of this chapter but the forms of history teaching at least

report and slated for replacement from the mid-1970s. The result of this last development was the emergence of the Junior Certificate from 1989 (first examined in 1992). The structures and systems of Irish education as they stood in 2019 were, to all intents and purposes, complete from then. The state, having taken an economic and technicist turn since the mid-1960s, wanted education as to a whole to serve new purposes. Teachers were better organized and more assertive. Ideas could circulate within Ireland and enter the country from elsewhere with increased ease once the period characterized by religious control ended. There was significant revisionist work underway in the Irish universities. Overall, “Irish education emerged from ‘Plato’s cave’” in/after the 1970s.⁴⁹

As noted above, in the late 1930s Moody and Dudley Edwards expressed concern that teachers were not sufficiently aware of what was happening in academic research, claiming there was widespread nationalistic bias and a general dustiness in teaching. Another revisionist author, F[rancis] S[tewart] L[eland] Lyons [1928–1983] was still worried in 1971 that new thinking had “not yet sufficiently penetrated the schools or the school textbooks” but a great deal changed in a relatively short period.⁵⁰ In part, this change came about because teachers themselves (some of them) increasingly took an interest in the curriculum. The History Teachers’ Association of Ireland [HTAI] was founded in 1962, “in a climate of curricular change and the consequent desire of history teachers to keep up to date with historical research.”⁵¹ It subsequently became “crucial” to syllabus design.⁵² Under one name or another, it has been publishing a journal for its members since the 1970s. This aims to inform them about methods, academic research, and changes in educational policy. In the ferment of the 1970s bodies such as the HTAI and publications including the short-lived but influential *Education Times* became central to the exchange of ideas by teachers.⁵³ There was thus a conjunction of needs, interests, and opportunities that significantly reformed history teaching in Irish schools.

Admittedly, in 1969 an Irish school textbook, intended for use by those studying the recently reformed Intermediate Certificate course, could still strike a note of considerable complacency and self-congratulation. Ireland was described as having a “distinctive civilization and culture” and, after having

nominally practiced in Ireland’s secondary schools from the 1980s were also found in primary/national schools by 2019 (Bennett 1994; Travers 1996).

⁴⁹ O’Callaghan, 61.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵¹ Niamh Crowley, “Fifty Years of the History Teachers’ Association of Ireland (HTAI).” *History Ireland* 21 no. 3 (2013). See <https://www.historyireland.com/volume-21/fifty-years-history-teachers-association-ireland-htai>

⁵² O’Callaghan, 43.

⁵³ Sean Pettit, “The Pageantry of the Past” *Education Times*, 21 November, 1974a; Pettit, Sean. “History Teaching: The Endless Litany of Ages” *Education Times*, 28 November, 1974b; Pettit, “Topic Teaching and Need for Ignorance” *Education Times*, 5 December, 1974c.

gone through a “long fight for freedom” that was said to have “influenced and encouraged oppressed peoples everywhere,” now supposedly enjoyed a capacity to be “sympathetic ... [to] the problems of the new nations [experiencing decolonization].”⁵⁴

This uncritical tone of self-regard was reminiscent of the exceptionalism that had seen Ireland declared “no mean country” (cf Acts, 21, xxxix) with “a noble tradition of heroism, and persistent loyalty to ideals” in the immediate post-independence period and, although the point being made was secular rather than religious, echoed the immodest vanity of praising Ireland’s “pleasing” national character as the Brothers had in the previous century. But Janmaat found that school texts in use in Ireland from the turn of the 1970s largely moderated their tone and become more open to nuanced understandings.⁵⁵ He attributed this development to the fact of modern Ireland having “evolved from a traditional agrarian society to a modern democratic postindustrial state.”⁵⁶

Taking the Irish famine of the 1840s as his touchstone Janmaat noted that Irish school history books from the late 1960s–early 1970s onward “present[ed] a more balanced account of the Famine [sic] than their [1920s–1950s] predecessors ... [seeking] to provide a sociological insight into [its] ... causes ... rather than to inculcate a nationalistic anti-English outlook.”⁵⁷ A text not included in Janmaat’s sample confirms this impression of a “revisionist turn” in its preface, cautioning its readers: “If the student of history fails to aspire towards objectivity, he [sic] becomes a mere depository of fairy-tales and prejudices whose opinions and speculations can hardly be taken seriously.” It went on to assert the need to “branch out into more detailed studies” and to look at issues from “different perspectives,” ensuring that “the student will be compelled to think for himself and arrive at his own conclusions.”⁵⁸ This was clearly a call to revisionist arms; no more nationalistic prejudices and fairy-tales. Though sometimes slow, the penetration of schools and textbooks Lyons had wanted was evident in Ireland from the 1970s.

In many respects, the matter of revisionist content in history textbooks and syllabi was settled by the late 1980s. This chapter could, it might seem, end there. Irish history had been revised (at least for official and educational purposes, though how pupils and former pupils *understood* the history they learned in schools remained a separate issue⁵⁹). But there has been an underlying theme

⁵⁴ Edmond Joseph Hally, *Intermediate Irish History* (Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, 1969).

⁵⁵ Jan German Janmaat, “History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks.” *History of Education* 35, no. 3(2006): 345–368.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Flannan Enright and Desmond O’Leary, *Leaving Certificate Irish History: 1848–1950* (Dublin: School and College Services, 1975), 4.

⁵⁹ Keith Barton and Alan McCully, “History, Identity, and the School Curriculum in Northern Ireland: An Empirical Study of Secondary Students’ Ideas and Perspectives” *Journal of Curriculum*

in the account given so far: reliance, even over reliance, on those very school history textbooks. It is this that I want to explore next, before turning to the future.

The Junior Certificate was launched in September 1988 and examined for the first time in 1992. Itself quite newly created, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) produced a guide that outlined the basic principles of the Junior Certificate. It was to be: “a programme [that] provides a coherent and consistent educational experience ... [by being] broad, [and] balanced ... while encouraging ... [pupils] to make connections between the different areas of educational experience” (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment 1989 reproduced in Hyland and Milne, eds, 1992). It was elsewhere stressed that, despite the new courses relying on state-sanctioned syllabi, there was on offer “a great degree of flexibility” in what was taught and how. The “[t]reatment of topics, issues and themes” was explicitly envisaged as “differ[ing] from teacher to teacher, from school to school and from region to region.”⁶⁰

The Junior Certificate syllabus for history, as it stood at the time of writing, in what would be its last version, claimed school history could show pupils: “a wide tapestry of past events, issues, people and ways of life,” which would reveal/explain: “the roots of contemporary life.” The syllabus document went on to stress: “the importance of education for citizenship and ... developing an understanding of contemporary life in Ireland.”⁶¹ This particular requirement, it claimed, necessitated that there be considerable emphasis on Irish history, though this was to be “presented as an integral part of the wider themes of the syllabus.”⁶² There was to be an attempt to ensure teaching progressed “from the simple to the more complex and from the concrete to the more abstract.”⁶³

Six specific aims of the course and a number of more detailed objectives were then listed. These were couched in the bland language familiar to anyone even passingly acquainted with such documents but they bear quoting more or less in full. Pupils were expected to: “[a]cquire knowledge of and understanding about human activity in the past”; to show that they could “[u]nderstand the contemporary world through the study of the past”; to exhibit “the ability to think independently”; to possess “a range of skills essential for the study of history”; to be committed “to objectivity and fairness” and to have “an interest

Studies 37, no. 1 (2005): 85–116.; Waldron Fionnuala and Alan McCully, “Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: Eroding Certainties and New Possibilities” In *Teaching History and the Changing Nation State: Transnational and International Perspectives*, edited by Robert Guyver, 53–74 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

⁶⁰National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, “A Guide to the Junior Certificate.” In *Irish Educational Documents: Volume II*, edited by Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, 308–313 (Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education, 1989), 312.

⁶¹Department of Education and Skills, *Junior Certificate: History Syllabus*, (Dublin: Department of Education and Skills, [1996] 2018), 2.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

[in] and enthusiasm for history.” The detailed objectives that followed included “apply[ing] the procedural and substantive concepts essential to the study of history.” Such concepts included sources, evidence, chronology, and objectivity. It was deemed important that pupils understand “[c]hange and continuity,” “[c]ause and consequence,” and “[p]ower and authority.”⁶⁴

These various aims and objectives had to be achieved (or at least attempted) by following a course that consisted of the following elements. “The job of the historian”; aspects of pre- and early Christian Ireland (roughly, from the Neolithic period to 1000); developments in some other civilization/culture, such as: pre-Hellenic Egypt; “Castle, church and city,” meaning study of life in medieval Ireland; the European Renaissance and Reformation; socio-demographic change in early modern Ireland (specifically the period/phenomenon known as the Irish Plantations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); revolutionary developments in France, Ireland, and what was to become the USA in the late eighteenth century; the agricultural and industrial revolutions in Ireland and across Europe more generally; the Irish home rule and independence movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; social change in Ireland and elsewhere in the twentieth century and selected aspects of political/military history in Europe and elsewhere from 1920 to the present day.⁶⁵

Given that perhaps only a fifth of pupils nationwide progressed from Junior Certificate to Leaving Certificate history, most ending any formal study of the subject at about 15–16, it seems worth taking time to understand how and why this course had evolved, even though it was being phased out from the year 2018–2019. It had, after all, shaped what two generations of Irish people thought the study of history consisted in and would thus influence at least one future generation. The substantive content bore obvious similarities to its precursor, the revised Intermediate Certificate from the early 1970s to the late 1980s. The emphasis was essentially on Irish and European material, but British history, especially the vexed relationship between Britain and Ireland, and controversial topics from Ireland’s past could be treated without the cultural defensiveness there had once been. Revisionism had won; those battles were over.

Much stress was placed on studying material referred to as “[t]he job of the historian.”⁶⁶ A typical textbook for the early twenty-first century described that work as follows:

Historians learn about history from **sources**. These sources are like pieces of evidence or jigsaw pieces. If they are put together properly, a historian can understand what happened in history and why. Sources can be stories, photos [sic], songs, newspapers, films, books, paintings or documents. Sometimes, historians

⁶⁴ Ibid., 3–4.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 6–8.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

examine objects from the ancient past that were buried underground. These historians are called **archaeologists**.

It helps to think of historians as detectives of the past ... build[ing] up a picture of ... the past.⁶⁷

The influence of the Schools Council History Project (SCHP), a UK initiative launched in 1972, was obvious. It would take too long to explain the SCHP in detail but it suffices to say it was a state-funded attempt to enable teachers to break free from textbook reliance and to promote more active work on the part of pupils. In a key document the SCHP's aspirations were summed up as the attempt to "promote modes [of teaching]" that would prefer "understanding" over supposedly "ill-digested rote learning."⁶⁸ The same report went on to say it was concerned with making school history "meaningful to the needs and interests of pupils themselves ... [and] re-think[ing] the philosophy of teaching history in school."⁶⁹

Taken as a whole, the SCHP's publications are sometimes thought of as the *ur-texts* of "modern," "active," or so-called constructivist school history.⁷⁰ It had come about at a time, the late 1960s and early 1970s, when some history teachers in parts of the UK were concerned that their subject was threatened, under attack from those with more utilitarian views of what education should be and failing to win popular affection on the part of increasingly many pupils.⁷¹ Seeking to put an end to what it dismissively called "ill-digested rote-learning,"⁷² and discussing at length work by authors/theorists including developmental psychologist Jean Piaget [1896–1980], educationalist and philosopher A[lfred] N[orth] Whitehead [1861–1947], and the historian R[obin] G[eorge] Collingwood [1889–1943], the SCHP specifically advocated offering "a structured course which attempts to show ... what history is"; this was to involve what it called "detective exercises."⁷³ Perhaps the SCHP's greatest significance lay in its promotion of primary sources in teaching. While recognizing that they were not the first to advocate this, its members stressed the importance of

⁶⁷ Patsy McCaughey, *Discovering History* (Dublin: Mentor, 2010), 4. Other popular works used in schools with comparable passages/sentiments include: Brockie (1997); Collins et al. (2004); and deBuitléir (2014).

⁶⁸ Schools Council History Project, *A New Look at History: Schools History, 13–16 Project* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1976), 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰ John Keating and Nicola Sheldon, "History in Education: Trends and Themes in Teaching History, 1900–2010." In Ed. Ian Davies, *Debates in History Teaching*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 5–17.

⁷¹ Schools Council History Project, *A New Look at History: Schools History 13–16 Project* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1976); Keating John and Nicola Sheldon, "History in Education: Trends and Themes in Teaching History, 1900–2010." In Ed., Ian Davies, *Debates in History Teaching*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 5–17.

⁷² Schools Council History Project, *A New Look at History: Schools History Project* (Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall, 1976), 3.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1–2.

viewing history as “[a] ‘heap’ [that] consists of both primary and secondary sources ... [including] documents and artefacts, buildings and works of art.”⁷⁴

The SCHP has been criticized for appreciating that “mere memorisation and regurgitation had characterised too many history classrooms” but “wildly exaggerating the limitations of the old and the virtues of the new pedagogy” and for not having “tackle[d] problems of *content* adequately.”⁷⁵ Debates around some of the points raised in a critique such as this rapidly became highly and perhaps unproductively politicized in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁶ I do not want to revisit those debates. For now, let it simply be accepted that there was *some* merit in the SCHP, especially in its promotion of the importance of encounters with primary sources. What was happening in Ireland in the 2010s was far removed from what had been intended in the Britain of the 1970s. Thus, the Junior Certificate textbook that began with sources, evidence, detection, and so forth ended (a hefty 476 pages later) with advice on studying and preparation for examinations. The advice given included: “provide at least 10 clear facts” in written answer and the emphatic: “FACTS, FACTS AND THEN MORE FACTS!”⁷⁷ This looked suspiciously like the “ill-digested rote learning” supposed to have been banished when pupils learned how to “be historians” and “do history.” Each chapter had a small number of website references half-heartedly appended but wider personal reading was not actively encouraged, nor was conducting original research. Facts came from the textbook. It was dangerous to depart from it.⁷⁸

Elsewhere, the work of historians was reduced to eight keywords and short phrases including “[p]roblems with sources—bias etc.”⁷⁹ There might have been less “bias etc.” in Irish school history by 2019 but whatever this was, it did not seem to be what SCHP authors had envisaged. Like the soldiers in the nursery rhyme, pupils were marched to the top of the hill and then down again, never having seen battle. They could “[l]earn ... [to] use the **key terms**,” but only to *write* about historians’ work.⁸⁰ They did not *do* that work, even to the limited extent appropriate to their ages/capabilities. Or, to put it another way, they went through a certain performance. Everyone pretended that *saying* certain things about historians’ work was tantamount to pupils *becoming* historians. The SCHP had sincerely aspired to that ideal and Ireland had adopted a version of it, but this was largely hollow.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Partington, “History: Re-Written to Ideological Fashion,” In Ed., Dennis O’Keefe, *The Wayward Curriculum: A Cause for Parents’ Concern?* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 1986), 67–68.

⁷⁶ Keating and Sheldon.

⁷⁷ McCaughey (2010, 482).

⁷⁸ Manifestly, any particular textbook might be well written, well researched, factually correct, clearly argued, and so forth. But nobody ever learned to be an historian by relying on secondary reading, however good it was.

⁷⁹ Patsy McCaughey, *Discovering History* (Dublin: Mentor, 2010), 477.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 481.

At the heart of this failure to make pupils historians, or at least people poised to become historians, lay textbooks. The freedom the Junior Certificate supposedly offered when it was originally devised often seemed unwelcome. Admittedly, Ireland did not invent “teaching to the test” but it made a considerable fetish of this practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Little had changed by the twenty-first. Pupils wanted to be told what was right and teachers wanted to be told what to tell them was right. Textbooks offered to absolve both groups of personal responsibility.

As recently as 2006, the official view was that textbooks had “considerable value in the teaching of History [sic], particularly as aids to clarification, as visual and textual sources of information, and for homework tasks.”⁸¹ Extensive and detailed ethnographic studies of practice in the Irish history classroom would be welcome but in their absence the impression was that it remained quite routine for Irish school teachers in the early part of the twentieth century to do exactly what the *Notes for Teachers* document had cautioned against decades before: teaching in a way that “allow[ed] the text-book to dominate” and was “dull and lethargic.” The nearest thing available to the kind of ethnographic study I have envisaged is inadequate but goes some way toward confirming that such teaching persisted in certain modern Irish schools.⁸² Most pupils left those schools with an uninspiring impression of what historical study consisted in, no matter the pieties spouted about their being inducted into the work of the historian.

But what of those who chose to *continue* studying history in school? This takes me to my final topic, the Leaving Certificate as it is obtained in Ireland in 2019.⁸³ There were two options open to pupils/teachers: Irish and European material 1492–1815 or 1815–1993. All variants also began with reference to the work of the historian.⁸⁴ It might have been expected that “doing history” was a meaningful proposition in Leaving Certificate. Perhaps it was *now* that the ideal of making pupils into historians would be fulfilled. Presumably, that would mean that pupils acquired and demonstrated some meaningful capacity for historical research.

Certainly, a research element was introduced into the Leaving Certificate in 2004 and initially examined in 2006. It was claimed that: “[i]nvolvement with evidence ... [was] an integral part of the syllabus ... offering an insight into ... [how] historians operate.”⁸⁵ The research was to be “self-directed” and “grounded in the procedural values of the historian.”⁸⁶ What did this research

⁸¹ Department of Education and Science Inspectorate, *Looking at History: Teaching and Learning History in Post-Primary Schools* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2006) 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ These comments refer only to what was known as Leaving Certificate Established. Other forms exist but are not relevant.

⁸⁴ Department of Education and Skills, *Leaving Certificate: History Syllabus* (Dublin: Department of Education and Skills, 2018).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

amount to? A major review of pupils' Leaving Certificate research studies in 2011 was sanguine in saying that there was often "genuine interaction between ... candidate[s] and the[ir] source material."⁸⁷ But any serious educational reform takes a generation to have an impact and the impression was still that textbook reliance was heavy in Leaving Certificate classrooms, an impression confirmed by a voice of a kind relatively rarely heard in debates about education in Ireland, that of a pupil.

Reflecting on his experience of Leaving Certificate history, he claimed that textbooks were "viewed as beacons of exactitude and detachment by the system's apologists."⁸⁸ If so, the story of Leaving Certificate history in Ireland would seem to be very much like that of Junior Certificate: a story of loudly expressed ideals and ambitions going largely ignored in practice. Indeed, although this is a much larger issue, in some ways it may be the story of post-independence Ireland as a whole; one of timid conventionality in a country often beset by fear of freedom/originality.⁸⁹

CONCLUSION: WHY A CONCLUSION IS NOT REALLY POSSIBLE

An ending to this chapter written in 2019 must, of necessity, be somewhat provisional because it was impossible to predict the effects of a controversial plan launched in 2012. These reforms were contentious for many reasons,⁹⁰ but were said to be intended to develop "learning experience[s] for our young people ... appropriate for the needs of the 21st [sic] century." All junior cycle subjects had experienced/were due for review and revision so that they would be taught in a more "skills-based" way said to be consonant with the needs of modern industry/commerce (Irish Business and Employers Confederation 2010) and reform of the Leaving Certificate was imminent. History was no longer to be de facto mandatory in the early part of secondary schooling.⁹¹ It was especially the subject's not being mandatory that drew the ire of objectors, including the president. History, they said, would be studied by fewer pupils as part of what was now to be known as the Junior Cycle Profile of Achievement. Indeed, some schools were expected to cease to offer it altogether. There would thus be correspondingly reduced interest in its study at higher levels

⁸⁷ State Examinations Commission *Leaving Certificate 2011: History – Chief Examiner's Report* (Dublin: State Examinations Commission, 2012), p. 24.

⁸⁸ Eagleton, Oliver. "Is Leaving Cert History Fit For Purpose?" *History Ireland* 22, no. 5 (2014). See <https://www.historyireland.com/volume-22/leaving-cert-history-fit-purpose/>

⁸⁹ Oliver Coquelin, "Politics in the Irish Free State: The Legacy of a Conservative Revolution" *The European Legacy* 10, no. 1 (2005): 29–39.

⁹⁰ This was especially so amongst members of the influential Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland [ASTI] but I shall not explore the more general issues involved (for details of the ASTI's case, see: Irwin 2015; Byrne 2016, 2017; Christie 2018; Lynch 2019).

⁹¹ Department of Education and Skills, *Framework for Junior Cycle, 2015* (Dublin: Department of Education and Skills, 2012).

and, perhaps more importantly, a loss of historical awareness/consciousness/literacy in some general sense throughout Irish society.

Those studying history in Irish schools in 2018–2019 were expected to develop an understanding of the concepts “[c]hange and continuity.” They could have done worse than reflected on their own subject. The *content* they were being taught had been revised but *how* it was taught in schools had remained stubbornly *unrevised*. Thus, I predict that, for another generation at least, history teaching in Irish schools will be significantly unaffected by the reforms in progress in 2018–2019. Fewer pupils may study the subject (and that could pose problems of its own, though the maxim that volunteers are better than those who have been pressed comes to mind), but the teaching experienced by those who do will not be radically different to what their counterparts knew decades, or even a century or more, ago.⁹² Crucially, there will be much reliance on textbooks and little genuine experience of working with primary sources. What was necessary was not that Ireland’s history courses be revised (and certainly not that they be distorted to suit the interests of commerce), but that they actually *be implemented as they were intended*, with the commitment to pupils-as-historians finally taken seriously. That commitment was renewed in the reformed history course, due to be examined in, but any such commitment will continue to be meaningless without a deeper cultural change because, in a way that is perhaps difficult to communicate to somebody not enmeshed/embedded in it, twenty-first century Ireland was a country obsessed not with knowledge/education but results or “points.”

Serious and meaningful historical learning begins where textbook use ends.⁹³ Until teachers, politicians, bureaucrats, parents, and even pupils grasp this fact, Ireland’s schools will continue to teach something that is not “History in any real sense.” There would seem to be precious little glory or honor in that fact.

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⁹²Strictly, history was not mandatory in all state-funded secondary schools in Ireland in 2018–2019 because the Junior Certificate could be offered in different patterns depending on school type. But at the time of writing it was almost universally studied for the first three post-primary years. A digest of reports/comments on the specific “threat to history” is available at: <https://www.htai.ie/index.php/en/87-general/144-threat-to-history-in-schools>

⁹³James Barbre, “The Anti-Textbook Proposal: Reconciving History Education without Textbooks.” *Journal of Education & Social Policy* 4, no. 4(2017): 56–62.

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The Scottish Context: Making History in an “Understated Nation”

Joseph Smith

In 1999, parliament convened in Scotland for the first time since it was dissolved in favor of a single UK parliament by the 1706 and 1707 Acts of Union. Although education in Scotland had long been distinct from the rest of the UK, the new parliament provided an opportunity for Scotland to assert its new-found autonomy in a meaningful way. In 2002, the then Scottish Education Minister Cathy Jamieson called for a “National Debate on Education” which would “sharpen the focus of what Scotland wants from its schools in the 21st century” so that the government might “carefully plan how to realise that vision from where we are today.”¹ Although focused on education, these debates can be seen as proxies for larger questions about the Scottish nation as a whole: How did a devolved Scotland see itself? What kind of future

The epithet ‘understated nation’ was first used by David McCrone in a 2005 article in the *British Journal of Sociology* and is a reference to Jacques Leruez’s famous description of Scotland as a ‘stateless nation’ (1993). McCrone had previously used Leruez’s phrase approvingly (McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* 1992), before later deciding that the term was ‘less than accurate.’

¹ Scottish Executive. *A Curriculum For Excellence – The Curriculum Review Group* (Edinburgh, 2004), 5.

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did Scotland want? What was Scotland's place in the world? As Green reminds us, education is "both parent and child to the nation state."²

This debate gave rise to the publication of "*A Curriculum for Excellence*,"³ which differed markedly from the non-statutory *5–14 Guidelines* on curriculum that had preceded it.⁴ This chapter looks closely at the framing of history in the two curricula, explores the nature of these differences, and offers an explanation for them. It is argued that *Curriculum for Excellence (CfE)* was conceived at a historic moment where two powerful (and seemingly antagonistic) discourses converged. The first of these was the flowering of national self-belief that came with the re-creation of the Scottish parliament. The second was a supranational trend for education systems in the west to homogenize and coalesce around an instrumental business-friendly approach to education.⁵ While Green⁶ has argued that the processes of globalization inevitably diminished nationalism in the school curricula of advanced economies, Scotland stood apart from this: as an emerging nation, its nationalism fused with its globalism.

Following Arnott and Ozga, it is suggested that these pressures created a form of civic nationalism consisting of an *inward* discourse,⁷ which emphasizes national "flourishing" and an *outward* discourse, which "foregrounds economic growth and references skills, smartness and success" and "competitiveness."⁸ Although Arnott and Ozga associate these discourses with the Scottish National Party (SNP), it is argued that the same national self-image is evident in *Curriculum for Excellence* which aspires to the creation of successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens, and effective contributors.⁹ These discourses are, in turn, manifested in the changing shape of history in the Scottish curriculum. In the shift from *5–14* to *Curriculum for Excellence*, Scottish history and identity have been given greater prominence but so too have employability skills and citizenship.

² Green, *Education, Globalisation and the Nation State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 1.

³ Scottish Executive (2004).

⁴ SOED. *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14* (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993).

⁵ Jenifer Avis, Martin Bloomer, Geoff Esland, Denis Gleeson, and Phil Hodkinson. *Knowledge and Nationhood: Education, Politics and Work*. (London: Cassell, 1996); Jenny Ozga and Bob Lingard, "The emergence of a global education policy field." In *The Routledge Reader in Education Policy and Politics*, edited by Bob Lingard and Jenny Ozga, 65–83. (London: Routledge, 2007); Mark Priestley. "Global Discourses and national reconstruction: the impact of globalization on curriculum policy" *Curriculum Journal* 13, no. 1 (2002): 121–138.

⁶ Andy Green. *Education, Globalisation and the Nation State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

⁷ Arnott, M., and J Ozga, "Education and Nationalism: the discourse of education policy in Scotland." *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education* 31, no. 3 (2010): 335–350; Arnott, M., and J. Ozga, "Education and nationalism in Scotland: governing a 'learning nation'" *Oxford Review of Education* 42, no. 3 (2016): 253–265.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁹ Scottish Executive. *A curriculum for excellence – The curriculum review group*. (Edinburgh, 2004).

The chapter will begin with a brief summary of the history of history teaching in Scotland before concentrating on a comparison of Scotland’s two National Curricula (*5–14 Guidelines* and *Curriculum for Excellence*). The chapter then explores three emergent themes (heritage, employability, and citizenship) in more forensic detail. The chapter concludes with some preliminary empirical research around the kinds of history syllabuses that are emerging in Scottish schools under the aegis of *Curriculum for Excellence*. In doing so, the chapter will explicate the ways in which the unspoken assumptions which underpin the new curriculum are manifested in schools.

HISTORY TEACHING IN SCOTLAND BEFORE 1993

Scotland ceased to be an independent country in 1707 when its parliament passed the “Union with England Act”; the English parliament, for its part, had passed the “Union with Scotland Act” in the previous year. The two acts united the countries (and by extension Wales and Ireland) into one kingdom with a single parliament in London. The circumstances of the union remain controversial, but the parlous state of Scotland’s finances was an important consideration for many among Scotland’s elite, leading to Robert Burns’ complaint that Scotland was “bought and sold for English gold.”¹⁰ However, the union must be understood in its historical context: as McCrone has argued, neither Scotland nor England were, at this time, what we might call “modern” nation states and it is doubtful that Scots would have agreed to submerge their institutional autonomy into the British state if either had been.¹¹ The merger of these two nations occurred, then, before much of the architecture of the so-called modern state was in place. The major institutions of civil society—schooling, the church, and the law—had already developed differently from those of England before 1707, and continued to do so after the Union. In the words of Paterson, “the union left intact all that really mattered in daily life in Scotland.”¹²

Although education has evolved differently in Scotland, landmark changes to education policy—such as universal elementary education in the 1870s or the abolition of high school selection by academic ability in the 1960s—closely aligned with those of England. The distinctiveness of the schooling is, therefore, most apparent in the structure of qualifications, curriculum, and administration that emerged. Together with mandating universal elementary education, the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 also established 1000 local school boards and the Scotch (later Scottish) Education Department (SED) to oversee them.

¹⁰ This line is from Burns’ 1791 poem “Such a parcel of rogues in a nation,” which excoriates the Scottish elite who supported the union. Robert Burns (1759–76) is Scotland’s National Poet; the anniversary of his birth (25th January) is used as an occasion to host “Burns’ Suppers,” celebrations of Scottish culture.

¹¹ McCrone, “The Sociology of Nationalism” (London: Routledge, 1998), 131.

¹² Paterson, ““Ane end of Ane Auld Sang”: Sovereignty and the Renegotiation of the Union.” In *Scottish Government Yearbook* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991).

In its early years, the SED was based in London before moving its headquarters to Scotland in 1939.

The SED principally administered Scottish education by way of “Codes,” which covered everything from school inspection regime to the curriculum. Schools had considerable autonomy about what to teach and guidance about subject content was rather minimal. In terms of History, for example, the 1876 code says that by the end of First Year, students should be taught “The History of Scotland from Robert the Bruce to the Union of the Kingdoms,”¹³ while Second Years studied “Outlines of British History from the Union to George I.”¹⁴

However, even in these early years of compulsory education, the history curriculum was a contentious field. As Robert Anderson (1995) has demonstrated, as early as the 1880s, complaints could be heard from local school boards that school history was predominately English in its orientation. To an extent, this can be explained by the fact that History was not taught in Scottish Universities until the 1890s and so what academic history existed was largely English in both focus and origin. However, by the early years of the twentieth century, organizations such as the Scottish Patriotic Society of Glasgow (SPSG) had organized sophisticated campaigns for increased recognition of Scottish history in schools and had even succeeded in having questions about this posed in parliament. By 1907, the SED was advocating a “concentric” model of history teaching which began with Scottish History and then moved outward in later years to cover Scotland’s contribution to the British Empire. To Anderson, this emphasis on a combined Scots-British identity remained a feature of the school curriculum with Scottish children in 1914 celebrating both Empire Day and the 600th Anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn. In the years before World War One, there was, Anderson surmises, “no suggestion that British and Scottish patriotism were incompatible.”¹⁵

In the post-war period, major reforms to English education had broadly simultaneous analogues in Scotland. Thus, the 1960s saw both the “Plowden Report” on child-centered education in England and the “Primary Memorandum” Scotland; while the expansion of comprehensive (all-ability) schools heralded by Circular 10/65 in England was mirrored by the Scotland Office’s Circular 600. However, despite the impact of UK government policy on Scottish education, these and similar reforms were necessarily mediated by stakeholders in Scotland and adapted to the Scottish context, a process that Paterson describes as “pragmatic nationalism.”¹⁶

¹³ After Elizabeth I died childless in 1603, the throne of England passed to her nearest relative, James of Scotland who ruled thereafter as James VI of Scotland and I of England.

¹⁴ Gibbs and Edwards, *The Code of the Scotch Education Department 1876* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1876). <https://archive.org/details/codescotcheduca00edwagoog/page/n80>

¹⁵ Anderson, *Education and the Scottish People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

¹⁶ Paterson, “Policy Making in Scottish Education: a case of pragmatic nationalism.” In *Education in Scotland: policy and practice from pre-school to secondary*, by M Clark and P Munn, 138–155 (London: Routledge, 1997).

In both Scotland and England, schools possessed considerable curricular autonomy in the primary and “junior secondary” phases (ages 5–14) for much of the post-war period. In some cases, schools collaborated at a local level to ensure that there was some commonality about what was taught, but schools were also encouraged to devise curricula that suited their pupils and their particular contexts. This freedom came under attack early in Margaret Thatcher’s third period in office as prime minister. For some years, “New Right” organizations and periodicals (such as the *Salisbury Review* and the *Hillgate Group*) had argued that schools and Labour local councils were abusing their curricular freedom to foist leftist ideology onto unsuspecting children.¹⁷ To prevent this, the Conservatives proposed “*National Curriculum*” for England and Wales; following suit, the Scottish Education Department published a consultation paper entitled “*Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: A Policy for the 1990s*.”¹⁸ This document proposed the introduction of national testing and a common national set of guidelines on what should be taught. While the proposal for standardized testing was defeated by a combination of teacher resistance and parental opposition, the guidelines themselves were greeted with little fuss.¹⁹

HISTORY IN THE 5–14 NATIONAL GUIDELINES (1993–2008)

Kirk and Glaister characterize the 5–14 *Guidelines* as “Scotland’s National curriculum,”²⁰ but unlike the prescriptive English *National Curriculum* that was conceived at the same time, the *Guidelines* had no statutory force.²¹ In terms of history, the curriculum formalized an emerging preference for a “social subjects” approach²²: in the guidelines, historical learning was covered by a strand within social subjects termed, “understanding people in the past.” The social subjects were, in turn, considered a subset of a larger curriculum area called Environmental Studies.

Although the nested position of history implied that it had been accorded a lowly status, the content and framing of the curriculum suggested a sophisticated discipline-oriented approach. As well as the need for “adopting methods

¹⁷The influence of the “New Right” on British education is summarized in Chapter Four of Ken Jones’ “*Education in Britain*” (Jones 2003). Its impact on the History curriculum specifically is chronicled in Rob Phillips’ “*History Teaching, Nationhood and the State*” (London: Cassel, 1998).

¹⁸SED. *Curriculum and Assessment in Scotland: A Policy for the 1990s* (Edinburgh: SED, 1987).

¹⁹Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

²⁰Kirk and Glaister, *5–14: Scotland’s National Curriculum*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1994).

²¹SOED. *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993).

²²McGonigle, “An Integrated or Discrete Approach.” In *History Education in Scotland*, edited by Peter Hillis, 157–169. (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999).

Table 16.1 Aims of “understanding people in the past”

Studying people, events, and societies of significance in the past in a variety of local, national, European, and world contexts
Developing an understanding of change and continuity over time, and of cause and effect in historical contexts
Developing an understanding of time and historical sequence
Developing an understanding of the nature of historical evidence by using a range of types of evidence to develop and extend knowledge about the past
Considering the meaning of heritage and the influence of the past upon the present

Adapted from page 34 of the *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993)

of historical enquiry,”²³ the aims of “understanding people in the past” were stated as (Table 16.1).

These aims outlined a procedural definition of the subject: that the purpose of a historical education was not simply to develop a knowledge of the past, but also an understanding of how historians make sense of the past. In this respect, history in 5–14 shared—with the English National Curriculum—a common intellectual ancestry in the Schools Council History Project.²⁴ This can best be seen in the way the 5–14 *Guidelines* conceived progression in history: in keeping with the approach outlined by Coltham and Fines 5–14 assumed progression in conceptual understanding across the whole age range.²⁵ Thus, a focus on “change and continuity” is emphasized throughout school, but whereas a child of 7 is expected to understand “changes affecting their own and other people’s lives,” at 11 this has become “changes which have taken place over a period of time and comparison ... with the present.” At 14, the child is expected to explain “why some features change while others show continuity.”²⁶

5–14 also avoided prescribing which periods should be taught. Instead students were required to “experience a broad range of historical study” in “five main historical eras” (i.e. Ancient, Medieval, early modern, 1700–1900, and the twentieth century). Students were also explicitly expected to encounter “some studies which trace particular developments across time.”²⁷ The result was a curriculum which afforded considerable autonomy to teachers (although this autonomy was not always recognized).²⁸ It was also a curriculum which differed markedly from elsewhere in the UK—in their comparison of the

²³ SOED. *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993), 34.

²⁴ Schools History Project, *A New Look at History*. (Edinburgh: Holmes MacDougall, 1976); Rogers, *The New History: Theory into Practice* (London: The Historical Association, 1979).

²⁵ Coltham and Fines, *Educational Objectives for the Study of History*. (London: Historical Association, 1971).

²⁶ SOED. *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993), 34.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Mark Priestley and Sarah Minty, “Curriculum for Excellence: ‘A Brilliant Idea, but ...’” *Scottish Educational Review* 45, no. 1 (2013): 39–52.

history curricula in the four nations of the UK, Phillips, et al. suggested that the “organising principles” of the Scottish curriculum were “Autonomy, choice, flexibility” in contrast to the English emphasis on “citizenship” and “central control.”²⁹

HISTORY IN *CURRICULUM FOR EXCELLENCE* (2008–PRESENT)

The *5–14 Guidelines* underwent review between 1998 and 2000 but no substantive change was made to either the status or content of the history curriculum. This curricular continuity masked fundamental changes to the UK constitution which were occurring at the same time. In 1999, the first Scottish Parliament since 1707 was formed and in March 2002, a “National Debate on Education” was announced by the then Education Minister, Cathy Jamieson. The consultation process attracted some 1500 responses³⁰ and in 2004 the outline document of “*A Curriculum for Excellence*”³¹ was published. The National Debate had shown the Scottish public to be fairly conservative in their aspirations for the new curriculum,³² but there was a shared view among policymakers that curriculum review had to mean more than a simple updating of *5–14*.

CfE was based around four “capacities” or aims: the development of successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens, and effective contributors.³³ Initially, policymakers gave the impression that this approach was incompatible with traditional subject disciplines with Minister for Education, Peter Peacock, saying of history “perhaps we will not be teaching it in the same way in a timetabled slot marked history, but as a contributor to broader forms of learning.”³⁴ However, History’s place in the curriculum (albeit under the title “People, past events and societies”) was assured after a campaign by the Scottish Association of Teachers of History.³⁵ History remained a “social subject” and would be expected to contribute to the four capacities. A 2006 document, *Principles and Practice*, defined exactly what this contribution would be in terms of the “experiences and outcomes” to which a child was entitled. In this way, history was permitted to retain its unique identity but placed in the service of broader educational aims.

²⁹ Rob Phillips, Paul Goalen, Alan McCully, and Sydney Wood. “Four Histories, One Nation? History Teaching, Nationhood and a British Identity.” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 29, no. 2 (1999): 153–169.

³⁰ Pamela Munn, Joan Stead, Gale McLeod, Jane Brown, Meg Cowie, Gillean McClusky, Anne Pirrie, and Judith Scott. “Schools for the 21st Century: The National Debate on Education in Scotland.” *Research Papers in Education* 19, no. 4 (2004): 433–454.

³¹ Scottish Executive (2004).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Quoted in Munro, Neil, “Peacock Snub for London Reforms” *Times Higher Educational Supplement (Scotland)* 4 November 2005.

³⁵ Henry, “‘Bruce! You’re History.’ The Place of History in the Scottish Curriculum.” *Teaching History* 122 (2006): 34–36.

NEW NATIONALISM AND *CURRICULUM FOR EXCELLENCE*

Given the narrow defeat for independence (45–55%) in the 2015 referendum, it is tempting to conflate Scottish nationalism with Scottish separatism. However, although the terms are not mutually exclusive, they are most definitely not interchangeable. In the pre-devolution era, Tom Nairn clarified this when he wrote that politics in Scotland has turned into an orthographic battle between [nationalism in] the upper and the lower cases.³⁶ While upper-case Nationalism called for “Scots to abandon their silent way and recover voice and presence as a nation-state,” lower case nationalism proposes that culture and identity are sufficient to sustain nationality. As Nairn reminds us, when defined in these terms “almost everyone is some sort of nationalist.”

Despite rising support for Scottish independence and electoral victory for the separatist SNP in the 2011 and 2015 Scottish elections, it is this “lower case” nationalism which has seen the biggest gains. Research by Paterson et al. indicated that the 1999 referendum which re-created the Scottish parliament caused a surge in people self-identifying as “Scottish” as opposed to “British.”³⁷ The most recent surveys concluded that that 52% view their identity as primarily Scottish, 29% as equally Scottish and British, and just 8% as primarily British.³⁸ This weaker form of nationalism pervades *Curriculum for Excellence* and represents a consensus view of nationhood which crosses party-political divisions: this was, after all, a curriculum written under a unionist Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition which was adopted wholesale by the separatist SNP following their 2007 election victory.

As Billig has argued, nationality is usually a “banal” characteristic, taken for granted much of the time and which only becomes overwhelming in certain circumstances (such as migration or war).³⁹ However, nationalism, even in Nairn’s lower case, is underpinned by a view that there is something unique and valuable about a particular country. In the case of Scotland, a distinctive language, culture, landscape, and traditions buttress national identity. Scotland’s education system offers a good example of this distinctiveness. Supposedly underpinned by values of inclusivity,⁴⁰ as well as breadth,⁴¹ it is often contrasted with the narrow elitism of England.⁴² Like all national myths, it is debatable

³⁶ Nairn, “Upper and Lower Cases.” *London Review of Books* 17, no. 16 (1995): 14–18.

³⁷ Lindsay Paterson, Alice Brown, John Curtice, Kerstin Hinds, David McCrone, Alison Park, Kerry Sprotson, and Paula Surridge. *New Scotland, new politics?* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 105.

³⁸ Scotcen, *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey: From Indyref1 to Indyref2? The State of Nationalism in Scotland*. <http://natcen.ac.uk/media/1361407/ssa16-2fr8m-1ndyref2-1ndyr8f-tw0-two.pdf>. (2016).

³⁹ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*. (London: Sage, 1995).

⁴⁰ Paterson, *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003).

⁴¹ Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961).

⁴² McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

whether these principles are really present, but they are, nevertheless, part of the narrative which shapes Scottish identity.

However, the nationalism which guides *Curriculum for Excellence* is something more than nostalgia; it is coupled with a belief that Scotland and its people have a unique contribution to make to the world. The education system, therefore, is both a site of identity construction and the vehicle through which this identity can be mobilized. It is the self-confidence conferred by nationhood and patriotism which enables Scotland to take its place on the global stage. The next section of this chapter will substantiate this argument by analyzing the way in which three themes (heritage, employability, and citizenship) are treated differently by *5–14* and *Curriculum for Excellence*. A comparison of the two curricula will show a considerable shift in emphasis: heritage moves from something to be critiqued to something which is to be appreciated, while employability skills and citizenship move to eclipse the former emphasis on historical thinking and disciplinary knowledge.

CURRICULUM CHANGE IN FOCUS: CASE STUDY I—HERITAGE AND IDENTITY

The presence (or absence) of Scotland's own national history in its curriculum has long been a cause for debate.⁴³ As in many other countries, young people's perceived ignorance about the historical canon of their nation has been interpreted as *prima facie* evidence of the inadequacy of the curriculum. The only major empirical Scottish work in this area⁴⁴ is now some 20 years old, but it revealed misconceptions about Scotland's past, which Wood was later to blame on the lack of core content in the *5–14 Guidelines*. Wood argued that the absence of a coherent core of Scottish history had allowed a narrative of English dominance and Scottish subjugation to develop. Consequently, Wood argued, children's ignorance of the past was not random, but followed a pattern of powerlessness and victimhood, which fostered resentment toward Scotland's southern neighbor. Wood also argued that this identity also pervaded the media and many heritage sites.⁴⁵

Writing about *5–14*, Wood argued: "The school curriculum should play a crucial part in enabling future citizens to recognise media images of the past for

⁴³ McLennan, "History Education." In *Scottish Education: Referendum*, edited by T Bryce, W Humes, D Gillies and A Kennedy, 573–579 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013); Hillis, "The Position of History Education in Scottish Schools." *Curriculum Journal* 21, no. 2 (2010): 141–160; SCCC, *Scottish History in the Curriculum* (Dundee: Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum, 1998).

⁴⁴ Sydney Wood and Fran Payne, "The Scottish School History Curriculum and Issues of National Identity," *The Curriculum Journal* 10, no. 1(1999): 107–121.

⁴⁵ Wood, "The School History Curriculum in Scotland and Issues of National Identity." *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3, no. 1(2003): 76.

what they are: at present the evidence suggests that it is failing to do this.”⁴⁶ Wood’s proposed solution was a common core of Scottish history which would enable Scots to be more critical of everyday representations of historical events. However, whatever the value of a common core, perhaps this was a cure for a misdiagnosed disease. As McCrone argues, “being able to show that heritage is not ‘authentic’ ... is not the point. If we take the Scottish example of tartanry, the interesting issue is not why much of it is ‘forgery’ but why it continues to have such cultural power.”⁴⁷

McCrone here provides a neat summary of the value of a focus on historical interpretations in the school curriculum; that is, the need to teach children how the past is mediated for consumption. Seixas has been particularly insistent on the need for children to engage with questionable accounts of the past in order to provide a “resource” from which children can construct multi-layered identities.⁴⁸ In the context of the Scottish curriculum, the answer is not to wish away heritage or dismiss it as frippery, but to induct children into an intellectual community that assesses heritage in its own terms: as a creative industry with frameworks and aspirations very different from academic history.

A brief anecdote might serve to contextualize this. In 2008, the incumbent Scottish Nationalist Education Minister, Fiona Hyslop, turned her attention to the history curriculum, describing *Flower of Scotland* (the unofficial national anthem) as “a wonderful combination: a stirring anthem and a history lesson. What a marvellous achievement it would be to arouse the same passion in people about the rest of this proud nation’s history.”⁴⁹ While it is not uncommon to hear a politician speak of using the history curriculum “to arouse passion” for “this proud nation’s history,” Hyslop’s choice of example is curious. Although *Flower of Scotland* is superficially about the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn, it contains no account of the battle itself.⁵⁰ The song, in fact, bemoans the loss of the spirit of national resistance which motivated the Scots at Bannockburn—it is not a song *about* Bannockburn, but a song about the

⁴⁶Wood, “Issues of National Identity and the School Curriculum in Scotland.” In *History and heritage: consuming the past in contemporary culture*, edited by J Arnold, K Davies and S Ditchfield, 213–221 (Shaftesbury: Donhead Publishing, 1998), 214.

⁴⁷McCrone, “Scotland – The Brand: Heritage, Identity and Ethnicity.” In *Images of Scotland*, edited by R Jackson and S Wood, 43–54 (Dundee: Northern College, 1997), 51.

⁴⁸Seixas, “Schweigen! die Kinder! or, Does Post-Modern History Have a Place in Schools.” In *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History*, edited by Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineberg, 19–37 (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

⁴⁹Hyslop, “Learning about Scotland’s Past Will Help to Shape our Future.” *The Scotsman*, 20 January 2008. <http://www.scotsman.com/news/learning-about-scotland-s-past-will-help-to-shape-our-future-1-1074700>

⁵⁰The Battle of Bannockburn was a victory by Robert the Bruce, King of Scots, over the army of King Edward II of England. The Battle was a victory for the Scots and so is closely associated with the cause of Scottish independence. The victory was not decisive, though, and war between England and Scotland was to continue for much of the fourteenth century.

spirit of Bannockburn. The song is, however, an important historical artifact in another regard: written in the 1960s when Scottish separatism was a minority view, it evokes a Scotland of hill and glen and calls on Scots to rise now and be the nation again. If *Flower of Scotland* is a history lesson as Hyslop claims, it is surely an object lesson in how interpretations of the past can be used to foment ideas of nationhood.

Curriculum for Excellence provided the opportunity to introduce this kind of critical awareness of interpretations. However, there was little popular demand for such a change. Instead, the Scottish Association of Teachers of History (SATH) seemed ambivalent about the relationship between history, heritage, and national identity. In 2006 its president wrote,

Let me say, unequivocally and unashamedly, that SATH will continue to advocate the central importance of history in the curriculum ... because we believe that as Scotland develops as a country with its own Parliament in the twenty-first century, it is essential that its young people have a sense of their heritage and identity.⁵¹

The need to ensure young people had a sense of heritage and identity meant that the teaching of heritage became *less* critical in the transition from 5–14 to *CfE* (see Table 16.2).

In 5–14, heritage was not assumed to have an intrinsic value. Instead, value was to be judged by the child, not only in terms of its worth to the child him/herself but its potential worth to other communities or individuals. In other words, children had to engage with questions of what aspects of the past matter

Table 16.2 A comparison of the framing of heritage in the 5–14 *National Guidelines* and *Curriculum for Excellence*

<i>5–14 Guidelines (1993–2008)</i>	<i>Curriculum for Excellence (2008–present)</i>
The meaning of heritage and ways of preserving selected features of the past and the background and issues in preserving an aspect of local or national heritage ^a Make informed judgments about the value for themselves and others of respecting and preserving particular aspects of community heritage ^b	Develop my understanding of the history, heritage, and culture of Scotland, and an appreciation of my local and national heritage within the world ^c

^aSOED, *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993), 35

^b*Ibid.*, 44–45

^cScottish Government, *Building the Curriculum 1*. (Edinburgh, 2006). http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/building_curriculum1_tcm4-383389.pdf

⁵¹Henry, “‘Bruce! You’re History.’ The Place of History in the Scottish Curriculum,” *Teaching History* 122 (2006): 35.

to which people and why; and the historical concept of significance.⁵² While no empirical data survives to recount how this was enacted in the classroom, the notion of exploring the issues in preserving an aspect of heritage opens the door to intriguing questions about what it means to preserve something, how heritage ought to be contextualized, and the appropriate balance between conservation and restoration. In short, there existed in the *5–14 Guidelines*, a basis upon which a more sophisticated idea of historical interpretations could have been built.

Instead, in *Curriculum for Excellence* the idea of heritage shifted from one which children were expected to interrogate to one which they were supposed to appreciate. Furthermore, there is a linguistic slip which implies my national heritage is interchangeable with the heritage and culture of Scotland. In this formulation, heritage is a feature of place, not a feature of identity and leaves confused the position of new arrivals who might find that my national heritage is different from that of the country in which they now live.

In one sense, this parallels the view espoused by pro-independence campaigners that Scottish nationality is civically, rather than ethnically determined. However, as Hearn writes, “nationalism’s civicness is culturally determined. ... This is not to say that it is irrational, but simply that its rationality ... is culturally embedded, transmitted and sustained.”⁵³ Inevitably, this cultural and linguistic capital is more readily accessible to “ethnic” Scots, than to the recently arrived—perhaps undermining the sharp ethnic/civic distinction. Paterson et al. make a similar point:

cultural transmission is both a means by which incomers are brought into the national community and a way in which that community’s values are sustained. ... But by the very fact of being associated with Scottish national identity, that community becomes an ethnic fact about Scottishness. And therefore, potentially excluding those who—despite the open invitation to do so—refuse to identify with Scottishness.⁵⁴

In other words, an emphasis on heritage can inadvertently become a kind of assimilationism. To be clear, it is not that the treatment of heritage in *Curriculum for Excellence* is regressive or exclusionary, but simply that it is less critical than in the curriculum it replaced.

⁵²Seixas and Peck, “Teaching Historical Thinking.” In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, edited by Alan Sears and Ian Wright, 109–17 (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004); Andrew Wrenn, “Significance.” In *Debates in History Teaching*, edited by I Davies, 148–158 (London: Routledge, 2011).

⁵³Jonathan Hearn. *Claiming Scotland: National identity and Liberal Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000), 194.

⁵⁴Scottish Government, “*Curriculum for Excellence: Social studies Principles and practice*” (Scottish Government: Edinburgh, 2008).

CURRICULUM
CHANGE IN FOCUS: CASE STUDY 2—EMPLOYABILITY

Curriculum for Excellence has been subject to considerable academic attention as an archetype of twenty-first century curriculum design.⁵⁵ Of particular interest are the aims of the curriculum, the so-called four capacities, which aspire to develop children as successful learners, confident individuals, responsible citizens, and effective contributors.⁵⁶ Clearly Scotland is not unique in this respect, competencies have become the dominant model for framing curricula all over the world, and, as Moore and Young have argued, demonstrate a shift toward a utilitarian instrumentalist conception of knowledge in advanced economies.⁵⁷

It is not the intention to repeat these arguments here, but to consider the case of Scottish children’s historical education in this regard. Just as the shift from 5–14 to CfE saw changes in the way national history was presented, so the wider purpose of history in the curriculum changed too. Where 5–14 had emphasized a disciplinary understanding of the subject, in *Curriculum for Excellence* historical learning is conceived as just one of many areas in which children can demonstrate generic skills or competencies which affirm their work-readiness or good citizenship.

The employability discourse has become so hegemonic in Scottish education, even history educators are held in its thrall. In a chapter on the current state of history education in Scotland, the former president of SATH wrote, “Foremost in the minds of History educators is that the study of history develops young people with the essential, skills, knowledge, attributes and personal dispositions to succeed in learning, life and work.”⁵⁸

In this short extract, the key tropes of modern technical-instrumentalist discourse are evident: education is a private good which allows the individual to succeed economically. However, the statement gives no indication of the distinctive and unique contribution that an understanding of the past might confer. Even if one agrees with the stated aims, we might very well ask whether these skills ought to be “foremost” in the mind of history educators. Or why such generic skills must be developed through a specifically historical education?

Curriculum for Excellence proceeds on the basis that education confers competence rather than conceptual understanding; in other words, it focuses on what children should be able to do rather than on what they should know.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁵ Mark Priestley and Gert Biesta, *Reinventing the Curriculum: New Trends in Curriculum Policy and Practice* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁵⁶ Scottish Executive. *A Curriculum for Excellence: The Curriculum Review Group* (Edinburgh, 2004).

⁵⁷ Rob Moore and Michael Young. “Knowledge and the Curriculum in the Sociology of Education: Towards a Reconceptualisation,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 22, no. 4 (2001): 445–461.

⁵⁸ McLennan, “History Education.” In *Scottish Education: Referendum*, edited by Bryce, Humes, Gillies and Kennedy, 573–579 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

⁵⁹ Mark Priestley and Gert Biesta, *Reinventing the Curriculum: New Trends in Curriculum Policy and Practice*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

5–14, teachers were told what children’s “studies should involve”; however, in *CfE*, this approach was replaced with learner-centered “I can” statements. Priestley and Humes⁶⁰ have described this approach as “an artifice devised by the planners, rather than a true reflection of the learning process.”⁶¹

The effects of this shift can be seen in the contrasting ways that the two curricula treat “evidence.” In 5–14 children were expected to “develop an understanding of the nature of *historical* evidence” (my emphasis); however, in *CfE* evidence is not something that is *understood* but something that children show they can *do*. Consider the following progression that is to take place between the ages of 7 and 13 in *CfE*:

- I can use primary and secondary sources selectively to research events in the past. SOC 2-01a
- I can use my knowledge of a historical period to interpret the evidence and present an informed view. SOC 3-01a
- I can evaluate conflicting sources of evidence to sustain a line of argument. SOC 4-01a

As I have argued elsewhere, these competencies are in reverse order of historical complexity.⁶² Level Four has nothing uniquely historical about it, while Level Two describes the day-to-day work of a researcher in a university history faculty. Indeed, Level Four embodies a common fallacy, that an ability to use evidence is a generic competence to which history can contribute and that what counts as “evidence”—or, by extension, proof—means the same thing in different disciplines. Ashby⁶³ is clear that this reconceptualization of evidence as a “skill” has been detrimental to history’s disciplinary integrity in school curricula:

Treating evidence as a skill, focusing only on the routine interrogation of sources and limiting historical enquiry to the construction of personal opinions have left history justifying its place on the curriculum in ways that underplay its value as knowledge.

In the 5–14 *Guidelines*, evidence was understood as a concept in relation to history as a discipline, in *CfE*, *using* evidence is a generic skill that history can help improve.

⁶⁰Mark Priestley and Walter Humes, “The Development of Scotland’s Curriculum for Excellence: Amnesia and Déjà vu,” *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 3 (2010): 353.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Joseph Smith, “What Remains of History? Historical Epistemology and Historical Understanding in Scotland’s Curriculum for Excellence.” *The Curriculum Journal* 27, no. 4 (2016): 500–517.

⁶³Ros Ashby, “Understanding Historical Evidence: Teaching and Learning Challenges.” In *Debates in History Teaching*, edited by Ian Davies, 137–147. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011).

The borrowing of “I can” statements from vocational education has a further effect: it elevates the demonstration of understanding above the understanding itself. The result is a performative curriculum: one which asks children to show that they can *do* things, rather than showing they can *understand* things. The range of verbs used in *CfE* is impressive: children must present, assess, use, express, describe, explain, and investigate. But while understanding can be shown through demonstration, demonstration does not in itself necessarily imply understanding. By reframing understanding as competencies, the continuum of superficial to complex understanding is replaced by the binary can/can’t.

As a fourth level competency, this is considered the highest level that a child aged 13 might achieve, but it contains no suggestion that conclusions might be more or less sophisticated. Furthermore, the emphasis here is not on understanding change as a concept but a specific instance of change in the singular. Ormond has shown how similar formulations in the New Zealand curriculum have had unintended consequences: encouraging teachers to concentrate on smaller and smaller units of the past so that they can demonstrate that they have “met the competence” without reference to broader contextual knowledge, which, while crucial to understanding, are “superfluous” in the pursuit of showing what one can *do*.⁶⁴

CURRICULUM IN FOCUS: CASE STUDY 3—CITIZENSHIP

The employability agenda exerts a distorting influence on the presentation of history, but so too does the emphasis on citizenship which emerged between the *5–14 National Guidelines* and *Curriculum for Excellence*. Citizenship as a curricular aim is often distinguished from “civics” or “political literacy.” While civics education develops a familiarity with the institutions of the state and civil society, citizenship education implies an induction into this society. Citizenship—when framed uncritically—assumes the rationality of existing practices and socializes the student to conform to these. As Osborne pointed out, it is noticeable how frequently the word “responsible” occurs in citizenship education discourse as a synonym for obedient.⁶⁵

In *5–14*, civics education was wholly contained in a strand called “People in Society” which covered topics such as “social rules, rights and responsibilities” and “economic organisation and structures.”⁶⁶ In *Curriculum for Excellence*, the purview of “People in Society” was extended as it was reframed “People in Society, Economy and Business.” Alongside this, a greater integration of social

⁶⁴ Barbara Ormond. “Curriculum Decisions: The Challenges of Teacher Autonomy over Knowledge Selection for History,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (2017): 599–619.

⁶⁵ Ken Osborne, “History and Social Studies: Partners or Rivals.” In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, edited by Alan Sears and Ian Wright, 73–89. (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004).

⁶⁶ SOED, *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14* (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993), 36–37.

subjects was pursued—citizenship education would not be siloed in a single curriculum strand, but would be an overarching aim for all social subjects, “The promotion of active citizenship is a central feature of learning in social studies as children and young people develop skills and knowledge to enable and encourage participation.”⁶⁷

In this example, citizenship is not something that one learns about, but something one embodies—active citizenship is to be promoted and participation is to be encouraged, not just in citizenship lessons, but in all social subjects. This extract exemplifies Watson’s argument that CfE “is concerned with setting out not what children are expected to know, but how they should be” and that CfE is aimed at producing the ‘good subject,’ the ‘entrepreneurial self,’ “for and within the control society.”⁶⁸

History can only be turned toward this kind of socialization, if its disciplinary integrity is compromised. Consider the following outcome which is specified within the domain of “People, Past Events and Societies,” “I can make reasoned judgements about how the exercise of power affects the rights and responsibilities of citizens by comparing a more democratic and a less democratic society.”⁶⁹

The phrasing here is tortured because of the need to frame historical learning in terms of the genericized “rights and responsibilities of citizens.” The problem, of course, is that the rights and responsibilities of citizens throughout history have been influenced by factors far larger than the prevailing constitutional arrangements; not least time, wealth, and geography. It is difficult to see what children could profitably learn from comparing Athenian democracy with Stalin’s Russia. Furthermore, the curriculum assumes that ideas of “more and less democratic” are settled concepts, but “democracy” has no fixed definition: was ancient Athens more democratic than Victorian Britain? How democratic were the United States before 1865? Was Britain a democracy during World War Two as elections were suspended, newspapers censored, and soldiers conscripted? The overarching curriculum aim to promote active citizenship and encourage participation overrides the need to ask these difficult, but vital questions. The idea of democracy is treated as an unproblematic universal concept and history is called into service in bolstering societal aims.

WHAT IS THE PICTURE IN SCHOOLS?

There is some emerging empirical evidence that the reframing of history within *Curriculum for Excellence* is distorting practice in schools. A recent study of 21 schools (from 13 local councils across Scotland) showed that the curricular

⁶⁷ Scottish Government. *Building the Curriculum 1*. (Edinburgh, 2006)3. http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/building_curriculum1_tcm4-383389.pdf

⁶⁸ Cate Watson. “Educational Policies in Scotland: Inclusion and the Control Society,” *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 31 (2010): 99.

⁶⁹ Scottish Government. *Building the Curriculum 1*. (Edinburgh, 2006). http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/building_curriculum1_tcm4-383389.pdf

autonomy afforded by *CfE* has not been well used and has resulted in a reduction in the pupils’ exposure to the past as more instrumental aims are foregrounded in planning.⁷⁰ The most obvious manifestation of this has been the impact of the almost total removal of guidance about which periods children should study.

The *5–14 Guidelines* had previously taken a minimal approach to the specification of content ensuring that children “experience a broad range of historical study” in ‘five main historical eras’ (i.e. Ancient, Medieval, early modern, 1700–1900, and the twentieth century).⁷¹ The curriculum’s intention here was to ensure the development of children’s “chronological reference knowledge” without determining content, an approach which has more recently been implemented in The Netherlands.⁷² In contrast, *CfE* gives no guidance whatsoever about which periods in history children should learn, and during the compulsory phase of high school (11–13) identifies just three areas of substantive knowledge:

- “the development of the Scottish nation” (SOC 3-02)
- “migration to and from Scotland” (SOC 3-03)
- “comparing Scotland with a society in Europe or elsewhere” (SOC 3-04)

Data from the 21 survey schools suggest that these themes are largely taught implicitly. All schools, for example, taught a mixture of Scottish and non-Scottish history which would permit the kinds of comparison demanded by SOC 3-04. Similarly, while only one school taught Scottish migration as an explicit development study, others taught a range of topics that would allow discussion of migration as a theme.

More interesting is the treatment of the “development of the Scottish nation,” which implies a focus on the concept of change over time. Only a minority of schools addressed this directive in this way; instead the dominant model was an intensive depth study of a seminal moment in Scotland’s history such as The Jacobite Rebellions (1689–1746)⁷³ or, in three-quarters of cases,

⁷⁰ Joseph Smith. “Curriculum Coherence and Teachers’ Decision-Making in Scottish High School History Syllabi,” *The Curriculum Journal* 27 (2019). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585176.2019.1647861>

⁷¹ SOED. *National Guidelines: Environmental Studies 5–14*. (Edinburgh: Scottish Office Education Department, 1993).

⁷² Arie Wilschut, “Canonical Standards or orientational frames of reference.” In *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*, edited by Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut, 117–140. (Charlotte: Information Age, 2009); Arie Wilschut. “Testing Frames of References Knowledge in National Examinations: Report on an Experiment in the Netherlands.” In *Joined-Up History*, edited by Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut, 85–114 (Charlotte NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015).

⁷³ The Jacobite Rebellions were a series of revolts by supporters of the Catholic Stuart family against the ruling Protestant House of Hannover. The original “Jacobites” supported the restoration of the Catholic King James after his deposition in 1688 by his Protestant daughter, Mary and

the Scottish Wars of Independence against England (c. 1286–1357).⁷⁴ The emphasis of these studies, it seems, is not so much on the *development* of the Scottish nation over time so much as instances when nationhood was asserted; such assertions are part of the development of the nation, to be sure, but not if they are studied in isolation. Such depth studies would not have satisfied the demands of the former curriculum which was clearer on the importance of children’s conceptual understanding of change, mandating “some studies which trace particular developments across time.”⁷⁵

The narrowing of the curriculum which sees “the development of the Scottish nation” reduced to a single depth study is part of emerging evidence of a narrowing of Scottish children’s history curriculum more generally. While the question of precisely which topics children “ought” to learn will always be fraught, Lee and Howson⁷⁶ argue that children need a “big picture” of the past which is “based on disciplinary or metahistorical understanding, and ... [which ...] becomes a usable part of students’ mental furniture.” Data from the 21 Scottish schools imply that such considerations are not a dimension of schools’ curriculum planning.

Of the 21 schools surveyed, 6 taught a curriculum which aimed to cover a broad chronological span in order to offer children a “big picture” framework of the past. However, in the remaining schools the curriculum was episodic with teachers unable to offer justifications for the topics taught in terms of pupils’ historical understanding. In many cases, this resulted in distorted curricula with huge chronological gaps. One school, for example, taught only The Scottish Wars of Independence, World War Two, The Holocaust, and an independent study during the compulsory “junior” phase. Another taught just The Black Death, The American West, and The Cold War. Although these were the two most extreme examples, there were some periods which were passed over in many schools. Particularly neglected was the period 1400–1900: just 3 of the 21 schools taught The Reformation, 2 taught about European colonial expansion, and 6 explicitly taught the Industrial Revolution. While it is epistemically problematic to assert that any historical event is a priori more “significant” than another, issues such as colonialism and industrialization can be viewed as substantive concepts that historically literate children must grasp as well as instantiations of the concept. It is difficult to conceive of a historically literate child who is not familiar with these foundational concepts.

Put simply, many schools are not giving sufficient thought to the importance of substantive knowledge in history with little discussion of which periods

her Dutch husband, William. Later Jacobite revolts—most notably in 1745–6—sought to install James’ descendants on the throne.

⁷⁴Smith (2019).

⁷⁵SOED (1993, 34).

⁷⁶Lee and Howson, “‘Two Out of Five Did Not Know that Henry VIII Had Six Wives’: History Education, Historical Literacy and Historical Consciousness.” In *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*, edited by L. Symcox and A. Wilschut, 211–264. (Charlotte NC: Information Age. 2009) 217–18.

children should learn. The result has been episodic curricula in many schools in which periods, topics, and events are chosen for their perceived popularity with pupils: an approach which has been characterized as “the sushi bar of history.”⁷⁷ Shemilt’s analysis of fragmentation in the English school system would seem to hold true for Scotland too: “[at present] the majority of adolescents leave school with bits-and-pieces of knowledge that add up to very little and fail to validly inform, or even connect with, their perceptions of present realities.”⁷⁸

What, then, are the reasons for these episodic curricula? One reason is, of course, the lack of explicit attention paid to historical understanding by curriculum documentation, but another is the organization of secondary education in Scotland more generally. In Scotland, History (as part of social subjects) is only compulsory in the “junior phase” (i.e. up to age 13), thereafter children must choose whether or not to study for a national examination in the subject (around 50% do so). During the junior phase, the need to accommodate all social subjects within the timetable has meant that most schools teach each subject (History, Geography, and Modern Studies) in turn for six weeks each. Such an episodic approach to curriculum planning militates against the development of “big picture” history and also lends a certain logic to the teaching of short intensive depth studies.

The division of high school into “junior” and “senior” phases exercises another distorting influence on the curriculum—the need for a curriculum which appeals to students in order to increase the numbers electing to study it in the senior phase. One teacher who was interviewed spoke of needing to teach “sexier” topics, while another highlighted the tension between “delivering a product” that was “difficult” and one that was “enjoyable,” “But I think the key thing for me is delivering a product that is enjoyable and rewarding for them and I think to go chronologically—a lot of the topics ... it might be quite difficult for them.”⁷⁹

However, the reasons for this emphasis on “consumer preference” are not hard to find: uptake of the subject in the senior phase translates into the number of history teachers that a school employs. The stakes here are enormous: if too few people opt to study history, then the course will not run in the senior phase, having real and dramatic implications on staffing. One teacher said simply, “If we don’t convince them to pick it, where’s my job?” Schools are, in many cases, designing their curriculum around the interests and tastes of 12-year-old children. That is, one that *appeals* to students, rather than one which *benefits* students. Such considerations perhaps explain why as many schools (3) taught the Assassination of JFK or the Great Fire of London as taught The Reformation.

⁷⁷ Tosh, *Why History Matters*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁷⁸ Denis Shemilt, “Drinking an Ocean and Pissing a Cupful: How Adolescents Make Sense of History.” In *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*, 141–210 (Charlotte NC: Information Age, 2009).

⁷⁹ Smith (2019).

The extent to which these phenomena are consequences of the introduction of *Curriculum for Excellence* is, of course, debatable. However, there is some evidence that the changing curriculum has brought about a change in Scottish teachers' views about what history is for. A 2017 survey ($n = 101$) compared the views of teachers who had trained since the introduction of CfE with those who had trained earlier; the results implied that more recently qualified teachers had weaker subject identities and a more instrumental view of the purpose of the subject.⁸⁰ For example, 64% of the CfE-trained teachers agreed that "history makes children proud of the country they live in," while only 44% of the more experienced teachers agreed ($p = 0.086$). More generally, when offered a list of both intrinsic (e.g. historical method/sense of period) and extrinsic (e.g. employability skills/patriotism) aims of a historical education, 58% of the CfE-trained cohort agreed with all seven of the extrinsic aims they were offered, while only 38% of the pre-CfE cohort did likewise ($p = 0.052$). This support for more instrumental reasons for teaching history was also reflected in the way that the two groups of teachers spoke about their professional identities, with pre-CfE teachers four times more likely to express a preference for just teaching history (as opposed to social subjects) than the CfE-trained cohort ($p = 0.0002$).

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has suggested that changes in Scotland's constitutional relationship with the rest of the UK have been reflected in changes in the way that history has been conceived in the Scottish curriculum. While the use of the history curriculum as a vehicle to define and transmit national identity is nothing new, this has perhaps been more nuanced than elsewhere. *Curriculum for Excellence* is not a narrow celebration of Scotland or Scottishness; it aspires to educate critically minded global citizens who are confident individuals and successful learners. However, this chapter suggests that such high-minded aspirations may leave unhelpfully ambiguous the question of history's unique contribution to the development of young people.

Initial research suggests that the instrumentalization of history at the policy level is having real impact on classroom practice. Interviews with teachers suggest that questions of historical knowledge are not foregrounded in curriculum planning and that teachers have instead designed curricula which appeal to children's interests. While no one would intentionally plan a curriculum in order to bore children, we are entitled to be disappointed, I think, with schools teaching the Assassination of JFK, yet making no mention of The Reformation. But teachers and schools should not be criticized too harshly for this: *Curriculum for Excellence* framed teachers as curriculum makers but afforded none of the theoretical models or discursive frames that might have assisted teachers in making their curricula coherent. Teachers need access to these

⁸⁰Smith, "Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence and History Teachers' Epistemologies: A Case of Curricular Epistemic Socialisation?" *Scottish Educational Review* 50, no. 1 (2018): 18–35.

debates and time to think about how they might be made to work in their own contexts.

The 2002 “National Debate on Education” asked what Scotland wanted from its schools in the twenty-first century⁸¹; this was a necessary and urgent conversation. This chapter, though, suggests that another debate is now needed: what might these future-oriented schools need to teach Scottish children about the past?

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⁸¹ Scottish Government. *Building the Curriculum 1*. (Edinburgh, 2006) http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/building_curriculum1_tcm4-383389.pdf

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Tracing Disciplinarity in the History Classroom: The Cases of Two Elementary School Teachers Amid Curriculum Change in the Republic of Cyprus

Stavroula Philippou

INTRODUCTION

Debates over different pedagogical approaches in History education are seen in this chapter as a manifestation of broader prevailing “trends,” conceptualized as a “curricula turn” or “the new curriculum,” within the international curriculum policy landscape.¹ Such trends emerge from the “conversation” between local, national, international, and global agendas for education, most recently formulated in and for the turn of the millennium, when curriculum reform was intensified and re-tooled as “preparation” for the twenty-first century. This rhetoric was apparent in the curriculum change launched by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) in 2004 in the Republic of Cyprus and amid which a shift toward a disciplinary approach to History can be traced, as argued in this chapter. International discussions around this “new curriculum” raise

¹Gert Biesta, and Mark Priestley, “A Curriculum for the Twenty-first Century?” In *Reinventing the Curriculum: New Trends in Curriculum Policy and Practice*, ed. Mark Priestley and Gert Biesta (London: Continuum, 2013); Mark Priestley and Claire Sinnema, “Downgraded Curriculum? An Analysis of Knowledge in New Curricula in Scotland and New Zealand.” *The Curriculum Journal* 25, no. 1 (2014): 50–75.

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concerns over how it has rendered “learners” responsible for their learning paths while speaking the idiom of progressive, active learning, and learner-centered teaching²; has been formulated as standards-based and outcome-based curricula enhancing cultures of accountability and performativity³ and “results fetishism”⁴; and has prioritized competences or competencies or (soft/generic) skills as of most worth for knowledge-economy and lifelong learning agendas at the expense of (academic) knowledge⁵; while simultaneously and paradoxically re-constructed teachers as agents of (curriculum) change.⁶ Such discussions over curriculum have thus simultaneously “produced” different positions for teachers as professionals and as actors in processes of curriculum change.

Such differential positioning derives from how curriculum change is perceived and enacted in the institutional context where teachers are located. Thus viewed, curriculum change becomes a social and political practice replete with established and negotiated patterns of knowledge and power.⁷ Similar assumptions over power and teacher role underlie different approaches to curriculum implementation: a “fidelity perspective” considers curriculum as something to be implemented or at least “mutually adapted” when negotiated for particular contexts between “experts” and teachers.⁸ However, theorizing curriculum implementation as an *enactment*, a process of interaction of teachers, students, materials, and the official context in class, theorizes teachers as social agentive actors and curriculum as the construction of personal meaning by all participants to this process.⁹ As such constructions are complex, post-structural theorizations of change and implementation focus on difference and diversity, and on gaps, paradoxes, and tensions; recognize shifts/rifts in time, space, and boundaries; and position the self as socially and historically constructed, thus theorizing curriculum change as transformative rather than incremental.¹⁰

²see also Gert Biesta, “Freeing Teaching from Learning: Opening Up Existential Possibilities in Educational Relationships.” *Studies in the Philosophy of Education* 34, no. 3 (2015): 229–243.

³Claire Sinnema and Graeme Aitken, “Emerging International Trends in Curriculum.” In *Reinventing the Curriculum: New Trends in Curriculum Policy and Practice*, ed. Mark Priestley and Gert J. Biesta (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

⁴Carl-Henrik Adolffson, “Upgraded Curriculum? An Analysis of Knowledge Boundaries in Teaching under the Swedish Subject-based Curriculum.” *The Curriculum Journal* 29, no. 3 (2018): 424–440.

⁵Graham McPhail and Elizabeth Rata, “Comparing Curriculum Types: ‘Powerful Knowledge’ and ‘21st Century Learning’.” *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 51, no. 1 (2016): 53–68.

⁶Mark Priestley, Gert Biesta and Sarah Robinson, *Teacher Agency: An Ecological Approach*. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015).

⁷Thomas Popkewitz, “Professionalization in Teaching and Teacher education: Some Notes on its History, Ideology, and Potential.” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 10, no. 1 (1994): 1–14.

⁸see Jon Snyder, Frances Bolin and Karen Zumwalt, “Curriculum implementation.” In *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, ed. Phillip W. Jackson (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1992).

⁹See note 8 above.

¹⁰Doune Macdonald, “Curriculum Change and the Post-modern World: Is the School Curriculum Reform Movement an Anachronism?” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 35, no. 2 (2003): 139–149.

They also account for the non-linear, refracted, and unpredictable journeys of change as well as for the differences which appear between, for example, teachers (during their lives), classrooms, schools, and states.¹¹ In this chapter, I draw on the theorization of teachers as curriculum-makers, an image emerging from work acknowledging them as important actors (e.g. by Dewey, Tyler, and Swab) in making rather than unmediationally implementing or changing curriculum.¹² Such role is nested amid teachers' lives as biographical contexts which are in turn immersed within historicized institutional, sociopolitical contexts,¹³ thus rendering change a complex "disruption" of multiple layers/contexts at the same time as it "ripples" *through* them. As curriculum-makers, "teachers have to be consummate boundary workers, constantly balancing competing priorities."¹⁴ From this vantage point, the focus of this chapter on History in Greek-Cypriot elementary education and how its disciplinary nature as well as its boundaries with other subject-areas are negotiated by teachers is to be viewed as a "case" of one of those contexts with competing boundaries, wherein "change" occurs while intersecting other contexts.

CURRICULUM CHANGE AND DISCIPLINARITY: WHAT ABOUT HISTORY?

Some of the most intense arguments against the "new curriculum" have come from social realism, a sociological theory of knowledge, lamenting the downgrading or depletion of knowledge and defending the latter if in the form of "powerful knowledge" or "Future 3."¹⁵ This is defined in juxtaposition to Future 1 (the elite "knowledge of the powerful" as sedimented in the traditional/established academic disciplines) and Future 2 (everyday, experiential, context-situated knowledge) types of knowledge. Future 3 knowledge is seen to empower students by initiating them to the specialized, disciplinary logics of academic disciplines of rather fixed boundaries which enable them to analyze the world rather than just "experience" it, to make connections between concepts explicit and to reach generalizations and interpretations.¹⁶ The term "disciplinarity" is therefore used in this chapter to refer to any school subject if it

¹¹ For example Colin. J. Marsh and George Willis, *Curriculum: Alternative Approaches, Ongoing Issues* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2007); Ivor Goodson, *Investigating the Teacher's Life and Work* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2008).

¹² see Cheryl J. Craig, "Teachers as Curriculum Makers." In *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, ed. Craig Kridel (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010).

¹³ Stavroula Kontovourki, Stavroula Philippou and Eleni Theodorou, "Curriculum Making as Professionalism-in-context: The Cases of Two Elementary School Teachers amidst Curriculum Change in Cyprus." *The Curriculum Journal* 29, no. 2 (2018): 257–276.

¹⁴ David Lambert and Mary Biddulph, "The Dialogic Space Offered by Curriculum-making in the Process of Learning to Teach, and the Creation of a Progressive Knowledge-led Curriculum." *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 43, no. 3 (2015): 221.

¹⁵ Michael Young and Johan Muller, "Three Educational Scenarios for the Future: Lessons from the Sociology of Knowledge." *European Journal of Education* 45, no. 1 (2010): 11–27.

¹⁶ See note 15 above.

draws “powerful knowledge” from the respective academic discipline, thus developing strong boundaries from other subject-areas.

Discussions in History education favoring such disciplinarity, as the re-contextualization of epistemological and methodological content from History as an academic discipline to school curricula, have been older to social realist arguments over powerful knowledge, but have rather recently intersected.¹⁷ In the UK this was most notably launched through the notion of “New History,” developed further in the 1970s with the Schools Council History project, establishing that school History was both a body of knowledge *and* a disciplinary method of enquiry.¹⁸ Similar arguments had been put forth in France, eventually leading to the “de-territorialisation” of “New History” and its educational transfer across Europe.¹⁹ Disciplinary issues had also been present in the German tradition of History didactics with an emphasis on “historical consciousness” as well as in work exploring its intersection with the Anglo-Saxon tradition on “historical thinking.”²⁰ The latter tradition also came to include not just “New History,” but voluminous work in the US and Canada, which strongly advocated for what would in social realist terms count as powerful knowledge to develop “historical literacy” or “historical thinking.”²¹ Such work has often been labeled as a “disciplinary” approach in a Lowenthal-inspired typology put forth by Peter Seixas and defined as in juxtaposition to two other approaches: a “best story/collective history” approach, which promotes as objective a selection of the “best” version of the past to construct a particular kind of cultural and national identity as heritage; and a post-modernist approach, which seeks to understand how different groups construct different historical narratives, construing the latter as relativistic and delegitimizing historical inquiry as invalid.²² The disciplinary approach places historical inquiry center stage and suggests that students do not only need substantive knowledge from the academic

¹⁷For example, Carol Bertram, “What is Powerful Knowledge in School History? Learning from the South African and Rwandan School Curriculum Documents.” *The Curriculum Journal* 30, no. 2 (2019): 125–143; Barbara Mary Ormond, “Curriculum Decisions – the Challenges of Teacher Autonomy over Knowledge Selection for History.” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (2017): 599–619.

¹⁸Joseph Smith, “Discursive Dancing: Traditionalism and Social Realism in the 2013 English History Curriculum Wars.” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 65, no. 3 (2017): 307–329.

¹⁹Eleftherios, Klerides, “Educational Transfer as a Strategy for Remaking Subjectivities Transnational and National Articulations of “New History” in Europe.” *European Education* 46, no. 1 (2014): 12–33.

²⁰Joseph Smith, *Community and Contestation: A Critical Discourse Analysis of History Teacher Responses to the February 2013 draft National Curriculum for History*. A dissertation submitted in part-fulfillment of the Professional Doctorate in Education (EdD), (Keele University, 2015).

²¹For example Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts. Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Peter Seixas, *Teacher Notes: Benchmarks of Historical Thinking: A Framework for Assessment in Canada*, 2006.

²²Peter Seixas, “Schweigen! Die Kinder! or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?” In *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York, New York University Press, 2000).

field as specialized (also labeled as first-order knowledge), which refers to knowledge and concepts of the past, but they also need second-order knowledge, which is about how historians work (with historical inquiry and historical evidence), how they produce substantive knowledge, and how history is not “the past” but a particular interpreted account of the past.²³ A lot of work has been conducted in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of systematizing and exploring second-order concepts, for example, the Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts (evidence, cause and consequence, historical significance, continuity and change, historical perspectives, and the ethical dimension)²⁴ or Peter Lee’s time, change, empathy, cause, evidence, and accounts.²⁵ The new History teaching materials and curriculum in the Republic of Cyprus were revised between 2011–2013 and 2015–2016 along a disciplinary approach, rendering such second-order concepts central in organizing the purposes, content, and methodology of the subject in elementary education. This was not a unique phenomenon: a disciplinary approach to History education has been internationally influential to curriculum policy. Relevant research has explored how it has been re-contextualized and transformed in diverse ways as it “crosses” sociocultural and institutional contexts and mediated by teachers and other social actors. Research in New Zealand, for example, has pointed out how secondary school History teachers were suddenly granted “autonomy” to select historical content in each school, resulting in the History curriculum being shaped by curriculum achievement objectives and national assessment requirements rather than (history) disciplinary logics as had been intended.²⁶ Despite the introduction of a disciplinary approach, Bertram shows how content selection in school History is also “inextricably a political and social decision” to interpret differences in the intended South African and Rwandan History curricula.²⁷ In Sweden, there has been a recent shift to a subject-based curriculum for compulsory schooling structured along “abilities” prioritizing disciplinary knowledge; when enacted in the Social Studies classroom however it was experienced as “overloaded” with content and teachers attempted interdisciplinary crossings as a strategy to “cover it,” a pressure which also often led to marginalizing students’ questions in the classroom.²⁸ In the UK, a strong disciplinary community formulating disciplinary arguments managed to oppose and eventually null the 2013 traditionalist turn to a “best story” approach by the conservative government.²⁹ Such studies render clear that the recontextualization

²³ Bertram, 125–143.

²⁴ Peter Seixas and Tom Morton. *The Big Six: Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto, ON: Nelson Education, 2013).

²⁵ Peter, J. Lee, “Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History.” In *How Students Learn: History in the Classroom*, ed. M. Suzanne Donovan and John D. Bransford (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2005).

²⁶ Ormond, 599–619.

²⁷ Bertram, 125–143.

²⁸ Adolfsson, 424–440.

²⁹ Smith, Discursive dancing, 307–329.

of a disciplinary approach in official and enacted curricula is contested and conditioned differentially by particular contexts of professionalism, teaching, and schooling. In the next section, such contexts are explored as conditions within and through which two Greek-Cypriot teachers, Niki and Stella (pseudonyms), were (re)constituted as elementary school teachers teaching a number of subjects at a particular time of curriculum change. This change had already influenced History in complex ways since it has been a school subject traditionally debated along political-ideological (defending competitive narratives of national identity) rather than pedagogical arguments.³⁰

HISTORY EDUCATION IN CYPRUS: A MATTER OF IDENTITY

Intense politicization of all matters educational in Cyprus, including the History curriculum and textbooks, goes back to the British colonial period and held strong anti-colonial undertones after the 1920s, when Greek and Turkish “national identities” were being introduced as categories of governance and self-identification shaping respectively Christian and Muslim communities’ claims over the island.³¹ Relatedly, elementary school teachers’ professionalization was formalized in 1929 when they were denoted as public servants, recognized as experts of some sort (teaching *all* grades and subjects in elementary education for children between 6 and 12 years old) and *simultaneously* becoming accountable to a centralized colonial government.³²

After the 1960 independence of the Republic of Cyprus, a segregated educational system for each community continued to legitimize conflicting historical narratives, emphasizing Greekness/Turkishness, Cypriotness, or combinations thereof. This segregation was solidified spatially and sociopolitically after inter-ethnic conflict in the 1960s and the 1974 invasion by Turkey to stop a Greek-Junta-organized coup aimed at dismantling the Republic of Cyprus and unifying it with Greece. The island has been divided since, a situation known as the most recent instantiation of “the Cyprus Problem” and which several rounds of talks under the United Nations have so far failed to solve. In a periodization into four historical periods (1960–1974; 1974–1994; 1994–2004; 2004–2010) of the Greek-Cypriot educational system it is argued that three discourses of identity have been in competition, in all four periods: *Hellenocentrism*, emphasizing the Greekness of Greek-Cypriots and legitimizing a struggle for political and/or cultural union with Greece; *Cypriocentrism*, emphasizing a Cypriot (ethno-cultural and legal-political) identity that the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities

³⁰ Chara Makriyianni and Charis Psaltis, “The Teaching of History and Reconciliation.” *The Cyprus Review* 19, no. 1 (2007): 43–69.

³¹ Rebecca Bryant, *Imagining the Modern: The Cultures of Nationalism in Cyprus* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2004); Zelia Gregoriou, “De-scribing Hybridity in ‘Unspoiled Cyprus’: Postcolonial Tasks for the Theory of Education.” *Comparative Education* 40, no. 2 (2004): 241–266.

³² Panayiotis K. Persianis, *The Politics of Education in Cyprus over the Last Two Centuries (1812–2009)*, (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Publications, 2010).

were viewed to share in the Republic of Cyprus; and *Hellenocypriocentrism*, which represented Cyprus as an independent state from Greece yet historically monocultural, inhabited by descendants of (ancient) Greece and of Greek-Orthodox religion, thus politically excluding historical (Turkish-Cypriots, Latins, Maronites, Armenians) and recent diversity.³³ Each of these three discourses essentially adopted a “best story/collective history” approach, with Hellenocentrism and Hellenocypriocentrism predominant in History, thus attaching the subject’s value to its contribution to particular social-as-national purposes.³⁴ Such attachment has been enabled and enhanced by epistemologies which saw historical knowledge as absolute and finite, rather than conditional and changing. Teaching History then, traditionally a distinct subject-area in both elementary and secondary education, was reduced to a coverage of the selection of subject-matter as materialized in the official textbook,³⁵ a material also guaranteeing political safety to teachers as public servants: teaching other than the formal, state narrative of identity could present risks. The state textbooks “covered” chronologically national (Greek and Cypriot) ancient, Byzantine, and modern History to be repeated in elementary, lower, and upper secondary education, respectively.

This landscape started to become more complex as arguments in favor of a disciplinary approach started circulating especially since the early 2000s, as “New History” was transferred and mediated via civil society networks in Cyprus through mainly the Council of Europe.³⁶ The introduction of a disciplinary approach in the most recent official curriculum texts can be seen as a disruption of debates over national identity through the subject, and moreover, as argued in this chapter, a complex and fluid one, especially as it was mediated by teachers from curriculum policy to implementation. In the next section, this shift is traced more closely during the recent curriculum change to account for the institutional contexts wherein the two teachers taught.

The Recent Curriculum Change and History

This study was conducted amid a curriculum change most recently spanning 2010–2016 but initially launched as a broader educational reform in 2004 through the publication of an extensive report conducted by an “Education

³³ Stavroula Philippou and Eleftherios Klerides, “Greek-Cypriot Educational Policy and Curricula 1960–2010: On Movement and Stability in Constructing National Identities.” *Cyprus Review* 22, no. 2 (2010): 219–233.

³⁴ Lukas Perikleous, “At a Crossroad between Memory and Thinking: The Case of Primary History Education in the Greek Cypriot educational system,” *Education 3–13* 38, no. 3 (2010): 315–328; Lukas Perikleous, “A Game of Identities: Debates over History in Greek Cypriot Education.” *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research* 11, no. 2 (2013), 45–58; Makriyianni and Psaltis, 43–69.

³⁵ Mary Koutselini, “Curricula and Textbooks: An Incompatible Longitudinal Connection in the Case of Cyprus.” In *Policies and Institutions of the Ministry of Education and Culture in the Last 50 Years*, (Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016).

³⁶ Klerides, 12–33.

Reform Committee” which was tasked with evaluating all levels and sectors of education to suggest an agenda of reform. The Report introduced a discourse of inclusion and equity for students and of professional autonomy for teachers, away from their traditional role of a “public servant” or “technocrat.”³⁷ However, the state remained quite central in the last 15 years during which the reform has since been unfolding, with the MoEC governing the development of new official curriculum texts by subject-area curriculum review committees between 2008 and 2009³⁸ and teachers’ professional development as a means of implementation of the new curriculum.³⁹ Moreover, teachers positioned themselves as professionals toward this newfound autonomy in multiple ways, rendering curriculum implementation more complex.⁴⁰

Perhaps unsurprisingly History as a school subject-area attracted considerable attention for ideological reasons, as the subject was construed within the 2004 Report as necessary for settling the Cyprus Problem, at a historical point in time when political discussions were quite intense right before the United Nation’s Annan Plan Referendum for a Comprehensive Solution to the Cyprus Problem and the Republic of Cyprus’s entrance to the European Union. More particularly, the Committee was critical of the tradition of import of History textbooks from Greece (promoting a Hellenocentric narrative of identity) and suggested the introduction of new Cyprus History textbooks written by Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot experts (to promote a Cypriocentric narrative), singling out “multiperspectivity” as a means to achieve reconciliation between the two communities. Moreover, the Committee considered as necessary the “more systematic teaching of history through programs and textbooks which are in accordance with the contemporary European standards (peaceful coexistence, multiculturalism, respect of difference and abolition of chauvinism, intolerance and interracial hatred).”⁴¹ However, there was considerable reaction against these proposals leading to the abandonment of the joint Cyprus History textbook as a Hellenocentric ethnonational identity came to constitute an “immunology” creating a firm textbook “border” against “New History.”⁴²

³⁷ MoEC, *Democratic and Humanistic Education*, 16.

³⁸ Eleni Theodorou, Stavroula Philippou and Stavroula Kontovourki. “Caught between Worlds of Expertise: Primary Teachers amidst Official Curriculum Development Processes in Cyprus.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 47, no. 2 (2017): 217–240.

³⁹ Stavroula Kontovourki, Eleni Theodorou and Stavroula Philippou. “Governing Teachers: Professional Development and Curriculum Reform in Cyprus.” In *Governing Educational Spaces: Knowledge, Teaching, and Learning in Transition*, ed. Hans-Georg Kothoff and Eleftherios Klerides (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015).

⁴⁰ Stavroula Philippou, Stavroula Kontovourki and Eleni Theodorou. “Can Autonomy be Imposed? Examining Teacher (Re)positioning during the Ongoing Curriculum Change in Cyprus.” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 46, no. 5 (2014): 611–633.

⁴¹ MoEC, *Democratic and Humanistic Education*, 157.

⁴² Eleftherios Klerides and Michalinos Zembylas, “Identity as Immunology: History Teaching in Two Ethnonational Borders of Europe.” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 47, no. 3 (2017): 416–433.

Throughout these debates, arguments rarely escaped a best-story approach, attaching social purposes to History, albeit of diverging narratives of national identity.

Similar tensions were observed both in how the new official curriculum texts were developed and in what they came to include. In the 2010 History curriculum document,⁴³ traces of references to historical thinking, multiperspectivity, the use of sources, and understanding change and continuity appeared and certain “openings” to other content beyond national in chronological order emerged, for example, a unit on personal and local history in the third elementary grade.⁴⁴ These seem to have been enabled by the participation of different “types” of actors in the Committee developing the official curriculum text: appointed academics, ministry technocrats, and, for the first time, volunteer teachers-practitioners.⁴⁵ These traces, however, were scarce. A disciplinary approach was more strongly introduced later, Perikleous explains, in the new teaching materials produced between 2011 and 2013 for the third (used by Niki in this study) and fourth grades of elementary education.⁴⁶ Part of these materials organized substantive content along a synoptic framework approach enabling the comparison of broader historical periods along four frameworks (movement and settlement; everyday life; ideas and beliefs; political and social organization) to discuss change and continuity. Moreover, the new materials overall introduced second-order concepts (time, change and continuity, accounts, evidence, cause and consequence, significance, and historical empathy); abilities related to historical inquiry (such as the construction of historical narratives, the use of appropriate historical language and conventions); and dispositions stemming from the discipline of History (such as respect for evidence, appreciation of well-grounded arguments, respect for the past and its people). These materials also construed state History textbooks as one among multiple sources that teachers and students could use in their historical inquiries.⁴⁷

However, the curriculum implementation was halted in 2013 when a new government began a process of curriculum evaluation and before similar changes occurred for the fifth and sixth grades’ teaching material. Thus, Greek textbooks continue to be used as we see Stella doing in this study. The 2010 official curriculum was evaluated in 2014 by new academics appointed by the MoEC, who argued that it needed to be “updated” with contemporary pedagogical approaches in History education. The original 2009 academics of the History Curriculum Review Committee replied that the evaluation was coming from a pedagogical (rather than academic historian)

⁴³ MoEC, *New Curricula*.

⁴⁴ Lukas Perikleous, “A Brave New World, History Education Reform in the Greek-Cypriot Educational System.” In *Joined-Up History, New Directions in History Education Research*, ed. Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2015).

⁴⁵ Perikleous, *At a Crossroad, A game of identities, A Brave New World*.

⁴⁶ Perikleous, *A Brave New World*.

⁴⁷ see Perikleous, *A Brave New World*.

rationality, “borrowed” from Anglo-Saxon models, and was therefore rejected as inappropriate for the subject.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, based on this evaluation, the 2010 curriculum documents were re-structured and published online in 2016 for all subjects and grades. The restructured documents comprised of revised curricular texts of purposes, pedagogy, and assessment, and, more significantly, of additional, voluminous supplementary texts of tables comprised of detailed and cumulative “success indicators” (denoting learning outcomes as observable student behaviors that can be evaluated) and “efficiency indicators” (breaking down academic content in knowledge, concepts, skills, and attitudes opposite respective “success indicators”). In these restructured standardized 2016 curricula, a disciplinary approach in History takes a decisive appearance in elementary education. The aims and philosophy prioritized “historical thinking” and “historical consciousness,” to be achieved through “historical literacy” comprising substantive knowledge (of “what happened in the past” as well as substantive “concepts used in historical accounts”) and disciplinary understanding (“how we learn about the past, the methods and processes of the science of History, the forms of historical knowledge and their boundaries”).⁴⁹ These were operationalized by the following second-order concepts, coded with alphabet symbols for easy reader reference throughout the success and efficiency indicator tables:

1. Process concepts

- Time, change, continuity (A)
- Causes-effects (B),
- Historical empathy (Γ)

2. Interpretations

- Sources-historical accounts (Δ)
- Significance (E)

3. Historical inquiry

- Evidence (Στ)

4. Structure-communication (Z)

However, in the 2016 curriculum texts these concepts are mobilized to inquire a historical past, which is still mostly national and “periodicized” in chronological order: separate documents outline historical content chronologically and per historical period and grade (alternating between history of Greece and Cyprus, to be taught through both the Greek and Greek-Cypriot

⁴⁸ MoEC, *Report of the Evaluation Committee*.

⁴⁹ MoEC, *The Subject of History*.

History textbooks).⁵⁰ This co-appearance of “best story” and disciplinary rationalities in the institutional context is further entangled in classrooms, as argued in this chapter, when negotiated by teachers of different personal/professional experiences and addressing different classroom contexts.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA SOURCES

The broader study entailed a longitudinal qualitative research project that explored five female Greek-Cypriot elementary teachers’ sense of professionalism and constitution as professionals and the ways in which they constructed “knowledge” in each and across certain subject-areas ([Greek] Language Arts, History, Geography, and Health Education) during their everyday curriculum enactment and amid an ongoing curriculum change. Teachers were identified purposefully so as to represent different ages, different types of schools, and the range of the subject-areas in focus in different grades. Informed consent was obtained from teachers, children, and their parents, and access was formally pursued through the MoEC. The particular data set that informs this chapter employs a case-study approach, which allows the in-depth description of complex phenomena⁵¹ and foregrounds the examination of a particular subject, setting, or event in its relation to a broader whole.⁵² Ethnographic data-collection methods were employed over three extended phases during a particular school year (2015–2016) to construct each of the five teachers’ cases. These included:

- (a) Ethnographic classroom observations and video-recording of a total of 259 teaching periods. Video-data for History lessons were comprised of seven 40-minute periods in Stella’s class and ten 40-minute lessons in Niki’s class. In each of the observations, field notes (observation logs, OLI-10) focused on the activities and interaction of students and teachers as well as the means and materials used.
- (b) Multiple semi-structured, individual teacher interviews conducted before, between, and after the observation phases (I1, I2, I3, respectively), seeking to unravel teachers’ personal and professional histories and identities, sense of professionalism, and understandings of processes of curriculum change and the subject-areas in question. For History, these included questions about previous experiences during teacher education and professional development; rationalities and materials used; and particular episodes/events that had been observed in the classroom.

⁵⁰ MoEC, *The Subject of History*.

⁵¹ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006); Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009).

⁵² Robert. C. Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2006).

- (c) an Archive of documents related to teachers' enactment of curricula in each subject-area, which included teachers' planning, teaching materials used and produced during class, including the use of the board or projections, students' work, and other documents used (official guidelines, announcements, professional development materials, etc.).

During each data-collection phase, the data was organized, catalogued, and initially coded based on thematic categories of analysis stemming from the project's emphases. When data collection was completed, the data was further processed/analyzed to construct the five cases, comprised of each teacher's profile in terms of their perceptions of and experiences from the profession; experiences within the profession; experiences from/with the curriculum change; and general and subject-specific teaching practices. Based on these profiles, brief analytical memos were prepared, which constituted the basis for the cases, while a coding scheme was developed to enable further the analysis into particular aspects of the study. Analysis veered between productive and inductive techniques to draw upon content, thematic, and discourse analysis of the cases constructed. The final coding scheme was used to code data in Atlas.ti and included codes relevant to teacher professionalism, curriculum enactment, teachers' perceptions of their relational positioning in the school, institutional and broader sociopolitical context, the concept of curriculum change itself, and the subject-areas in focus. For the analysis presented in this chapter I drew on the codes of "History didactics," "common across subject-areas teaching practices/general didactics," "perceptions of curriculum," and "definitions of change/reform" to explore how the disciplinary boundaries of History, as they have been emerging in the institutional context (in official curriculum policy and/or teaching materials), were negotiated by the two particular teachers while situated amid other personal/professional, classroom, school, and institutional contexts which intersected with broader and historicized social, political, and cultural ones.

Niki and Stella had 16 and 19 years of experience respectively and taught History as classroom teachers to their third and sixth grade students during the year of the study. Characteristically, these are the two grades where Greek-Cypriot students begin and end their formal History education at the elementary school. Niki used a combination of older and new History state textbooks and teaching materials, including those recently developed with a disciplinary approach. Stella used the state textbook published in Greece about 20 years earlier and written from a traditional "best-story/collective history" approach, since the production of new teaching materials for the fifth and sixth grades was withheld, despite the 2016 re-structuring of the official curriculum texts along disciplinary lines. These tensions and discontinuities in the institutional context strongly condition curriculum enactment in the two teachers' classrooms, as argued below.

HISTORY EDUCATION UNDER DISCIPLINARY (UN)MAKINGS

Stella and Niki had different rationales for the “value” of the subject of History. They also construed its “contribution” to other subject-areas and to elementary schooling in ways which rendered historical knowledge simultaneously as disciplinary *and* as non- and inter-disciplinary, pointing toward the fluidity of “disciplinarity” as an additional boundary across which curriculum change occurs. For both teachers the disciplinary approach to History was new, representing a paradigm shift to what they had experienced as school students, during their initial teacher education, and as teachers up to that point. Stella’s case is presented first as typical of the tradition which has been predominant, to also serve as context for the second case, Niki, whose experiences of History as a student and teacher resembled those of Stella’s students, thus making the contrast to the disciplinary approach Niki was experimenting with more nuanced.

STELLA’S CASE: “STORYING” HISTORY, NARRATING IDENTITY

Stella’s History lessons were predominantly informed by a “best story/collective memory” approach with two key aims: an academic one construing historical knowledge as (national) substantive content and a moral/social one construing history as a source of moral examples for imitation (or avoidance) to construct a particular type of Greek national identity.

Blurring Disciplinary Boundaries to “Cover” History

Stella’s first aim for History was substantiated as a priority to “cover the subject-matter” which translated into covering the historical content prescribed in the sixth grade textbook from early modern European history to World War II for Greece and Cyprus. Though Stella admitted that this is voluminous making her “run to cover the subject matter” (I1), she insisted that it is “doable,” having rehearsed it for the last five years. She thus felt confident from the beginning and was quite content close to the end of the school year that they were quite “ahead in History.” She attributes this to her experience “it’s not the first time that I did the history textbook that’s why I make it every time, I mean I know with dates [in the school year] how I have to proceed.” (I2).

To achieve this first aim of covering the subject-matter in time, Stella referred to “good planning” which involved the collapsing of the boundary between History and Language Arts. One way this was manifested was by skipping the linearity of the historical content in History to teach about The Smyrna Catastrophe, World War II, and the 1821 Greek Revolution for Independence from the Ottomans (referred to as Turks) during the school year, that is, on 13 September, 28 October, and 25 March, respectively. She thus opted for shifting to the timeline of such Greek national commemoration events, which are expected to be celebrated as “current affairs” in Language Arts, but by drawing material from the History textbook as well, thus omitting those pages when their “turn” occurred:

why not do it when it is right in front of me (...) To see it as a whole to combine History inter-disciplinarily with Language Arts and finish it. Otherwise you can't cover the history subject-matter in time. With clever ways however, you can make it, and we have made it (I3b).

Stella explained that she regularly “demanded” to teach History to her class at the beginning of the school year during grade/subject negotiation among school staff exactly because she saw it as “interwoven with Language [Arts]” (I1). This created the conditions for traversing their boundaries, rendering both as non-disciplines, as particular kinds of subject-areas useful in promoting a Hellenocentric narrative of national identity, rather than powerful knowledge from the respective academic disciplines. Stella drew on the History textbook to add to sources she would use from the Language Arts textbook or other sources on those national anniversaries. As she explained “since we are to find sources to see some facts, things from newspapers of that era for example etc, why not make use of it from a historical perspective and be correct/right as well?” (I1). For Stella then, drawing on the History subject-area to boost a thematic unit around a national anniversary was a way to get to historical accuracy around the facts, as opposed to Language Arts, where contact with literary texts around that historical event was a priority “through other kinds of texts (...), literary, other genres, there were literary [texts], there were theatrical plays, there were poems etc.” (I2).

A second way in which Stella construed History as a non-discipline in relation to Language Arts was her emphasis on teaching transversal skills of reading comprehension using the main text of the textbook and a selection of sources therein. Such skills would include reading comprehension or listening comprehension by identifying a text's “main” or “significant points”; numbering paragraphs and highlighting sentences to locate such main points or key words; and summarizing and reorganizing them in differing ways (e.g. in timelines, diagrams, lists or tables on the board and/or students' exercise books). These teaching practices she systematically used also in Language Arts and Geography, and were construed as key or significant skills by Stella not only for elementary education, but also through her perspective as a sixth grade teacher who was *in addition* preparing her students for lower secondary education:

Sixth grade, when you prepare them for the gymnasium where History is examined [at the end of the year/promotion exams], they have to learn exactly this: I skim [a text to understand] whatever sticks to me, and the second time I get to the point, I underline important information, I read that short abstract preceding the, before it [text] starts telling the facts and, generally, they have to learn to extract information from the text (I3).

Stella stressed that such generic skills were key to academic success, necessary to prepare for taking History end-year written exams for the first time. Her concern for secondary education was also evident when explaining why she did a test which included both closed and open-ended questions. She emphasized

her expectation from students to respond fully to the latter, but not by “memorizing by heart,” which is why she only assigned a “small amount of content”; she wanted students:

to firstly have the experience of the test and secondly to answer questions in the given time (...) There are students who are lost in time, so yes, it's eh a technique you have to teach, they are going to gymnasium, you are at the 6th grade so you have these things too. It might not be written in your subject-matter but it's self-evident, you have to train them (I3b).

This rationale informed her construction of the subject-area in non-disciplinary ways, but rather as broader preparation for the next level of education wherein she knew, from her situated knowledge of the context, that reading comprehension and producing structured writing, as general rather than as subject-specific skills and competencies, were key to academic success in school.

This academic aim of “covering the subject-matter” in a way that traverses the boundaries between History and the Language Arts was constantly manifested in Stella's teaching practices and selection of teaching materials. Launching a lesson was often repetition of content from the previous lesson, as in the following example, where students were to summarize what they had done “last Thursday” about why the Greek Revolution started from the Peloponnese in 1821:

Student D explains that it was mountainous and made guerilla fighting possible. Student E adds that it was far away from Istanbul and the Turks couldn't easily replenish their supplies. Student C adds that many Turks had left the Peloponnese to fight against Ali Pasha in Epirus. Student F adds that the Greeks outnumbered [the Turks] in that area. Student C mentions that there were many Filiki Eteria members in the Peloponnese. Stella says “Well done” and that she is proud that they remember so many things from previous lessons. (OL2)

The content to be brought forward from each lesson to the next, like in this example, was usually what was “worked at” during the main activities of each lesson to get “the gist” of the chapter by using the textbook's introductory text, main text, and supplementary sources. The introductory text, which is a short synopsis at the beginning of each chapter, Stella considered as important because “it gives key words, it gives the synopsis of that one-and-a-half-page in four lines, five lines that an average student knows to tell you that, they are covered, you don't want something more. Yes, I think it's very good” (I3b). For example, having noted students' answers on the board [extracted from the introductory text] Stella turns to them saying “Well done, through the introductory text we have managed to see who Dramalis was, what his aim was and how he was defeated” (OL1). The lesson would then usually proceed with a paragraph by paragraph reading aloud by students or Stella to introduce new content:

She then asks Student G to read the 5th paragraph. The student reads it and Stella asks students to underline a particular sentence therein. (...) The students underline it. Stella then asks Student B to read the 6th paragraph. Student B reads the first sentence “The exodus [from Mesologgi] happened (...) Palm Sunday,” and Stella interrupts saying “This I want underlined.” She then asks Student B to continue reading and the rest of the students to continue underlining. Student B reads until the end of the fifth paragraph “like slaves.” Stella says “It was important that is why we underlined the whole paragraph. It explains their plan [of exodus] as well as the outcome of their plan.” She asks who would like to explain what the paragraph said. (OL5)

There were no explicit criteria with which to select what was “significant” in each paragraph; these were implicitly “taught” by Stella’s feedback when considered correct or not. They usually included key place and time information, main characters and keywords, often also noted on the whiteboard as bullet points in tables or diagrams to be copied in students’ individual exercise books. At rare instances she would use listening rather than reading comprehension, that is, asking them for the main points with students’ textbooks closed and her reading aloud to exercise their “reading readiness” and “to help them remember and make them attentive” (I3a). In one instance, she asked the students to copy the board contents while she read aloud the new text “otherwise I wouldn’t make it and because there were too much information in the text, at least my conscience was clear that I had read the text. But it doesn’t, surely, it’s not very helpful they can’t do two things at the same time at this age. It’s really impossible, but I did it, due to [lack of] time” (I3b). In this instance, she makes quite visible some of the contradictions she faced throughout the year, of her prioritizing quick coverage of the historical content, as prescribed from the institutional context, eventually at times sacrificing students’ participation or understanding.

As Stella prioritized reading text as a generic skill to develop across subject-areas, the boundary between History and Language Arts as well as the disciplinary of each subject-area collapsed. For Stella, the teaching of History appeared to rely on history’s narrative character as materialized in a “best story” approach: an objective, single narrative to be transmitted to students. At the same time, the teaching of Language Arts was reduced to identifying and reporting the “literal meaning” of texts, which, again, constitutes a specific approach to reading as excavation rather than as construction of meaning. Such understanding of a non-boundary between History and Language Arts informed also the materials she used. She acknowledged that the textbook was hard “it sometimes takes them [students] here and there in the connection of the facts” (I1) and that “there are chapters which could be omitted (...) or could be merged (...) because they don’t have many main points that would concern children of this age” (I2). This point of critique has been widely discussed among teachers since the textbook’s publication. However, Stella stated she liked it because “[it] helps [G]reek [Language Arts] very much, it’s little the time we have for History” (I1). Elsewhere she further explains the “connection” with Language

Arts: “And you know it’s a way by reading the text to do reading. It’s not only in the Language textbook that they do reading. And they take a different kind of vocabulary which is important, which will help them” (I2). Reference to other kinds of materials she considered useful like photographic material, newspaper articles, documentary clips, authentic sources from History books, and other materials from the internet occurred mainly when she referred to the examination of national anniversaries, that is, when History and Language Arts were combined (I3b). She also found the historical sources included in the textbook as valuable, creating potential for a “hint” of a disciplinary approach, though her selection of sources ultimately contributed to the “best story” approach that Stella enacted with her students.

History for Constructing National Citizens

To return to Stella’s second main aim for History, the moral-as-social one, its value as a subject-area largely rested in its potential to provide a source of moral role models from (Greek) historical figures and events to imitate or avoid accordingly. For example, as an introduction to a chapter on a Greek guerilla fighters’ death (Botsaris), Stella asks students to recall “other heroes” from previous lessons on the Greek Revolution, collecting the names of military or political leaders and the battles at which they excelled/participated, asking also for women’s names, to list on the board (OL3). Students’ homework for that class was to answer in their exercise books “What, in your opinion, is the value of the sacrifice of Markos Botsaris?” (OL3). Similarly, “the past” became a source of moral lessons through examples to be avoided, like the civil dispute between the Greeks during the revolution, which Stella stressed (e.g. OL4) in the hope of preventing (national) history from repeating itself:

It was a significant element of the revolution the civil disputes. It was something that they, as an issue civil [war] always besets the Greeks (...) in other words to see how the game is lost when discord is in the middle. (...). For me History gives you examples to imitate through the facts and through the... historical figures. If it’s only to make use of it simply to learn that this happened in 1823 and the other in 1827, what’s the use? *The point is through the events to take the respective values, attitudes, to not, to have some usefulness the subject of History.* (I3b)

History, then, is construed as a subject-area of usefulness for cultivating moral-as-social values, which was further situated as avoiding anything that would compromise the national goal of freedom/independence while imitating role models, in the hope of shaping particular kinds of national citizens. This further supported a “best-story” approach and the Hellenocentric narrative therein, which constructed Greeks as of small military strength, but virtuous and heroic fighting for their freedom, as opposed to their enemies, the Ottoman-Turks, who were significantly stronger in military resources, but who were “only” trying to suppress the revolution to maintain their empire.

*Hints of Disciplinarity Within a “Best Story/Collective
Memory” Approach*

Within the broader institutional context which enabled the construction of History as a subject-area aimed at “covering” a particular national historical “best” narrative as content, there were two issues which hinted at a disciplinary approach, though not labeled as such by Stella herself. As argued earlier, the History lesson was almost always an effort to master some kind of written text. However, the aim of breaking down the text was often for students to find the “reasons” or “causes” that led from one situation/event to the next or a person/group to act in a particular way. For example, she asked students to find in the textbook reasons for Mesologgi being strategically important; reasons for the failed Mesologgi exodus; reasons for the civil war between the Greeks; reasons for Dramalis [Ottoman Turk military leader] losing the battle of Dervenakia; reasons for the (positive for the Greeks) result at the Navarino battle; or reasons why Kapodistrias was successful in getting the Independence Protocol signed in 1830. Though often this would lead to a “listing” of causes/reasons on the board, her rationale hinted at a more complex understanding of the past, stating that she wanted her students to see how each event led to another, rather than just memorize them. For example, she wanted them to have an understanding of the “broader historical framework” of the Greek Revolution rather than learn battles as disjointed events:

The connections between the events, they had to understand that it was a revolution that was not that organized. It started from the Peloponnese, *we showed this and it showed in the lessons, it spread to Sterea Ellada and proceeded. Every time I would make them see on the map how they proceeded.* At the same time I wanted them to understand that there activities that were taking place as they [rebels] were trying to coordinate, they weren’t that capable..., exactly because they were inexperienced, because they had no financial and military support, because they had no support by the great powers. And essentially they were fighting alone. And I wanted [students] like, to understand, to get this context, that it’s not just one, one isolated battle, it’s one battle which is connected to the previous and following one, and there is a ...it’s within a context. So that historical events are not decontextualized. (I2)

As seen in this example in how a school historical wall map of the Peloponnese was used, Stella considered maps necessary to explore causation of such events, for students to understand location, distances, and ground morphology as contributing to events, especially battles, movement of troops/rebels, military campaigns, sieges of cities, and sea battles. Using maps was also one of the rare occasions that Stella would acknowledge her students’ prior knowledge or experiences, explaining that there were many references to geographical locations in Greece that the students were not familiar with, thus adding to the difficulty:

here we have another difficulty that we examine Greece which is from a geographical perspective unknown to students, the names of areas, I mean it's not like Greek students who eh, do it, who are doing the same textbook these areas are known. (...) That's why you use a map. Without a map History is not doable, if you want to be correct. (I3b)

At times, in the context of examining causation, matters of historical empathy were implicitly addressed when Stella asked her students to interpret why certain historical figures or groups acted in certain ways, for example, in acts of bravery (e.g. OL3) or discord during the civil war (e.g. OL4).

This instantiation of disciplinarity intersected with the second "hint" of disciplinarity which emerged: the frequent use of the textbook's historical sources, provided in each chapter as supplementary material to the main narrative. Stella would use them not in a disciplinary way (e.g. for students to question the sources, compare and combine them with others, to use them as sources of evidence to reconstruct a version of what happened), but to add or replace content from the narrative of the main text which was construed as objective:

there are chapters where the source is better than the [main] text, like where the discord between the Greeks that had to be shown, that it was a setback to the struggle [of independence] and to their action. And I started with the source and the words of Kolokotronis [Greek revolution military leader] I remember, and then got into the [main] text. And another source I made use of as a launching activity...when [Kanaris, Greek revolution military leader] wanted to show them the concord and that solidarity should prevail, and it was very nice (I2).

Having read the excerpt from Kolokotronis's memoirs, for example, Stella asks:

"What does Kolokotronis show with what he said?" The children respond with "goodhearted" and "he sacrificed." Stella says that "he wasn't afraid of death, he sacrificed his life for the homeland, he was brave, fearless." She then asks what he had proposed to Ibrahim [Ottoman military leader]. Student G says that he proposed that the two of them fight either alone or with men. Stella asks why and Student G responds "Because he knew that he was stronger." Stella agrees and says that when Ibrahim came he had brought many soldiers with him (...), which is why Kolokotronis told him that the battle was unfair, they didn't have equal forces. She said it was a brave gesture. (OL4)

As seen in the example, the selection of sources was related to Stella's efforts to appeal emotionally to her students and relay some social-as-moral lessons to her students from past "mistakes" or "achievements" by Greeks as their ancestors. Though she considered sources necessary and valuable, she was at the same constantly concerned that she couldn't afford to use them as "you won't make it covering the subject-matter at all in the end. On the other hand, however, to do the same things, because if you notice it [the textbook] (...) it goes

from one event to the other event and to the other event, well it ends up being boring” (I3b). As in her rationale for the whole subject, similarly in why and when to use sources, she seems split between covering the content and appealing to the students; to achieve the latter she uses sources, however these were selected to support her moral-as-social purpose for History and confirm one national “best story.” Disciplinarity could thus be traced as unsubstantiated “hints” since they were subsumed or appropriated by the national-collective story constructed overall, History thus unmade into a non-discipline after all.

NIKI’S CASE: HISTORICAL DISCIPLINARITY-IN-THE-MAKING

Niki taught History to the third grade only during the last three years. This was a welcome change, after years in the first grade, a “tradition” for young female teachers, which she felt was very professionally constricting, “unfair,” and eventually made her “very bored” (I1). However, she did pursue teaching History in the older grades while a classroom teacher in young ones where History is not taught. Even though the use of the “success and efficiency indicators” was voluntary during that year, Niki would spend “many many hours” to “familiarize with” “as they are now our guide” (I3). Especially in History she appreciated how the indicators were “now (...) about students becoming aware, understanding, realizing” (I3) highlighting the disciplinary purposes now associated with the subject. She was less enthusiastic with the 2013 History materials (teacher guide, worksheets, and cards for students), to be used along the 2000 and 2001 MoEC textbooks, covering the periods from the Paleolithic to the Bronze Age, and the Greek textbook, covering mythology up to the Stone Age. Niki thought this multiplicity of materials was confusing to students often causing interruptions and repetition of instructions on which ones to use. She cuts “history to the measures of each class each year. I can’t follow the curriculum” (I1) as she thinks it is impossible to exhaust all these materials “so the teacher who does History is forced to (...) do a combination and stick to the basics. So that at the end of the 3rd grade five things from each period stick with them [students]” (I1).

Mainly for these difficulties she referred to the design of the new curriculum materials as “utopian” addressing in her view “the above average student” (I2) or being feasible only if she had “25 little Einsteins” (I3) in class. She finds third graders, though interested in this new subject, “have a really hard time in History, especially the first 3 months” (I2) and to “get the point” of how to work in History as it involves “very difficult concepts” (I3), especially in the terminology of the instructions. For example, she reported that only four of her students understood the instructions (which used the vocabulary of evidence, sources, and archeological findings) to deduce from needles (fish bones) that humans could make clothes and make a “logical statement” to that effect (I3). She thus had greater difficulty in accepting the curriculum change as materialized in the teaching materials which were informed by “contemporary standards” and “this beautiful, scientific way” (I3), but which placed academic demands too high.

Despite considering it difficult to cultivate historical thinking at this age, she thought it necessary: “you have to start at the third grade so that they are ready when they reach the sixth (...) it’s a spiral approach. At some point [3 sec pause] ehm this is the methodology that historians use” (I3). She seemed fascinated by this academic turn in the subject, which was in line with her general beliefs about schooling and herself as a professional; quite characteristically, she once reprimanded a student for not paying attention saying “we are educating ourselves [morfonomaste] now!” (OL6); this for Niki should have been incentive enough. The process of enacting the new History curriculum was thus difficult but worthwhile for Niki.

*Guiding Students in Becoming Historians/Archeologists:
Enacting a Disciplinary Approach*

Niki was persuaded by the value of the curriculum turn, rendering constantly evident in her teaching the disciplinary approach of the teaching materials, which included (in the lessons we observed) engaging with inquiry questions through the (cross)examination of multiple sources (primary, secondary, formal, informal, of different genres and modalities) to locate “evidence,” formulating and testing hypotheses, discussing causation and historical empathy, speaking in different “degrees of certainty” in putting forth historical claims, and becoming aware of broader historical periods in terms of change and continuity. She would construe all these activities as those in which professionals engage and constantly reminded students to work “like archeologists and historians” or “scientists,” establishing a routine of “lifting their collars up” when “examining a source” to embody their role. She wanted her students to understand that History “is about a life we haven’t lived, that there is always uncertainty, just this uncertainty is graded and we stress a lot in history that historians make hypotheses and cross-examine findings and use a variety of different sources to reach some ehm conclusions, it’s very important students realize this. The historical thinking” (I3). She construed this as a great source of significance for the subject “this rounded [approach], to be able to think logically, what does it mean that this was found? This skeleton in this particular environment? This thinking, historical thinking. (...) I am not only interested in them [students] learning how they [humans] moved during the Paleolithic [era] and why they moved. I mean to go a step further and acquire this historical literacy” (II).

When in this role of “source examiners” Niki expected students to justify their responses and formulate “logical statements” or “hypotheses” grounded in evidence from sources because “always in History we work with sources” (OL2) while “always having in mind what their question was” (OL6). She likened finding answers from sources “like going to a water well [source] and dig up water (...) in history I go (...) to the source and extract evidence, information” (OL6), as shown in this characteristic sequence of inquiring what humans ate during the Paleolithic period:

A student tells her that he only wrote seeds and fruit and Niki responds “So you were hasty in examining your source.” Students copy from the board. Student D says he wrote his own stuff, without using the source and Niki says: “You haven’t understood how we work in History (...). According to sources (...) they did not have dreams [scientists and archeologists], it’s through evidence that they reached conclusions!” (...). She motivates students to observe the photos she projects from the book and see what gatherers ate (...). She asks Student E who then reads the 3rd paragraph on page 99. Niki asks “What else did historians-archeologists find in their excavations? What Student E read (...). What did they eat, what did they kill?.” Student B raises his hand to speak and says “Animals.” (...). So they most probably ate....” She waits students to formulate their hypotheses. Student A raises his hand and says the answer. Niki writes it on the board and while children copy she says “The rock paintings, which are primary sources, what do they show? What animals did they eat?.” She asks them to remember those they saw in previous lessons (...). Niki moves towards the board saying “Very good, so do I write ‘probably’ or ‘most probably’? Historians-archeologists are not certain either.” She asks students to select a degree of certainty.

They would work similarly with “extracting” evidence from multiple sources to find out with varying degrees of certainty using their special vocabulary (also on the classroom walls in cards like “there is no evidence, perhaps, probably, possibly, certainly/for sure, impossible”), for example, what humans were wearing during the Paleolithic period (OL3); how humans first arrived in Cyprus and when; how we know Neolithic humans lived in settlements; how they moved on the ground and at sea (OL6); why and how Neolithic humans would move/travel (OL5); which different routes humans could have arrived to Cyprus by sea (OL7); what materials they could have used to build houses in the Neolithic era (OL7); what makes archeologists hypothesize that humans arrived with papyrus to Cyprus (OL6). The construction of History as “scientific” became quite explicit toward the end of the year in lessons which also served as an introduction to the Bronze Age and which involved comparing two texts (one on the Minotaur myth and one historical on the Cnossos Palace) for information and filling a Venn diagram to show where the two sources intersected (that the palace was in Crete, that it was large and impressive) and where they were different (as to who built it; who lived inside). While comparing the two texts she guided students to conclude that mythology and History are connected, that mythology was based on some facts but added “imaginary elements” as opposed to History, which is about real evidence; still mythology was helpful because it provided clues to archeologists to pursue (OL8). Stressing History as an evidence-based science was also explicit when Niki explained an experiment (included in the new textbook) “scientists, archeologists did” comparing marks on animal fossils with those made by simulations of tools “to conclude that indeed... to find out the truth...with certainty” otherwise they would be “delusional” (OL1).

Despite the multiple textbooks and time-consuming activities, Niki would constantly resort to additional sources, resources, or means to enhance her students’ understanding. For example, she brought “tangible materials” and

artifacts (a fossil replica, a copper pipe, wool [thread] to show time, etc.); used YouTube videos to launch lessons or elaborate on points (e.g. a simulation of how Paleolithic humans spent their days, OL4); googled terms to address students' questions (e.g. when they didn't know what papyrus was when discussing papyrels, OL7); got students to bring photos of natural history museums they had visited abroad (I3); and brought an archeologist in class. She organized the standard third grade fieldtrip to the Neolithic settlement of Khirokitia, pointing out that such visits, seeing onsite how "archeologists process the little pieces," might even "raise students' research interests" (I3). However, having invested in this visit as an experience (which for scheduling reasons happened a little bit earlier than when the topic was studied at school), Niki was disappointed. Students did not remember, for example, her showing them on-site with water why houses wouldn't flood (I3) or why they hadn't seen plinths but could still see stones at the foundations of houses (OL7). She also resorted to dramatization, perhaps implicitly cultivating historical empathy, for example, when asking pairs to hug each other to feel the warmth and explain how fire helped families feel "cozy" (OL4) or to hypothesize over humans' thoughts while making tools (OL4). Seeing that students had difficulty appreciating the discovery of fire, she pretended to be a Paleolithic human (having students imitating her) who was searching for stones to make a new axe and felt surprise with the sparks and fire, joy for the warmth and pain when burnt (OL3). In this example, especially, she seemed to be creating for her students a story, an engaging narrative she missed from the textbooks. However meaningful this enactment of narrative was perceived, it nevertheless collapsed the disciplinary approach to History pursued in Greek-Cypriot education at the given moment, which prioritized the deconstruction and juxtaposition of narratives rather than narration itself. This is telling of how disciplinarity in History would "collapse" when Niki traversed the boundaries with other subject-areas, but especially with Language Arts, as argued below.

Blurring Boundaries, Collapsing Disciplinarity

Niki described herself as a "great supporter" of interdisciplinary connections. She therefore planned crossings between subject-areas "because the kids, any human, to be able to function it's very important to function on multiple levels, not unidimensional (...) each subject-area is not isolated" (I3). She referred to Current Affairs as providing opportunities for crossings, but thought these harder to find for third grade History when compared to sixth grade History, which includes Greek national history and, as we saw with Stella, is expected to be combined with Language Arts for national anniversaries (I3). Nevertheless, Niki connected History to Health Education and Language Arts when studying the war in Syria, seeing this as part of "contemporary history, you don't get into detail ok (...) but it is a history lesson for kids to know that there is war going on in Syria" befitting to the official guideline she endorsed that "one of history's key aims should be to enable students to critically view events occurring in the

contemporary world within their country or beyond” (I3). This unit led to a collection of necessities to send to Syrian refugees in collaboration with the Red Cross, one of her student’s ideas that Niki labored to bring into fruition as a school activity with pride because she valued social contribution, thus ascribing to History (as well as to Health Education and Language Arts) social values of solidarity toward human beings (refugees). Such an interdisciplinary unit was consistent with the conceptualization of critical literacy that found its way into the Greek Language Arts curriculum of 2010, which Niki had tried to implement and that relied on children’s mobilization as actors to effect social justice and change. It was also befitting to the introduction of content on human rights in the new Health Education curriculum.

A second way in which Niki blurred the boundaries between History and Language Arts was, like Stella, her insistence of students developing several transversal skills especially in reading comprehension like “the identification of information [in a text], we do it in text comprehension” (I3) and as shown in this exchange:

Student F responds and Niki comments: “Have you found it in your source? Have you underlined them? Didn’t we say that, like in Greek [Language Arts], we locate” She asks students to find and underline their answer in the textbook page 98, like they do when they read a text in Language Arts. She advises students “I put my finger at the 3rd paragraph. We take our ruler (...) seeds, nuts (...). Kids what else? What else?” (OL2)

She veers into this “collapsing” of the boundary when explaining to students that reading the textbook for homework is a way of them learning the historical content (OL2), when asking that key points were noted in their exercise books to later help them “have everything together and go back to them and remember them” (OL6), and also when insisting on students’ oral expression to be elaborate. For example, she asked the class to clap for Student A, who responded with a complete answer (which included many sentences) to a question (OL3).

Thirdly, the collapsing of the boundary occurred through student’s questions or input and/or Niki’s need to make unplanned explanations; such episodes were not observed in Stella’s class. At one instance during a Language Arts lesson involving the Faroe Islands a picture triggered students to interrupt and discuss History, asking how humans came to exist, with her concluding that there are different opinions between Science and Religion. Niki explained that interruptions happen often because “one thing leads to another, surely it is not a linear process learning and teaching. It goes without saying that you take advantage of every opportunity, not every...things worthy of discussion to be analyzed. It’s very often that this happens. The parentheses. Many times, even a parenthesis to a parenthesis” (I2) she jokes, which lasts “sometimes not just five minutes, I mean out of 40 minutes 20 could be gone.” (I2) adding that she wished there was more time. Such a parenthesis “opened” during a History lesson through a question by Student B, which led to a discussion

about how the Paleolithic and Neolithic eras are distinguished, which then led to a question about life expectancy:

Niki explains that they leave behind the Paleolithic era, thousands of years passed and they enter a new era of the Stone. She asks students to calm down and listen to the scientist [video]. Student B asks if it is possible that one human lived the end of the Paleolithic era and the beginning of the Neolithic one. Niki explains that it is after thousands of years that archaeologists named periods and that they always leave a “gap” which is not clear if e.g. it is Paleolithic or Neolithic. (...). Student B asks why and Niki asks how many years a human can live and the children think a 100.

The discussion at this point moved to a comparison of living conditions in the past at those periods and the present; while shortly entertaining a student’s idea that they lived longer because they had “cleaner [healthier] things,” she then challenged them to consider how circumstances were much harsher at that time and without medical science (also drawing on Health Education and Science). She tried to “close” the parenthesis while praising them for raising questions. When some students started to raise more questions disagreeing between them, Niki said “Stop” and that she would finally start the video since they had “lost,” and immediately corrected to “spent,” enough time on Student B’s question. (OL5). Parentheses, therefore, stressed her for taking her “off track” while the pressure to cover the subject-matter until the end of the year remained: “I always feel responsible, regardless of being more flexible and open-minded as far as subject-matter is concerned, but still you feel that you can’t send kids [to 4th grade] and not refer at all to the Bronze Age” (I3). This concern of “covering” the historical content remained a constant across subject-areas for Niki, but in History it connected with an understanding thereof as a chronological narrative from which there could be no “gaps” for students. She thus seemed torn arguing “I won’t leave a kid to feel that something is troubling them, something is perplexing them and their teacher ignores them because she is in a hurry to move ahead” (I3) while regretting the cost of having “barely touched the Bronze Age” (I3).

Finally, blurring the boundary between what she perceived as Language Arts and History seemed to be related to her critique of the History materials lacking a continuous narrative. She jokes that it would help her students if she “took the Cypriot and the Greek [textbook] and turn it into short stories (laughter). See? But in order to understand the process that archeologists follow, what sources are, what findings are, to find evidence themselves in the sources, it’s a difficult skill, it’s a difficult process” (I2). She seems in this instance torn between her need to initiate her students in this time-consuming, disciplinary process she values with her confident use of narrative, like in Language Arts, a narrative to be experienced, felt, and comprehended. This is also why she likes the older textbooks from Greece and Cyprus: for having narrative sources or main text “which helps you”; on the other hand, she appreciates how the new curriculum

and relevant worksheets “repeat a series of [inquiry] questions for each of the three eras, Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age (...). It’s good because humans are at the epicenter (...) and follow the correct methodology of history as it should be, I mean examining sources and it’s through sources that I extract, the ... the evidence and go to the conclusions. But it is a methodology for the kids, the kids also need continuous discourse, more narrative one, and remember it much better” (I3). This veering occurred amid a context of Niki trying the 2010 curriculum change in different subject-areas, though she had already been involved in several programs or projects which required her “curriculum-making” of sorts before that was enabled/required by the institutional context. She explained that she was never a traditional teacher who covered textbooks but taught in units, especially in Language Arts, and often against pressure from inspectors, school principals, and parents. Her preference for Language Arts was evident since she was a school student and manifested throughout her career in the professional development she pursued within and beyond the school, especially focusing on promoting pleasure reading (mainly of literature) among children. For example, she participated during that year in a program promoting pleasure reading and selected ancient Greek mythology “to cover history” (I2) as well. Through her need to also teach mythology (a content included in the older Greek textbooks), Niki here manifests her veering between a “best story” approach, as appropriated by her perception of Language Arts, and a disciplinary approach in History, which she construes as more painstaking and time-consuming (for her and the children) yet academically rewarding and necessary.

CONCLUSION

Traces of a disciplinary approach became increasingly present as the curriculum change unfolded, albeit within rationalities which continued to prioritize (national) historical content mastery within a “best story/collective history” approach. The two teachers’ rationalities on History as a school subject were informed by the different available materials (textbooks and others) and were replete with tensions as already encountered in the historicity of competing purposes for History during the recent curriculum change. Moreover, these intersected with their understandings of other subject-areas and elementary schooling as well as with their personal and professional lives, ultimately enabling the enactment of different curricula in their particular classrooms and schools. For Stella the traditional way in which she approached History as a “best” Hellenocentric national “story” to “cover” is what she has been successfully doing for years through very hard work. This success was also accomplished by her collapsing of the boundary with Language Arts, rendering both as non-disciplines and her elementary classroom a space of cultivating generic, transversal, basic skills of mainly reading comprehension as preparation for secondary education. Running across her non/inter-disciplinary and disciplinary practices is the moral-as-social value she sees in History, which spills over to Language Arts too, of developing national citizens who admire (Greek)

national heroes who fought against national “Turks-Others” and consider the former as their ancestors whose mistakes students would avoid despite their “Greekness.” Disciplinarity emerged in Niki’s History class intensely not only because of her adoption of some of the new materials, but also because it “matched” her view of herself as a curriculum-maker and of schooling as mainly academic, thus supporting it with every opportunity. The ways in which she construed her students as rather non-academic was not restricted to History, but more broadly to “weaker” students in this particular school and in comparison to her “excellent” previous school experience.⁵³ She explored inter-disciplinary crossings across more subjects and with varying purposes, including, like Stella, transversal reading comprehension skills and the construction of a particular kind of national citizens (who would exercise social solidarity to national others-refugees and not just to their “own”). Niki also felt under pressure to “cover” subject-matter and to an extent conformed to a history-as-narrative rationale to strategize against time and because of her perception of Language Arts. Despite a sense of constant lack of time, she insisted in teaching History as a process of inquiry as anticipated by the new History materials, thus enabling student input as well. The new History materials were focusing more on Cypriot rather than Greek history; there seemed to be a hint of nostalgia for the latter in her inclusion of Greek mythology in addition to her pursuit of a narrative.

The two teachers as (show)cases of complexity problematize curriculum change as a “comprehensive” one for elementary education: disciplinarity matters. Elementary teachers have already been found challenging the different nature of this curriculum change in each subject-area pointing toward how each created differing professional conditions.⁵⁴ As this study provides further evidence of how this non-homogeneous institutional context played out in classrooms for one subject-area, it further unsettles ideas of curriculum change and implementation as occurring in modernist terms of linearity, following top-down pyramidal hierarchical relations, predictability, and uniformity.

Secondly, despite complexity within each case-teacher, a dominant approach seems to emerge for each: a “best story” approach for Stella and a disciplinary one for Niki, with diverse instantiations in their classrooms, even when, and at times because, they traversed disciplinary boundaries with other subject-areas. The study thus showcases the historicity of the institutional context not only in terms of the power of the official textbook/teaching materials in the constitution of Greek-Cypriot teachers as professionals, but also in terms of the power of elementary education wherein competition for time between subject-areas is

⁵³ Kontovourki, Philippou and Theodorou.

⁵⁴ For example, see Stavroula Philippou, Stavroula Kontovourki and Eleni Theodorou, “Professional Development for ‘Professional Pedagogues’: Contradictions and Tensions in Re-professionalizing Teachers in Cyprus.” In *Internationalizing Teaching and Teacher Education for Equity: Engaging Alternative Knowledges across Ideological Borders*, ed. Jubin Rahatzad, Hannah Dockrill, Suniti Sharma and Joan Phillion (Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 2016).

quite familiar to teachers.⁵⁵ It also creates further questions as to what “change” toward a new History curriculum means in elementary education if Language Arts, as shown in this chapter, become attached to national anniversaries as current affairs and are dominated by “best-story” narratives. This is a question which has been raised also in relation to the survival of a national “best-story” in Geography and Civics Education.⁵⁶

Finally, a point to be raised in concluding this chapter is how the study of a re-contextualization of the disciplinary approach in Greek-Cypriot History classrooms contributes to a tradition of studying Cyprus education as a *mélange*,⁵⁷ wherein local, national, European, and international discourses meet, antagonize, and converge, including those informing the most recent Educational Reform.⁵⁸ Both trends in “new curricula”⁵⁹ and in History education have been theorized as universal yet differentially addressed in different regional, national, and other contexts.⁶⁰ Curriculum change toward disciplinaryity in Greek-Cypriot History education may resonate with similar shifts internationally. However, the ways in which this is negotiated and translated in the current historical moment by teachers is highly contextualized amid intersecting personal/professional, institutional, and broader sociopolitical contexts. This may also suggest that national-ideological borders are porous or at least not as impenetrable as shown by Klerides and Zembylas in the case of official textbook debates or not as uniform across all education sectors/levels/grades or teachers.⁶¹ From this vantage point, curriculum change toward a disciplinary approach in History education is seen as unpredictable, non-linear, ongoing, and contextu(r)al and invites ongoing research to further trace it as it transforms.

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⁵⁵ For example, Robin Alexander, *Versions of Primary Education* (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁵⁶ Stavroula Philippou, “Beyond the History Textbook Debate: Official Histories in Greek Cypriot Geography and Civics curricula.” In *One Island, Many Histories: Rethinking the Politics of the Past in Cyprus*, ed. Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012).

⁵⁷ Gregoriou, 241–266.

⁵⁸ Eleftherios Klerides and Stavroula Philippou, “Cyprus: Exploring Educational Reform 2004–2014.” In *Education in the European Union: Post-2003 Member States*, ed. Trevor Corner (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

⁵⁹ For example, Biesta and Priestley, *A Curriculum for the Twenty-first Century*.

⁶⁰ For example, Alan Sears “Trends and Issues in History Education in International Contexts.” In *Debates in History Teaching*, ed. Ian Davies (London: Routledge, 2017).

⁶¹ Klerides and Zembylas, 416–433.

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Why Does Changing the Orientation of History Teaching Take So Long? A Case Study from Finland

Jukka Rantala and Najat Ouakrim-Soivio

INTRODUCTION

“I taught at the time of three different types of curricula [from the 1970s to the 1990s]—and always the same way.” This quotation took place a quarter of a century ago, when Syrjäläinen was studying the implementation of the new curriculum.¹ The interviewee seemed to be proud of his maintained independence from the national guidance policy. The quotation also reveals, however, that the designers of the curriculum had not succeeded in convincing him about the necessity of the reform.

In this millennium, the core curricula in Finland have been normative; in other words, educational providers, schools, and teachers have been required to follow the objectives, contents, and the assessment criteria that are assigned in the curriculum documents. The regions or municipalities and schools design their own local curricula that are based on the national core curricula. It is necessary in Finland that teachers accede to implement the national core cur-

¹Eija Syrjäläinen, *Koulukoktainen opetussuunnitelmatyö ja koulukulttuurin muutos* [School-based curriculum development and changing school culture] (Helsingin yliopiston opettajakoulutuslaitos, 1994), 15.

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ricula because there are no mid-level actors whose task is to make sure that they are implemented at the local level.²

In this chapter, we study how the national-level curriculum texts have been accepted by Finnish history teachers. We are interested in the recontextualization of curricular policies. As Apple aptly states, the state can never monopolize power in curriculum production because of the pedagogic recontextualization at the school level.³ From international comparisons, we know that teachers do not always adopt new curriculum ideas in the way the designers planned,⁴ and as Cuban sums up, “The gap between adoption of a policy and its implementation in classrooms (and there always is one) varies from an inch to a mile wide.”⁵ Therefore, the heart of this chapter hangs off the question of how satisfied teachers are with the core curriculum as a guiding instrument of their work.

THE NATIONAL GUIDELINES ARE DISREGARDED

In Finland, the school system changed from a parallel system to a coherent ‘basic education for all’ in the 1970s. From the 1970s, nine years of comprehensive basic schooling have been compulsory for all 7–16-year-olds. At the same time, optional upper secondary education (high schools) became more popular. Today, half of the age 16 cohort continues to study at general upper secondary schools after basic education (elementary and lower secondary schools).

The national core curricula for basic education and upper secondary education have been renewed approximately every ten years since the 1970s. Shifts in curricula on the national level frequently also entail a new approach in history education orientation. Up until the early 1990s, the aim of history teaching in Finland was to enhance collective memory with teaching the great national narrative and the emphasis was on substantive historical knowledge. From the middle of the 1990s, teaching the disciplinary criteria for deciding what makes good history became essential. The number of core subject areas

²Cf. Cécile Mathou, “Recontextualizing Curriculum Policies: A Comparative Perspective on the Work of Mid-Level Actors in France and Quebec,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 50, no. 6 (2018): 789–804.

³Michael W. Apple, “Does Education have Independent Power? Bernstein and the Question of Relative Autonomy,” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23, no. 4, (2002): 607–616. See also Basil Bernstein, *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research, critique* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

⁴Christine Counsell, “History Teachers as Curriculum Makers: Professional Problem-Solving in Secondary School History Education in England,” In *Patterns of Research in Civics, History, Geography and Religious Education*, ed. Bengt Schüllerqvist (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2011), 53–88; Richard Harris, and Katharine Burn, “English history teachers’ views on what Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4, (2016): 518–546; Johan Samuelsson, and Joakim Wendell, “Historical Thinking About Sources in the Context of a Standards-Based Curriculum: A Swedish Case,” *The Curriculum Journal* 27, no. 4 (2016): 479–499.

⁵Larry Cuban, *Teaching History Then and Now. A Story of Stability and Change in Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2016).

was reduced, and historical thinking skills were brought into the core of history curriculum.

In the early 2000s, history instruction was thought to be discipline-based, which meant that teachers were to teach historical thinking. However, the national curricula in history for basic and upper secondary education went their separate ways. The core curriculum for basic education was based on the disciplinary approach and the one in upper secondary education a compromise between the disciplinary and collective memory approaches.⁶ Nevertheless, the objectives in history curricula also for upper secondary schools since the 2000s stress the importance of disciplinary ways of thinking. Overall, the trends from the collective memory approach toward the disciplinary approach were similar in Finland and many Western countries, although the orientation changed later in Finland than in the Anglo-American countries.⁷

During the 1990s, history teachers became the curriculum designers for their subject at the local level, when the school-based curriculum work was launched in Finland. It was a shift away from nationally prescribed topics to the topics chosen by teachers. Teachers could enjoy their curricular autonomy for a decade before the state started to diminish it. Even so, international comparisons show that Finnish teachers are still exceptionally independent today.⁸

In the mid-1990s, when teachers were given a great deal of freedom in designing school-specific curricula, teachers' views concerning curriculum work were studied, whereas in the 2000s history teachers' contentment with curricular decisions has not been studied properly.⁹ The National Board of

⁶About epistemological assumptions and alternative orientations to history teaching, see Peter Seixas, "Schweigen! die Kinder! Or Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the schools?" in *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History*, eds. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York University Press, 2000), 19–37.

⁷Rosalyn Ashby, and Christopher Edwards, "Challenges Facing the Disciplinary Tradition. Reflections on the History Curriculum in England," in *Contemporary Public Debates over History Education*, eds. Irene Nakou, and Isabel Barca (Charlotte, NC.: Information Age Publishing, 2010), 27–46; Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger, and Maria Grever, eds., *Palgrave Handbook of Research In Historical Culture and Education* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Henrik Å. Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek, eds., *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories. Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Maria Grever, and Siep Stuurman, eds., *Beyond the Canon. History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson, and Anna Pendry, *Understanding History Teaching. Teaching and Learning about the Past in Secondary Schools* (Maidenhead–Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003); Jukka Rantala, and Sirkka Ahonen, *Ajan merkit. Historian käyttö ja opetus* [Signs of the Times. Consuming and Teaching of History] (Helsinki: Gaudeamus Helsinki University Press, 2015).

⁸Maria Erss, "'Complete Freedom to choose within limits': Teachers' Views Of Curricular Autonomy, Agency and Control in Estonia, Finland and Germany," *Curriculum Journal* 29, no. 2 (2018): 238–256; Jukka Rantala, and Amna Khawaja, "Assessing Historical Literacy Among 12-year-old Finns," *Curriculum Journal* 29, no. 3 (2018), 354–369; Erja Vitikka, Leena Krokfors, and Elisa Hurmerinta, "The Finnish National Core Curriculum: Structure and Development," in *Miracle of education*, eds. Hannele Niemi, Auli Toom, and Arto Kallioniemi (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012), 83–114.

⁹Nigel Norris, Roger Aspland, Barry MacDonald, John Schostak, and Barbara Zamorski, *Arviointiraportti peruskoulun opetussuunnitelmauudistuksesta* [Evaluation report on the curricu-

Education gathered feedback in 2002 from teachers with a survey. At that time, teachers were not ready to buy the disciplinary approach. Many of them saw skill-based assessment criteria as being too difficult to implement. They also demanded that ‘general knowledge’ or ‘basic knowledge’ should be added to the objectives of history teaching. It was apparent that not all teachers were pleased with their curricula.¹⁰

In Finland, the implementation of core curricula can be assessed with the help of the sample-based assessments of learning outcomes. Thus far, the first and only assessment aimed at students’ knowledge of history was carried out in 2011. During the same assessment, a sample of teachers completed a questionnaire about their opinions on the history curriculum. The assessment revealed that disciplinary ways of thinking had not been realized in teachers’ work in the manner that the official national policy required.¹¹

The discipline-based approach was clearly seen in the curriculum documents but many teachers did not follow the guidelines. It can be explained by the autonomy enjoyed by Finnish teachers in their everyday work and the lack of mid-level actors who are responsible for the evaluation and control of teachers. In Finland, there are no inspections of schools or of learning materials, nor are there national tests for the whole-age cohort at the end of basic education. The only national test in the Finnish general education system is the Matriculation examination which takes place at the end of general upper secondary education, when the students are approximately 18 years old.¹²

The other explanation comes from the significance of the contents of national history for some teachers. They think that teaching the history of the

lum reform in the basic education] (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 1996); Asta Pietilä, and Osmo Toivanen, *Opetussuunnitelmatyö kunnissa ja peruskouluissa vuosina 1994–1999* [The Curriculum work in municipalities and in the basic education schools between 1994 and 1999] (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2000); Eija Syrjäläinen, *Koulukohtainen opetussuunnitelmatyö ja koulukulttuurin muutos* [School-based curriculum development and changing school culture] (Helsingin yliopiston opettajankoulutuslaitos, 1994).

¹⁰ Jukka Rantala, “Historian ja yhteiskuntaopin opettajat pohtivat uusia opetuksen linjauksia,” [How Did History and Social Studies Teachers Receive the New Curriculum Policy?] in *Opettaja, asiantuntijuus ja yhteiskunta*, eds. Arja Virta and Outi Marttila (Turun yliopiston kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta, 2003), 172–178.

¹¹ Najat Ouakrim-Soivio, and Jorma Kuusela, *Historian ja yhteiskuntaopin oppimistulokset perusopetuksen päättövaiheessa 2011* [The Learning Outcomes in History and Social Studies on the Final (9th) Grade of Compulsory Basic Education in 2011] (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2012).

¹² The Matriculation examination at the end of general upper secondary education is a graduation exam, which also qualifies the student for entry into university. The student has to participate in at least four tests. The student has to choose at least three tests from among the following four tests: the test in the second national language, one foreign language test, mathematics, and one test from the subjects of humanities and natural sciences. The test of mother tongue is mandatory for all. History is chosen moderately. For example, about one-fifth of the examinees, who chose humanities and natural sciences, took the history test in 2015.

nation is one of the most important aims of history education.¹³ Those teachers might have found the collective memory approach to be the most suitable for themselves and, therefore, did not care what the core curriculum was intended to determine.¹⁴

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF STUDENTS' HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS, SHOWN THROUGH THE ASSESSMENT OF THEIR LEARNING OUTCOMES

The 2011 national-level assessment of students' learning outcomes within basic history education assessed students at the age of 16 years. The goal of this solitary assessment was to gauge how these students fulfilled the 2004 core curriculum objectives.

In fulfilling the core curriculum's concept of historical thinking, a student would have to demonstrate the capacity to:

- obtain and use historical information;
- use a variety of sources, compare them, and form their own justified opinions based on them;
- understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways;
- explain the purposes and effects of human activity;
- assess future alternatives, using information on historical change as an aid.

These objectives emphasize studying the form of historical knowledge. Students were expected to learn the second-order concepts of cause, change, significance, evidence, and empathy.

In Finland, the final assessment criteria helped teachers to formulate history teaching. According to these criteria, at the end of compulsory education students would be able to demonstrate:

- knowing how to distinguish between factors that explain a matter and secondary factors;
- the ability to read and interpret various sources;
- the ability to place the events being studied into their temporal contexts, and thus into chronological order;
- knowing how to explain why people once acted differently from how they act now;

¹³See Tom Gullberg, "Facts, Functions and Narratives in History Teaching in Finland: Attitudes Towards History as Reflected in the Use of textbooks," in *Opening the mind or Drawing Boundaries? History Texts in Nordic Schools*, eds. Forsteinn Helgason and Simone Lassig (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010), 239–267.

¹⁴Jukka Rantala, "How Finnish adolescents understand history: Disciplinary Thinking in History and its Assessment Among 16-year-old Finns," *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (2012): 193–207.

- knowing how to present the reasons for, and consequences of, historical events;
- the ability to answer questions about the past by using the information they have obtained from different sources, including information acquired through modern technology;
- the ability to evaluate and formulate their own justified opinions about events and phenomena.

The core of the 2004 curriculum listed widely defined content areas, giving teachers an outline in which they could focus their historical thinking education. Examples of content areas such as “Nationalism and life in the 19th century” demonstrate the leniency that this would have afforded to teachers in their planning.

Due to historical thinking entailing both substantive and procedural knowledge, the 2011 assessment was aimed at determining students’ understanding of both content and skills. Multiple-choice questions and questions that could be distinctly marked right and wrong comprised two-thirds of the students’ tasks. The remaining third consisted of broader and open-ended essays.¹⁵

One segment of the test focused on the students’ ability to use substantive knowledge, and the tasks that this segment consisted of were mainly closed in nature. For example, the majority of the students grasped the concept of ‘war child,’ a concept pertaining to the events of World War II in Finland. The majority could also list eight European nations (Finland included) that had consequently secured independence after World War I. Sixty-two percent of the students answered these tasks correctly.

The terms ‘historical thinking’ and ‘mastery of history’ within the scope of this chapter entail a student’s capacity to use both substantive and procedural knowledge. The productive tasks in this assessment measured the mastery of this dichotomy. This can be accomplished, for example, by using primary sources as a means of creating rational argument.

When gauging students’ abilities of historical thinking, they were expected to utilize the substantive knowledge they had acquired by connecting newly introduced pieces of evidence. Students were given a task pertaining to the food prices in Russia from 1913 to 1917 with the focus of measuring their understanding of causal explanation. This task required the students to explain the historical events that brought about a food shortage and an inflation in price. Similar tasks pertaining to students’ historical thinking skills were also provided, for example, explaining why prisoners of war had been treated poorly by soldiers during World War II through reading a newspaper article, or reading a diary excerpt and explaining why in 1933 the Germans had voted for the National Socialists.

¹⁵ Jukka Rantala, “How Finnish adolescents understand history: Disciplinary Thinking in History and its Assessment Among 16-year-old Finns,” *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (2012): 193–207.

With the students' score of these tasks being divided by the theoretical maximum and converted into a percentage, the results 35%, a considerably low score. This demonstrates the challenge that the students faced, and their weak performance in this aspect suggests that the Finnish approach regarding historical knowledge and historical thinking concepts has not been accounted for sufficiently within the teaching framework.¹⁶

This assessment demonstrated that, in general, many students had a poor development of historical thinking and lacked the necessary interchange between substantive and procedural knowledge. This is evident in their lack of ability to connect new evidence to familiar context: despite having sufficient substantive knowledge, students understood the sources as information rather than evidence. Through the assessment, it became apparent that teachers had placed their focus predominantly on substantive history rather than on the national core curriculum's objective, and that students subsequently lacked the necessary conceptual tools to understand history as a discipline.

In conclusion, the assessment being carried out at the end of the Finnish basic schooling suggested that the approach to teaching history in the early 2010s was still pervasively based on collective memory, a continuation of the teaching approaches of the decade earlier.

NEW CURRICULA DIFFERENTIATED BY DESCRIPTIONS OF CONTENT AREAS

In August 2016, new curricula were implemented in Finnish schools, five years after the aforementioned assessment. As shown in the objectives and assessment criteria (Table 18.1), in the new basic education curriculum a specific emphasis is placed on historical thinking skills.

Students developing a sense of identity—as well as becoming active members within their society—are goals that history as a subject can promote. The history of a nation functions as a cultural bond that encourages fellowship and has the potential to strengthen the ties of its citizens. Despite these functions of history, there is no overall consensus regarding the content of collective memory supported by history education. There is a danger that it would exclude some people from the narrative of the common past, and hence identity education in Finland has been based on supporting the students in building their personal cultural identity—the concepts of 'national identity' and 'Finnish identity,' for example, have been left out from the national curricula. Conversely, scholars generally agree on the critical skills that the students need in present-day society. Therefore, the history curricula emphasized historical thinking.

¹⁶ Jukka Rantala, "How Finnish adolescents understand history: Disciplinary Thinking in History and its Assessment Among 16-year-old Finns," *Education Sciences* 2, no. 4 (2012): 193–207.

Table 18.1 Final assessment criteria for good knowledge and skills in history (numerical grade 8) at the end of basic education (NBE 2014, pp. 503–4)

<i>The objective of the instruction of history is</i>	<i>Knowledge and skills for grade 8</i>
<i>Significance, values, and attitudes</i> To strengthen the student's interest in history as a field of knowledge and as a subject that builds his or her identity	Not used as a principle for grade formulation. The student is guided in reflecting on his or her experiences as a part of self-assessment
<i>Acquiring information about the past</i> To activate the student to acquire historical information from diverse age-appropriate sources and to evaluate their reliability	The student is able to search for information from different historical sources of information and detects differences in their reliability
To help the student understand that historical information can be interpreted in different ways	The student is able to read and interpret different sources
<i>Understanding historical phenomena</i> To strengthen the student's ability to understand historical time and the related concepts	The student is able to place the studied topics into their temporal contexts and thus in a chronological order
To guide the student in understanding factors that have influenced human actions and decision-making in different historical situations	The student is able to put himself or herself in the position of a person of the past and to describe the motivations of his or her actions
To help the student to consider different reasons for historical events and phenomena	The student is able to separate factors explaining historical events or phenomena from less important factors
To guide the student to analyze historical change and continuity	The student is able to explain why in some spheres of life, people once acted differently than people act today and in other spheres in a similar way
<i>Applying historical knowledge</i> To encourage the student to make interpretations	The student who knows how to form his or her own justified interpretation is able to form justified interpretations of historical events
To guide the student to explain the intentions of human activity	The student is able to describe the intentions of human activity
To guide the student to explain why historical information can be interpreted and used differently in different situations and to critically evaluate the reliability of interpretations	The student is able to evaluate the reliability of interpretations of historical events or phenomena
To guide the student in developing his or her competence in using a variety of sources, comparing them, and forming his or her own justified interpretation based on those sources	The student is able to answer questions about the past by using information he or she has obtained from different sources
To guide the student to evaluate alternative futures based on his or her knowledge of history	The student is able to describe how interpretations of the past are used to justify choices made for the future

In the basic education, five pages of the history curriculum deal with the objectives and assessment criteria.¹⁷ Only one page is dedicated to key content. In the basic education, the emphasis is on the form of historical knowledge, historical thinking (second-order concepts like evidence, change, and cause), and historical literacy as can be seen in the excerpt of the description of the task of the subject:

In the teaching and learning of history, the students focus on critical analysis of information produced by different actors and the dimensions of historical source material. The students also focus on the premise of historical research according to which the aim is to form a perception of the past that is as reliable as possible based on available evidence. The objective of the instruction is to support the development of historical literacy: the ability to read and analyze sources produced by the actors of the past and to competently interpret their meaning and significance. The students are guided to understand that historical information is open to interpretations and has multiple perspectives and to explain changes and continuity apparent in historical development. The instruction of history helps the students recognize the society's values and the tensions in them, as well as their changes in different times.¹⁸

The content domains are defined loosely so that teachers have a leeway for their teaching. A typical example of key content area descriptions is the following: "The origins of the world politics of today: The students explore the shared history of developed and developing countries and the origins of new kinds of political tensions in the world as well as solutions for them."¹⁹

Eleven such content domains exist during the four-year studies in basic education. Numerically, teachers have 24 lesson hours for each content area which reveals that teachers have time to teach that content thoroughly and in discipline-specific ways. The interplay of substantive and procedural knowledge can thus be at the core of the learning process.

In upper secondary education, however, three obligatory courses have 14 themes, which have 36 content areas.²⁰ Teachers have three hours for each content area which explains that there is not much time for an in-depth study. Basically, the curriculum is disciplinary-based but the emphasis is on the body of historical knowledge. The learning objectives are highly connected with the content areas and there are no criteria for assessment even though the Matriculation examination in the end of secondary education is criterion-based. The contents of the Matriculation examination have an effect on the

¹⁷ National Board of Education, *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2014* (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2014), 95–99, 496–500.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 496.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 497.

²⁰ National Board of Education, *National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2015* (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2015).

instruction and the learning that precedes it.²¹ Balancing breadth and depth is difficult, when the tasks in the Matriculation examination are bound to the numerous content domains of the curricula. Managing the examination excellently is not possible if students explore only a few historical events in-depth.

The obligatory Finnish history course follows the canon—the historical grand narrative, consisting of “selected figures, events, story lines, ideas and values, colligated by definite plots, perspectives and explanations.”²² “Finland in World War II” is a typical example of content area description. It is understandable that the canon exists because historical research and history teaching at schools supported the nationalistic ideas of the Finnish nation and state from the late nineteenth century until the late twentieth century and there still is pressure from that tradition.²³ Overall, the content domain descriptions still follow the orientation in which the purpose of history teaching is to give an overview of significant historical phenomena.

MOST TEACHERS TODAY APPROVE OF THE DISCIPLINARY APPROACH

The renewal process of the core curricula seems to be a success if you read the interviews of the leaders of the project or some principals. Ill-founded beliefs that most teachers support the contents of the new curricula are also seen in some publications.²⁴ It is understandable that there is great faith in the process and obvious reasons for the participants of that process to ensure the unanimous acceptance of the new curricula. However, based on the work of historians of education, we know that school reforms usually lead to very small and short-term changes at schools.²⁵ The aforementioned information concerning

²¹Eero Salmenkivi, “Ylioppilastutkinnon rakenne- ja reaalikoeuudistusten vaikutuksia: miten lisääntynyt valinnaisuus ohjaa lukiolaisia,” [Reflections on the Backwash Effects of the recent reforms in the Finnish Matriculation Examination: How Increased Optionality Is Steering Upper Secondary School Students] *Kasvatus & Aika* 7, no. 3 (2013): 24–39; Richard Harris, and Suzanne Graham, “Engaging with Curriculum Reform: Insights from English History Teachers’ Willingness to Support Curriculum Change,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 51, no. 1 (2019): 43–61.

²²See Siep Stuurman, & Maria Grever, “Introduction: Old Canons and New Histories,” in *Beyond the Canon. History for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Maria Grever & Siep Stuurman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–16.

²³Arja Virta, and Esko Nikander, “Historical Education, Historical Culture and the Didactics of History in Finland” in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. Part 1*, eds. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau, 2011), 239–269; Eemeli Hakoköngäs, and Inari Sakki, “Visualized Collective Memories: Social Representations of History in Images Found in Finnish History Textbooks,” *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 26, no. 6 (2016): 496–517.

²⁴Jenna Lähdesmäki, “Case Study: The Finnish National Curriculum 2016 – A Co-Created National Education Policy,” in *Sustainability, Human Well-Being, and the Future of Education*, ed. J. W. Cook (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 397–422.

²⁵Larry Cuban, *Inside the Black Box of Classroom Practice. Change Without Reform in American Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press, 2013); David F. Labaree, *Someone Has to*

history teachers' attitudes toward the disciplinary approach tells that it was not yet generally accepted among teachers in early 2000s. We wanted to know how the development process concerning the new curricula affected teachers and what teachers think about their curricula today. Therefore, we decided to study the present situation.

The main purpose of our study was to find out the following: did the transition that started in the 1990s within disciplinary history teaching finally succeed from the respondents' way of thinking? The target group in our study was history teachers in basic schools at lower secondary grades 7–9 (for those aged 13–15 years) and in upper secondary schools (for those aged 16–18 years). In the survey, the subject-specific questions focused on the teaching and learning objectives of history in the national curricula; whether they were clear and corresponded with the respondents' own views to the objectives of history teaching. We also asked whether history teachers thought that the descriptions of the contents were adequate, and if they give a clear starting point to the planning of their teaching. Moreover, we inquired whether the competence requirements of the core curricula are suitable and to what extent the curricula offer support for evaluation and assessment. The respondents were also asked to give feedback to the developers of the curriculum.

A total of 339 teachers completed the web-based questionnaire, which was open for a month at the beginning of 2017. Of the respondents, 243 taught at a basic school and 96 at an upper secondary school. Our questionnaire reached about one-fifth (21%) of all Finnish history teachers.²⁶ A total of 154 (46%) of the respondents were females, 180 (54%) were males, and 5 respondents did not indicate their gender; 324 (96%) of the respondents were teaching at schools for Finnish-speaking students and 11 (4%) at schools for Swedish-speaking students. The gender and language ratios in our study corresponded to the population of history teachers in Finland.

We urged the teachers to answer the questions according to the school level they teach the most because some of them teach at both school levels. With the questionnaire, we wanted to have the teachers' overall impression of their curricula. Therefore, we asked teachers to grade their own core curriculum of history. The grading scale was from 4 to 10, where 4 signified 'failed' and 10 'excellent.' The mean value of given grades was 7.7 ('good') among basic school teachers and 7.3 ('satisfactory') among their upper secondary colleagues.

We did not find major differences between teacher groups' perceptions of the objectives of history education expressed in the core curricula. Teachers at the basic education level were slightly more pleased with them than their colleagues in the upper secondary education. One tenth of the respondents from basic

Fail. The Zero-Sum Game of Public Schooling (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); David Tyack, and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering Toward Utopia. A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

²⁶ Kari Nissinen, and Jouni Välijärvi, *Opettaja- ja opettajankoulutustarpeiden ennakkoinnin tuloksia* [Forecasts for Teacher Demand and Teacher Training Needs in Finland] (Jyväskylän yliopiston koulutuksen tutkimuslaitos, 2011), 28, 53.

schools told that their core curriculum lacked some important objective. Among the upper secondary teachers, one-quarter of respondents saw some significant aims missing. It is worth noting that very few of basic education teachers revealed what objective was lacking (in their opinion), whereas the upper secondary teachers were more willing to express their opinions on that question.

The debate of breadth versus depth can be seen comparing the content descriptions between the two core curricula. The history working group for basic education reduced the number of key content areas and got rid of the master narrative of Finland and the Western countries. The respondents in the survey were in favor of that decision. The upper secondary school teachers were more concerned about the definition of the content areas than their colleagues in basic education. Nearly half of them said that some important content domains were missing from their core curriculum, whereas only one-tenth of basic school respondents apprised that some significant key concept areas were missing. The upper secondary teachers also had more to say about the contents than their basic school colleagues. More than one-third of them gave written feedback about the content definitions. They complained about the contents being too heavy. Some decisions with key content areas, such as changing the course of the development of the European worldview noncompulsory, were also met with resistance.

Assessment was the dimension that teachers were most dissatisfied with. According to the history teachers, the new curricula do not give enough guidance for assessing students' performance. The teachers of both school levels criticized the deficiency of guidelines for assessment. This result was expected, as practically all nationwide assessments of learning outcomes have shown the evaluation of students to be the area that is the most critical and needing the most improvement.²⁷

Similar studies about teachers' contentment with their curricula have been executed elsewhere. For example, Harris and Burn and Harris and Graham undertook studies in the UK with a research frame and data collections that were close to those used in our study.²⁸ In the research by Harris and Burn, the focus was on history teachers' views on what substantive content young people should be taught, and in the Harris and Graham's study on history teachers' willingness to support curriculum change. Comparing with those results, Finnish history teachers seemed to be relatively satisfied with their new curricula.

²⁷ Najat Ouakrim-Soivio, "Toimivatko päättöarvioinnin kriteerit? Oppilaiden saamat arvosanat ja Opetushallituksen oppimistulosten seuranta-arviointi koulujen välisten osaamiserojen mittareina," [Are the Criteria for final grading functioning? Student grades and NBE reviews on learning outcomes as Indicators of Between-School Differences] (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2013).

²⁸ Richard Harris, and Katharine Burn, "English history teachers' views on What Substantive Content Young People Should Be Taught," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (2016): 518–546; Richard Harris, and Suzanne Graham, "Engaging With Curriculum Reform: Insights from English History Teachers' Willingness to Support Curriculum Change," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 51, no. 1 (2019): 43–61.

SOME EXPLANATIONS FOR THE CHANGES IN TEACHERS' ATTITUDES

Teaching at schools will not change because of the orders given by the school administrators, as we have discussed earlier in our chapter.²⁹ Therefore, it is worth examining what kind of factors were promoting or hindering the changing of the history teaching orientation in Finland.

The articulation of the textbook publishers advertising explains something about the discussion culture bounded with the change of the orientation. From the late 1990s but specifically in the 2000s, textbooks were advertised with discipline-based slogans. The phrase ‘skills in history’ was repeated in advertising.³⁰ Despite the disciplinary rhetoric in marketing, the textbooks in Finland followed (and continue to follow) the collective memory approach; in other words, they are burdened with the substantive historical knowledge and there is no space for content that engages students in developing expertise in history as a discipline. In Finland, there have not been any textbooks that have been termed “death by sources A to F,” unlike in the UK but neither of the textbooks has had an in-depth approach.³¹ Two big publishing houses have avoided changing their selling concept. Therefore, the teachers who were going to implement the disciplinary approach in their instruction did not have the tools for it.

The capacity of national core curricula to guide has been questioned. Heinonen who studied teachers’ conceptions of the importance of curricula and teaching materials revealed that teaching is more influenced by learning materials than by the state’s curricular direction.³² Ninety-one percent of the respondents in our study appraised the printed textbook to be among the top four teaching materials they use. The percentage is surprisingly high because the Finnish government has put €100 million during the past four years into digitalization. Similar results about the prominence of textbooks in history teaching have also been found earlier.³³ Finnish history teachers rely on the

²⁹ Cynthia E. Coburn, “Beyond Decoupling: Rethinking the Relationship Between the Institutional Environment and the Classroom,” *Sociology of Education* 77 (2004): 211–244; Margaret Troyer, “Teachers’ Adaptations to and Orientations Towards an Adolescent Literacy Curriculum,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 51, no 2 (2019).

³⁰ See Kleio. The journals of the Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies in Finland between 1998 and 2017.

³¹ Cf. Christine Counsell, “History teachers as curriculum makers: Professional problem-solving in Secondary School History Education in England,” in *Patterns of research in Civics, History, Geography and Religious Education*, ed. Bengt Schüllerqvist (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2011), 57, 60.

³² Juha-Pekka Heinonen, *Opetussuunnitelmat vai oppimateriaalit. Peruskoulun opettajien käsityksiä opetussuunnitelmien ja oppimateriaalien merkityksestä opetuksessa* [Curricula or Teaching Materials. Teachers’ Conceptions of the Importance of Curricula and Teaching Materials in Teaching] (University of Helsinki, Department of Applied Sciences of Education, 2002).

³³ Najat Ouakrim-Soivio, and Jorma Kuusela, *Historian ja yhteiskuntaopin oppimistulokset perusopetuksen päättövaiheessa 2011* [The Learning Outcomes in History and Social Studies on the

textbooks more often than their colleagues in the USA, for example.³⁴ Today suitable materials from the Internet can be found, but compiling teaching materials increases teachers' workload. To summarize, textbooks were not supporting teachers to change their teaching orientation.

Counsell argues about the need for a coherent, public discourse among teachers. She states:

The more we create conditions for as many teachers as possible to engage freely in a curricular conversation, to find rigorous means of refreshing their own practice and to build their own standards for critically assessing others', the more curriculum change has some chance of acquiring a deep and defensible rigour and some meaningful enactment on a national scale.³⁵

The start of that type of curricular discussion, however, was difficult in Finland. Almost all history teachers are members of their association but for a long time, that association was not interested in spreading curricular conversations among its members.³⁶ In previous decades, the association concentrated on the supervision of the interests of its members, organizing excursions and in-service training. The association has had courses for their members, but the focus in those in-service courses has been on substantive historical knowledge. Not until the 1990s did the association start to organize pedagogical courses, but even then, the content was often strongly connected with transmitting substantive knowledge. Teachers were more willing to learn the body rather than the form of historical knowledge and how to teach it. Neither did the National Board of Education offer in-service training to teachers in the implementation phases of the new curricula. Therefore, it was hard for teachers to adopt the orientation of discipline-based curricula.

As stated earlier, leading professional organizations and textbook publishers in Finland did not support the principles and practice of disciplinary history unlike those in the UK.³⁷ Only the university-led teacher education tried to promote it. The basic requirement for a history teacher for basic and upper secondary school is a Master's degree and over 99% of history teachers in

Final (9th) Grade of Compulsory Basic Education in 2011] (Helsinki: Finnish National Board of Education, 2012).

³⁴ Jeffrey D. Nokes, "Observing Literacy Practices in History Classrooms," *Theory & Research in Social Education* 38, no. 4 (2010): 515–544.

³⁵ Christine Counsell, "History teachers as curriculum makers: Professional problem-solving in Secondary School History Education in England," in *Patterns of research in Civics, History, Geography and Religious Education*, ed. Bengt Schüllerqvist (Karlstad: Karlstad University Press, 2011), 79.

³⁶ See Kleio. The journals of the Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies in Finland between 1998 and 2017.

³⁷ Cf. Stuart Foster, "Teaching About the First World War in England: Exploring Controversy and Competing Historical Interpretations," In *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories. Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars*, eds. Henrik Å. Elmersjö, Anna Clark, and Monika Vinterek (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 181–205.

Finland are formally qualified.³⁸ Usually, a history teacher's degree consists of history as a major subject and social sciences as a minor subject. All history teachers also study pedagogical studies at the university departments of teacher education. These studies take one year of history teachers' five years of study. The main didactics studies concentrate on the nature of historical knowledge, historical learning and thinking, teaching and studying history, the history teachers' role and professional development, and some special issues like cross-disciplinary themes.³⁹ The problem in Finnish history teacher education is the weaknesses of subject-specific didactics at some universities.

In Finland, eight universities train history teachers. Each university also has a teacher training school at which history teachers guide teaching practice. Many of them—like many of the history educators working in teacher education departments—have a Doctor of Philosophy, either in history or in educational sciences, and at least a major in the other field. However, some universities and their teacher education departments do not have history educators, who are themselves specialized in history education. Some people working in these posts are general pedagogues without a deeper historical competence, historians without deep didactic competence or history teachers without either. Presumably, they do not follow the scholarly discussion in the field of history education and thus can only transmit the didactic knowledge of the old teaching orientation. Such types of history educators do not teach historical thinking or historical inquiry processes and, therefore, their teacher education students might not learn how to teach those skills to their own students.⁴⁰

The double-edged history education in Finnish universities has existed for decades. Teacher-driven, curricular conversation concerning disciplinary thinking, however, became stronger at the beginning of the 2010s. That can be seen from the discussion of the journal of the history teachers' association. During the 20 years from 1998 until 2017, only 39 articles concerning history curricula were published in the journal. Of the nearly 4900 pages, only 86 concentrated on curricular issues.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that most of the articles concerning curricula were published between 2013 and 2017. Even in 2008, one of the leaders of the History Teachers' Association complained about the lack of curricular discussion:

³⁸Timo Kumpulainen, ed., *Opettajat ja rehtorit Suomessa* [Teachers and Principals in Finland] (Helsinki: Opetushallitus, 2017), 41, 51.

³⁹Arja Virta, and Esko Nikander, "Historical Education, Historical Culture and the Didactics of History in Finland," in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. Part 1*, eds. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau, 2011), 239–269.

⁴⁰See Chara Haeussler Bohan, and O. L. Davis Jr., "Historical Constructions: How Social Studies Student Teachers' Historical Thinking is Reflected in Their Writing of History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 2 (1998): 173–197; Peter Seixas, "Student Teachers Thinking Historically," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 26, no. 3 (1998): 310–341.

⁴¹Kleio. The journals of the Association for Teachers of History and Social Studies in Finland between 1998 and 2017.

Are teachers willing to have changes in their curriculum or are they even interested in it? The questions came to my mind when visiting the discussion section of our web pages. I was sorry for the moderator who asked questions but had to answer herself when nobody participated in the discussion.⁴²

Five years later, in 2013, the leader of the basic school division of the history teachers' association gave rise to a debate on the objectives of history teaching:

The new core curriculum will emphasize learning the historical thinking skills. Students should make historical investigations and interpret history. They should also try to find causes and consequences. In addition, they should practice historical empathy. [...] Substantive knowledge is not inconsistent with procedural knowledge—on the contrary they need each other. History lessons, however, are limited. You cannot treat all the contents and practice skills. Therefore, you have to reduce the number of contents.⁴³

The change in teachers' curricular discussion in public was clear. In the early 2010s, the members of the association discussed more on the Internet and the association made surveys about their members' opinions about curricular matters. Even though many teachers did not participate in those surveys, they still had an opportunity for discussion. The local networks of history teachers also seemed to be active in curricular discussion unlike the previous decades.

One thing that unquestionably influenced upper secondary teachers' orientation to history teaching was the Matriculation examination. The first document-based task in the exam was seen in the 1980s and it created discontentment among teachers, who had not prepared their students for answering questions of that kind. Typically, the tasks so far directed students to memorize historical content knowledge accurately and repeat it in their answers without interpreting it. As Virta pointed, the old exam tradition did not prevent students from critical thinking but neither did it spur them toward it.⁴⁴ The tasks based on different kinds of source material became gradually general because the history working group that developed the tasks tried to read heterogeneous teachers' opinions and avoid big changes in the exam tasks. Therefore, the tasks in the exams of the 2010s have still been a compromise between the old and new orientations to history teaching as can be seen on the following excerpts from the history tasks of the Matriculation examination, autumn 2013:

⁴² Marja Asikainen, "Onko tarvetta muuttaa peruskoulun opetusuunnitelmaa ja kiinnostako se opettajia?," [Should We Change the Core Curriculum for Basic Education and Are Teachers Interested in it?] *Kleio*, 2 (2008): 5.

⁴³ Riitta Mikkola, "Kill your darlings – mitä historiassa pitäisi opettaa," [What Should You Teach in History] *Kleio*, 2 (2013): 3.

⁴⁴ Arja Virta, "Historia ja yhteiskuntaoppi reaalikokeessa 1921–1969. Koetehtävien kehitys oppiennätysten ja opetusta koskevan keskustelun näkökulmasta," [History and Social Studies in the Matriculation Exam from 1921–1969. The Development of the Tasks from the Perspective of the Curricula and Discussion about Teaching] *Ennen ja nyt*, 4, December 5, 2014, <http://www.ennenjanyt.net/2014/12/historia-ja-yhteiskuntaoppi-reaalikokeessa-1921-1969-koetehtavien-kehitys-oppiennatysten-ja-opetusta-koskevan-keskustelun-nakokulmasta/>

Question No. 6: How was Finnish wood industry developed and what effect did it have on Finnish society from the late 19th century until the outbreak of the Second World War?

Question No. 9: The following excerpts describe the Peasants March in Finland in 1930 by the Lapua Movement [Finnish radical nationalist and anti-communist political movement].

[Three excerpts from the newspapers of different political opinions]

a) Compare the views of the participants and their objectives presented in the newspapers.

b) Discuss on the elements that threatened democracy in Finland in the 1920s and 1930s.

The first question (Question No. 6) poorly represents the range of cognitive processes typical to history but the second—a document-based question (Question No. 9)—is a complex writing task. At the moment, many upper secondary teachers long for an exam which consists only of problem-based tasks that require historical thinking skills. For them, the changing of the Matriculation examination is linked with defending the place of their subject in the upper secondary schools. History is no more as a popular subject among the students in Matriculation examination than it used to be. One reason for that is that many young people do not see the relative meaning of the subject for themselves in the future. The other reason for promoting change is connected with the growing significance of the results of the Matriculation examination when applying to enroll in university. In both cases, the skill-based Matriculation examination would be of benefit to the school subject of history. Big reform is underway for upper secondary education, and the place of history as an obligatory subject is not secure. That has made many history teachers realize that historical thinking skills are essential, both in their own teaching and in the public sphere.

Big reform is also expected for basic education. In basic education, the phenomenon-based learning is challenging the disciplinary teaching, and the interdisciplinary curriculum the discipline-based curriculum. Yet, there has been news that Finland has done away with subject teaching.⁴⁵ Although the news is false, there is, nevertheless, a discourse that has made teachers anxious. The rhetoric concerning the purpose of history teaching and the discussion culture among teachers has changed in the 2010s. The concept of ‘powerful knowledge,’ for example, has been included in the pedagogical discourse.

⁴⁵ Kabir Chibber, “Goodbye, Math and History: Finland Wants to Abandon Teaching Subjects at School,” *Quartz*, March 21, 2015, <https://qz.com/367487/goodbye-math-and-history-finland-wants-to-abandon-teaching-subjects-at-school/>; Richard Garner, “Finland Schools: Subjects Scrapped and Replaced with ‘topics’ as country reforms its Education System,” *Independent*, March 20, 2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/finland-schools-subjects-are-out-and-topics-are-in-as-country-reforms-its-education-system-10123911.html>; Penny Spiller, “Could Subjects soon Be a Thing of the Past in Finland?,” *BBC News*, May 29, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39889523>

According to this concept, the school is supposed to offer such knowledge that empowers “students through its ability to take them beyond their own experience.”⁴⁶ Increasingly, teachers consider that students need access to ‘powerful knowledge’ and with history it means the disciplinary ways of thinking. Teachers have found this kind of rhetoric as essential in defending the future place of history as a subject in school curricula.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF HISTORY EDUCATION IN FINLAND?

Our survey reveals that the change of the teaching orientations is starting to pay off. The teachers are increasingly going to accept teaching the disciplinary ways of thinking instead of teaching the body of historical knowledge. As Burkhauser and Lesaux found out, teachers at the early stage of their career approve of curriculum change more than veteran teachers.⁴⁷ In our study, however, there were no major differences between the responses of different career lengths. This reveals that the older teachers have also finally adopted the disciplinary approach.

Teachers are pleased with the core curriculum for basic education but not as pleased with the decisions made about the upper secondary curriculum. Basic teachers are particularly satisfied with the loose definition of the key content areas such as “Building the welfare state.” In the recent core curriculum, the number of the content domains was reduced and the definitions were loosened. However, there are not yet any results about how the teachers can utilize the increased autonomy accomplished by this loose definition of the contents. It should be studied because the freedom to choose the contents also brings challenges about the essentiality and coherence related to the contents, as we have seen in the example of history education in New Zealand.⁴⁸

The core curriculum for upper secondary schools needs to be revised. The number of content domains should decrease to increase the contentment of the teachers. We also think that it is the time to change the approach to the post-modern one. When teachers at basic school already concentrate their teaching on disciplinary thinking, the students at the next school level are supposed to be ready to process rhetorical and narratological strategies. The central objective of

⁴⁶ John Morgan, “Michael Young and the Politics of the School Curriculum,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 63, no. 1 (2015): 5–22; Kenneth Nordgren, “Powerful Knowledge, Intercultural Learning and History Education,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (2017): 663–682; Michael Young, “Overcoming the Crisis in Curriculum Theory: A Knowledge-Based Approach,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 45, no. 2 (2013): 101–118; Michael Young, and Johan Muller, “On the Powers of Powerful Knowledge,” *Review of Education* 1, no. 3 (2013): 229–250.

⁴⁷ Mary A. Burkhauser, and Nonie K. Lesaux, “Exercising a bounded autonomy: novice and Experienced Teachers’ Adaptations to Curriculum Materials in an Age of Accountability,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 3 (2017): 291–312; See also Andy Hargreaves, “Educational Change Takes Ages: Life, Career and Generational Factors in Teachers’ Emotional Responses to Educational Change,” *Teaching and Teacher Education* 21, no. 8 (2005): 967–983.

⁴⁸ Barbara M. Ormond, “Curriculum Decisions – The Challenges of Teacher Autonomy over Knowledge Selection for History,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 49, no. 5 (2017): 599–619.

history teaching at the upper secondary level is to provide tools for students to analyze different narratives of historical actors and the purpose of the general upper secondary education is to prepare students to study in the university.⁴⁹ The present approach, a compromise between collective memory and disciplinary approaches, is not giving students enough capacity for independent thought and understanding of the complex texts required at the university.⁵⁰

Finnish adolescents have performed exceptionally well in literacy in the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).⁵¹ Young Finns seem to succeed in general literacy skills quite well, but they have problems in historical literacy as research has indicated.⁵² Young Finns need to train their critical competence during this ‘post-truth time’ when political polarization is growing in Finland and people are increasingly starting to think that everyone can rely on their own facts. The disciplinary approach at the basic school level and post-modern approach in upper secondary history teaching might be an answer to this challenge.

As stated earlier, most history teachers have finally approved the objectives of the state-level curricula. However, we see two topical threats to history education in Finland. First, the ongoing development process of the general upper secondary education, which might change history from an obligatory subject to an elective subject while reducing the significance of the subject when applying to university, might reduce the attraction of the subject among young people.⁵³ Secondly, the university faculties are increasingly engaging general pedagogues instead of subject didactics for the posts of retired subject didactics teachers. Both threats burden those few history educators in Finnish universities. They must try to influence the state-level discourse. In addition to their preservice education, they also have to participate in in-service education to supplement the education of young history teachers, who have not been enlightened with the disciplinary or postmodern approach to history teaching at their own universities.

⁴⁹See Robert Thorp, “Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness,” *Historical Encounters* 1, no. 1 (2014): 20–31; Anna Veijola, and Jukka Rantala, “Nuorten näemyksiä historian käytöstä ja merkityksestä,” [Adolescents Views on the Use and Significance of History] *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 116, no. 3 (2018): 296–308.

⁵⁰Jukka Rantala, and Marko van den Berg, “Finnish high school and University Students’ Ability to Handle Multiple Source Documents in History,” *Historical Encounters* 2, no. 1 (2015): 70–88.

⁵¹E.g. Sirkku Kupiainen, Jarkko Hautamäki, and Tommi Karjalainen, *The Finnish Education System and PISA*. (Helsinki: Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriö, 2009).

⁵²Jukka Rantala, and Marko van den Berg, “Finnish High School and University Students’ Ability to Handle Multiple Source Documents in History,” *Historical Encounters* 2, no. 1 (2015): 70–88; Anna Veijola, and Simo Mikkonen, “Historical Literacy and Contradictory Evidence in Finnish High School Setting: The Bronze Soldier of Tallinn,” *Historical Encounters* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–16; Anna Veijola, and Jukka Rantala, “Assessing Finnish and Californian High School Students’ Historical Literacy Through a Document-Based Task,” *Nordidactica* 8, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.

⁵³About similarities in the USA, see Christopher W. Berg, “Why Study History? An Examination of Undergraduate Students’ Notions and Perceptions about History,” *Historical Encounters* 6, no. 1 (2019): 54–71. <http://hej.hermes-history.net>

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PART V

Difficult History, Future Directions and
Possibilities in History Education



Historical Thinking, ‘Difficult Histories,’ and Māori Perspectives of the Past

Mark Sheehan

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I explore the implications of a secondary school history curriculum that is framed by the procedural (second-order) concepts of historical thinking but does not mandate substantive content knowledge and, in particular, does not prioritize difficult histories. While historical thinking can equip young people to think critically about the past, history as a school subject has a wider role in preparing young people with the knowledge to participate constructively in society and the transformative potential of the subject involves young people thinking deeply about controversial and difficult historical questions.¹ This argument is explored through a case study of the *New Zealand History Curriculum* where history is structured by the concepts of continuity and change, significance, evidence, perspective, and causation.² It is through students’ ability to use these procedural concepts that they develop an understanding of how the discipline of history operates and, in this respect, the history curriculum is aligned with the specialized disciplinary knowledge of academic history.³ As a school subject, this is what Michael Young (and social

¹Ken Nordgren, “Powerful Knowledge, Intercultural Learning and History Education,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 49, no. 5 (2017): 663–682.

²Ministry of Education, *the New Zealand Curriculum* (Wellington: Learning Media, 2007).

³Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2013).

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realists) calls powerful knowledge, in that young people develop the ability to think critically and construct evidence-based arguments when they interpret the past.⁴ In courses framed by historical thinking, students are encouraged to go beyond everyday knowledge and develop understandings of how historical knowledge is constructed.⁵ However, while young people in New Zealand learn to think historically in their history courses, the curriculum does not mandate knowledge and young people seldom engage critically with difficult features of the country's colonial past (or indigenous Māori perspectives on the colonization process). In a New Zealand context, understanding the nature of these difficult histories is an integral feature of operating in an increasingly diverse society that is working to address historical grievances and reconcile the relationship between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders. The low priority of difficult histories in the *New Zealand Curriculum* limits the extent to which history can operate as a transformative, empowering subject that equips young people to be historically literate, critically informed citizens who can understand the connection between the past and the present.

It is argued that a way forward in addressing this issue is for history educators to engage with the question of the purpose of history in the school curriculum. Biesta argues that education performs three related functions: qualification (providing young people with the dispositions that prepare them for the workforce), socialization (transmitting the particular norms and values of society), and subjectification (educating young people to be independent thinkers).⁶ It is in the latter that we see the school subject of history framed by the epistemological boundaries of historical thinking and the interpretive nature of the discipline; an ethos that is largely subscribed to by the scholarly historical community in which, regardless of historians' interests, historical research is bounded by a number of shared protocols including a respect for evidence, analysis, and argument.⁷ However, re-contextualizing the discipline of history into a school subject is not straightforward. School subjects have a wider purpose than that of academic disciplines. Disciplinary research is primarily interested in the production or acquisition of knowledge (and the dissemination of this), but school subjects also serve wider societal and cultural functions and are shaped by pedagogical and assessment imperatives.⁸ If history is to be aligned with the broader purpose of education and operate as a transformative subject, as well as teaching

⁴ Michael Young, "From Constructivism to Realism in the Sociology of the Curriculum" *Review of Research in Education* 32, no. 4 (2008): 1–23; Michael Young and Johan Muller, "Three educational scenarios for the future: lessons from the sociology of knowledge" *European Journal of Education* 45, no. 1 (2010): 11–27.

⁵ Mark Sheehan, "Whose knowledge counts? The place of historical thinking in a high autonomy history curriculum," *Arbor Special Issue: Heritage, identity and historical thinking* 194 (2018): 442. <https://doi.org/10.3989/arbor.2018.788n2002> (Copyright: © 2018 CSIC).

⁶ Gert Biesta, "Good education in an age of measurement: On the need to reconnect with the question of purpose in education," *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability* 21 (2009): 33–46.

⁷ John Tosh. *The Pursuit of History* (Routledge: London, 2015); A. Curthoys, J. Docker, J. *Is History Fiction?* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2006).

⁸ Nordgren (2017).

young people to think historically, it needs to develop their understandings of difficult histories. In a New Zealand context this must include the process of colonization (and Māori perspectives on this experience) as this is an especially difficult and contested feature of this country's past.

In this chapter, I first outline the extent to which the history curriculum addresses the difficult aspects of New Zealand's past in the wider context of renegotiating the relationship between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders. The focus is on the senior secondary curriculum, as history is only just one aspect of the core subject of social studies in primary and junior secondary school and it is not clear in this subject the extent to which young people engage with discrete historical knowledge and/or historical ideas. Second, I examine how historical thinking procedural concepts have been incorporated into the high-autonomy secondary school history curriculum (that does not prescribe substantive content) that operates in New Zealand and discuss the challenge that this poses for young people developing critical understandings of the difficult features of this country's past. Finally, I argue that while engaging young people with disciplinary-based understandings of the past has the potential to develop critical and historically informed understandings between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders, this can only be a transformative process if it directly engages with the difficult and controversial histories of this country.

HISTORY EDUCATION AND 'THE TREATY'

An agreement made in 1840 between the British government and a number of Māori chiefs, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, allowed for European settlement of New Zealand in return for guarantees to Māori over land ownership, retention of culture/language, and the full rights of British citizenship. While most chiefs signed the Māori version of the Treaty that (unlike the English version) did not cede full sovereignty to the Crown, in contemporary New Zealand the Treaty serves as the legal framework for addressing historical grievances and acknowledges Māori as having first-people/first-nation indigenous status.⁹ There is now a commitment by all major political parties to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and (at a wider societal level) to incorporate Māori cultural perspectives in contemporary New Zealand society. In the education sector, the principles of the Treaty are manifested by culturally responsive pedagogy that aims to improve educational outcomes for Māori students who have generally not achieved well in the mainstream school system. Schools are required to be culturally responsive to students' cultures, value their prior knowledge, and promote learning based on reciprocal learning partnerships.¹⁰ Including Māori

⁹ Claudia Orange, *An Illustrated History of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2015).

¹⁰ R. Russell Bishop, "Pretty Difficult: Implementing Kaupapa Māori theory in English-medium secondary schools," *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 47, no. 2 (2012): 38–50.

perspectives about the Treaty (and the histories of colonization), however, has not been a priority in many senior history programs and culturally responsive teaching has typically not taken into account that Māori students have seen the Treaty very differently than non-indigenous New Zealanders.¹¹

In settler societies such as New Zealand, re-contextualizing the discipline of history to incorporate understandings of indigenous perspectives of the past is challenging, as history has generally been framed by a worldview that places European values as superior to others. Many of the preeminent historians of the twentieth century asserted the uniqueness and superiority of the European experience.¹² New Zealand historians adopted the disciplinary attributes of their British and North America counterparts, and until the 1980s, largely ignored indigenous (and non-European) perspectives in their work. The privileging of European (and in particular British) history was also evident in school history programs that seldom engaged with New Zealand's past.¹³ Although Māori issues had a high public profile in New Zealand (and generated considerable interest) until recently students who studied senior history were more likely to have an in-depth understanding of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century British monarchies than the Māori King movement; the latter was formed in 1859 and continues to be a major force in New Zealand society.¹⁴

Reflecting international trends in historiography, historians in New Zealand in recent decades have increasingly prioritized the histories of groups that had been marginalized in the previous versions of the past and a number of historians have incorporated Māori views of history in their research.¹⁵ In part, this has emerged out of the tribal histories commissioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, the government body that is charged with investigating historical Māori grievances. The Tribunal's investigations have seen previously ignored or little-known narratives of particular tribal histories produced and demonstrate that for many Māori, the past and the present are closely connected and the legacies of New Zealand's colonial history are a source of ongoing frustration.¹⁶

A number of prominent historians are playing a major role in making historical research into New Zealand's past accessible to history teachers but the question of aligning disciplinary approaches in secondary school history with

¹¹ Mark Sheehan, Terrie Epstein, Michael Harcourt, "‘People are still grieving’ Māori and non-Māori adolescent's perceptions of the Treaty of Waitangi." In Carla Peck and Terrie Epstein (Eds) *Teaching and Learning Difficult Histories in International Contexts: A Critical Sociocultural Approach* (Routledge, USA, 2018), 109–122.

¹² Jack Goody, *The Theft of History* (Cambridge University Press: United Kingdom, 2007).

¹³ Mark Sheehan, "The place of 'New Zealand' in the New Zealand history curriculum," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 42 no. 5 (2010): 671–691.

¹⁴ Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whawhai tonu matou: Struggle without end*. (Auckland, NZ: Penguin, 2004).

¹⁵ See, for example, Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800–2000*. (Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books, 2016); A. Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangī: Experiments across Worlds*. (Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 2017); Judith Binney, *Encircled lands: Te Urewera 1820–1921*. (Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books, 2009).

¹⁶ Anderson et al. (2014).

Māori perspectives is challenging.¹⁷ The Māori way of thinking about history has been described as walking forward into the future while looking back into the past. A perspective reflected in the Māori proverb *Ka Mura, Ka Muri*. That we look to the past to inform the future. That the past and the present are a single entity and all features of the contemporary Māori world are aligned with past experiences. This view is connected to the Kaupapa Māori research paradigm that has challenged Western models of knowing and knowledge construction including the disciplinary protocols of history.¹⁸ Kaupapa Māori literally means Māori ways of doing, being, and thinking. It seeks to be transformative in rethinking the way that Māori operate with non-indigenous society and addresses the challenges that have emerged from colonization—including the revitalization of language and traditional practices and understandings in ways that are culturally safe and relevant.¹⁹

For the majority of history teachers (who are not indigenous), Kaupapa Māori ways of doing, being, and thinking can pose a challenge as teachers' views are largely shaped by their own history education and social background. While there are an increasing number of teachers who have the intellectual confidence (and pedagogical abilities) to teach students about the difficult features of New Zealand's past, as well as engage with Māori perspectives, reflecting their training and education,²⁰ history teachers typically view the past through the lens of a Western conceptual-framework that largely ignores the experiences of groups that do not share the same worldview.²¹ For teachers to engage students with the historical dimension of the controversial aspects of New Zealand's colonial history (including Māori perspectives) requires not only that they are willing to confront the uncomfortable features of New Zealand's colonial legacy at a personal level, but also that they be able to make complex links between the past and the present and be intellectually equipped with a thorough understanding of the relevant knowledge (including the research literature). In addition, teachers are embedded in particular school communities that may be unsupportive of engaging with the controversial nature of colonization. New Zealand schools are self-managing (and have considerable autonomy over what is taught) and teachers' curriculum approaches to controversial historical questions will typically reflect the values, attitudes, and collective memories of parents, students, and colleagues in their school community.²²

¹⁷See, for example, Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars | Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa* (Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books, 2019).

¹⁸Ella Henry and Hone Pene. "Kaupapa Maori: Locating Indigenous Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology in the Academy," *Organisation*, 8, no. 2 (2001): 234–242.

¹⁹Henry and Pene (2001).

²⁰<https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/6-2018-1/maori-history-sense-place/>

²¹Goody (2006).

²²Mark Sheehan. "A matter of choice: Controversial histories, citizenship, and the challenge of a high-autonomy curriculum," *Curriculum Matters*, 13 (2017): 80–102.

The evasion of Māori histories in many school programs has sent a clear message (to Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders) that Māori do not have a history that is significant and demonstrates the bias in regard to Māori histories in the school curriculum.²³ The last decade, however, has seen an increasing commitment by the history teaching community to engage young New Zealanders with the sensitive features of this country's history. Both the *New Zealand History Teachers Association* (NZHTA) and the Ministry of Education's *Māori history project* feature numerous examples of innovative teachers who are 'change agents' in their learning communities.²⁴ There is also an emerging literature of history teachers who engage young people with critically informed understandings of controversial questions about the experience of colonization.²⁵ At the 2018 NZHTA national conference, the executive passed a unanimous resolution to adopt an activist approach to the teaching of New Zealand's colonial history that led to a submission to the Māori affairs select committee at the New Zealand Parliament. In his submission, Graeme Ball (chair of NZHTA) highlighted the lack of compulsion to teach history in the curriculum and the low-priority New Zealand's past (in particular the difficult features of colonization) had in many school history programs.²⁶ In June 2019 the NZHTA presented a Parliamentary petition calling for the teaching of New Zealand's past to be compulsory in the school curriculum. It requested: "That the House of Representatives pass legislation that would make compulsory the coherent teaching of our own past across appropriate year levels in our schools, with professional development and resources to do so provided."²⁷

The increasing commitment by the history teaching community to engage with New Zealand's past reflects calls from the wider community for the school curriculum to explicitly engage with the process of colonization. The question of teaching and learning about New Zealand's difficult histories has become

²³ Richard Manning, "A Critical Pedagogy of Place? Te Ātiawa (Māori) and Pākehā (non-Māori) History Teachers' Perspectives on the Teaching of Local, Māori and New Zealand Histories." *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 40 (2011): 102–111; Mark Sheehan, "The place of 'New Zealand' in the New Zealand history curriculum." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 42 no. 5 (2010): 671–691.

²⁴ Ministry of Education (2016), *Te Takanga o Te Wā – Māori History Guidelines Year 1–8* | Maori History https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/petitions/document/PET_83795/petition-of-graeme-ball-on-behalf-of-the-new-zealand-history; <http://www.maorihistory.tki.org.nz/en/.../te-takanga-o-te-wa-maori-history-guidelines-year-1-8>

²⁵ Michael Harcourt and Mark Sheehan (eds.), *History Matters: Teaching and Learning History in 21st New Zealand*. (Wellington, NZ: NZCER Press, 2012); Michael Harcourt, *Towards a Culturally Responsive and Place-Conscious Theory of History Teaching*. (*SET* 2, 2015): 37–44; Martyn Davison, Paul Enright, Mark Sheehan, *History Matters 2: A handbook for teaching and learning how to think historically*. (Wellington, NZ: NZCER Press, 2014).

Jo Moir, Call for New Zealand's colonial history to be more widely taught in high school; <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education>

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Graeme Ball, "New Zealand History Teachers' Association Petition: Teaching our Nation's Past in our Schools, https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/petitions/document/PET_83795/petition-of-graeme-ball-on-behalf-of-the-new-zealand-history/

increasingly politicized. For example in 2015, two secondary school students instigated a petition that called for the wars fought between the Crown and Māori in the nineteenth century to be included in the curriculum. Signed by more than 12,000 people, the petition was presented to the Māori Affairs Select Committee at Parliament and although it did not result in any changes to the curriculum, it did see the setting up of a national day to annually commemorate the New Zealand wars.²⁸

DIFFICULT HISTORIES AND THE NEW ZEALAND CURRICULUM

The *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007) has its origins in a series of initiatives that began in the late 1980s when the education system in New Zealand went through substantive structural change in keeping with wider neo-liberal economic reforms of this time. The curriculum operates on a high-autonomy model that in the case of history does not prescribe content. These wider social changes saw calls for education to become more autonomous and flexible and, in light of the increasingly diverse nature of New Zealand society, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, the idea of a centralized curriculum and qualification system that catered for the needs of all students was not seen by the Ministry of Education as either a desirable or realistic option.²⁹

The call for greater autonomy in the curriculum aligned closely with the neo-liberal project that has shaped New Zealand in the last three decades. This has seen policy-making framed by market-orientated ideas that place a high priority on the economic imperatives of educating young people to develop the skills and abilities to operate successfully in a rapidly changing and competitive global environment. The *New Zealand Curriculum* prioritizes competencies such as critical thinking and creativity rather than knowledge. The neo-liberal orientation was also characterized by a distrust of centralized bureaucracy and, in line with these principles, since the 1990s the Ministry of Education has had a largely policy-driven role in curriculum matters, while the practical aspects of implementation have been left up to schools. The principal function of the *New Zealand Curriculum* is “to set the direction for student learning and to provide guidance for schools as they design and review their curriculum.”³⁰ While schools are expected to align their choices with the intent of the curriculum, they “have considerable flexibility when determining the detail.”³¹ The Ministry of Education does provide resourcing for particular areas (including the teaching of Māori history) but the resources that teachers use (including textbooks) are determined by schools.

²⁸ Vincent O'Malley, Joana Kidman, “Settler colonial history, commemoration and white backlash: remembering the New Zealand Wars,” *Settler Colonial Studies*, 8, no. 3 (2018): 298–313.

²⁹ Roger Openshaw, R. *Reforming New Zealand Secondary Education* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009).

³⁰ Ministry of Education (2007, 6).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

The curriculum is dominated by learner-centered pedagogies that place a high value on students' everyday knowledge, combined with specific outcomes-based achievement objectives (that in the case of history does not prioritize subject-specific knowledge) with generic competencies such as *thinking* and *managing self*. It also prioritizes the interests of students (rather than their learning needs) and does not differentiate between particular types of knowledge. The emphasis is on student-centered, inquiry-based pedagogy. These initiatives have seen a greater emphasis on competency-based learning and generic skills that have undermined the disciplinary integrity of discipline-informed subjects (such as history) as well as at a school level, courses that present a fragmented knowledge base (largely framed by assessment requirements than disciplinary cohesion). In regard to what young people actually learn in subjects like history, curriculum priorities have been placed in the hands of teachers, students, and local communities, regardless of whether or not they have the social, economic, or cultural capitals to make well-informed decisions about curriculum matters. The questions that there are some forms of knowledge that are more valuable than others (such as evidence-based disciplinary knowledge), or that particular areas (such the difficult features of New Zealand's past) are likely to contribute to social cohesion, have been largely ignored and decisions about such questions are left to schools and teachers.

As well as the curriculum at the senior level, teaching and learning history are dominated by the *National Certificate of Education Achievement* (NCEA), which was set up as a flexible qualification system that aimed to be inclusive of all students including those who have previously been excluded from gaining qualifications, and for whom the schooling process was typically an alienating and negative experience.³² Like the *New Zealand Curriculum*, the NCEA was introduced as one of a number of educational initiatives to address the challenges New Zealand faced in the early twenty-first century, such as the pressures of engaging successfully in a rapidly changing and competitive global marketplace, the increasingly diverse nature of New Zealand society, and the changing nature of work.

HISTORICAL THINKING AND THE HIGH AUTONOMY CURRICULUM MODEL

History is not a core subject in New Zealand. It is offered as an option in the final three years of secondary school (ages 15–17 years) and as one strand in the social sciences learning area in the *New Zealand Curriculum*. Prior to this, history is incorporated within the integrated subject of social studies that draws upon the disciplinary traditions of history, geography, sociology, and economics as the basis for exploring 'social issues.' The social studies curriculum is organized into four 'strands' and its history strand, *Continuity and Change*,

³² Rose Hipkins, Michael Johnson, and Mark Sheehan, *NCEA in Context* (Wellington, NZ: NZCER Press, 2016).

expects students to “learn about past events, experiences, and actions and the changing ways these have been interpreted over time”³³ In practice, however, the strands tend to be subservient to a list of mostly generic conceptual understandings that teachers choose from to design a program of learning. Aside from some generic guidelines (including the Treaty of Waitangi), it is at the discretion of individual schools what content they prioritize. Perhaps more problematically, teachers of social studies are not necessarily history specialists and this can make them ill-prepared and uncertain when planning programs of learning about contested, historical topics such as war and conflict.³⁴

History as a senior school subject, to some extent, stands apart from the values and perspectives that shape the high-autonomy *New Zealand Curriculum* as historical thinking procedural concepts are embedded in the history curriculum and frame the NCEA history standards. While there are no prescribed topics, there are guidelines. Learning is structured around six learning objectives (two at each year level) that are framed conceptually. For example: “Understand how people’s perspectives on events that are of significance to New Zealanders differ.”³⁵ While there are no prescribed history topics in the curriculum, there is the proviso that teachers choose contexts and events that are “of significance to New Zealanders.”³⁶ The question of significance in history is a key concept for historians, being typically linked to notions such as importance, durability, empathy, profundity, and relevance.³⁷ In the *New Zealand Curriculum*, the inclusion of the phrase ‘of significance to New Zealanders’ was primarily aimed at encouraging teachers to shift their focus away from the narrow, Eurocentric, chronological, topic-based approach to history teaching that characterized history teaching, and to prioritize the needs and interests of students in the early twenty-first century.³⁸ However, the high autonomy of the *New Zealand Curriculum* has seen ‘significance to New Zealanders’ interpreted in broad, general terms that has allowed teachers the autonomy to interpret ‘significance’ in whatever way they choose.³⁹

In theory, the flexibility of the *New Zealand Curriculum* and NCEA offers considerable opportunities. Teachers (who operate as pedagogical experts, curriculum makers, and curriculum assessors) have the opportunity to align their history programs with the topics that their students are motivated to learn and

³³ Ministry of Education, *The New Zealand Curriculum*, 2007. <http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/The-New-Zealand-Curriculum>, 30.

³⁴ Alison Kitson, Mark Sheehan, and Michael Harcourt. Enquiry based learning in Museum and heritage settings. In Bain, B., Chapman, A., Kitson, A. and Shreiner, T. (Eds) *Historical Education and Historical Enquiry*. The International Review of History Education, Volume 10. (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2019).

³⁵ Ministry of Education (2007), Level 7.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6–8.

³⁷ Stephan Levesque, *Thinking Historically Educating Students for the Twenty-First Century*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Seixas and Morton (2013).

³⁸ Sheehan (2010).

³⁹ Mark Sheehan, “‘Historical Significance’ in the Senior Secondary School Curriculum.” *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 46, no. 2 (2011): 35–46.

have a range of assessment options. The NCEA achievement standards in history are framed by the procedural concepts of historical thinking and the majority of history assessment programs is internally assessed course work. The latter contributes to students learning how to think historically. There is a correlation between young people conducting internally assessed projects and learning to think critically about the past, where students (operating as novice researchers) develop advanced understandings of historical thinking as this process emulates how historians (as experts in the domain) generate and evaluate knowledge.⁴⁰ When conducting course-based historical research young people learn something of the methods that historians use when they adjudicate between competing claims of historical authenticity.⁴¹ However, teachers are also under considerable pressure from the government to lift achievement rates for students and the downplaying of disciplinary thinking in the curriculum has been exacerbated by an increasing focus on NCEA qualifications and government expectations for students to achieve measurement targets. This encourages teachers to concentrate on those areas of knowledge that are measurable, rather than exploring academic knowledge that is typically abstract and complex and develops critical thinking.

The Purpose of History and the Place of Content

Young people in New Zealand do learn how to think critically about the past as well as to understand the methodologies and vocabularies of the discipline (especially in regard to a respect for evidence, argument, and interpretation) but the low priority of difficult histories has implications for the extent to which history as a school subject can be transformative. If they are to develop critical understandings of the difficult features of this country's past—including Māori perspectives—what is required is a shift in thinking among stakeholders in the education sector as to the purpose of the history curriculum. Minor changes to existing structures are unlikely to make a substantial difference. What is required are structural changes to the curriculum (and the aligned assessment practices) to address the essential knowledge that all young people deserve to have, if they are to be educated to actively participate in society as historically literate citizens who can think critically about questions of identity, heritage, and belonging and understand the connection between the past and the present.

While history teachers have a core part to play in this process, as individuals (and as a subject association) they are limited in what they can do to address this question unless they receive substantial and ongoing support by the Ministry of Education, as well as advice and guidance from all interested par-

⁴⁰ Mark Sheehan. "History as Something to Do not just Something to Learn': Historical Thinking, Internal Assessment and Critical Citizenship." *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 48, no. 2 (2013): 69–83.

⁴¹ Michael Johnston, Rosemary Hipkins, Mark Sheehan, "Building Epistemic Thinking through Disciplinary Inquiry: Contrasting Lessons from History and Biology." *Curriculum Matters* 13 (2013): 80–102.

ties, including historians, educators, and experts in Māori histories. Teachers' agency to address these questions, either individually or on a school basis, is limited, as curriculum choices (either nationally or at a school level) do not occur in a vacuum. Teachers do not operate as autonomous entities when it comes to curriculum making and the nature of the neo-liberal curriculum reforms of the last 30 years (that has downplayed content knowledge) has limited teacher agency under the guise of teacher choice.

Deng argues that while Young's idea of the importance of young people having access to disciplinary knowledge that takes them beyond what they already know is powerful, it needs to be aligned with the central purpose of schooling. This comes from establishing a connection between disciplinary knowledge and pedagogical knowledge as well as an understanding of the purpose of education.⁴² Disciplinary knowledge is not an end itself. If it is to be a means to a larger purpose of education. Teachers need to address the question of content selection and make well-informed choices. The low priority of content is an international phenomenon. The *New Zealand Curriculum* may operate with a high degree of autonomy but, internationally, questions to do with content have largely disappeared from current global policy and academic discourses concerning teaching and teachers.⁴³

If we are to clarify what is the purpose of history in a New Zealand curriculum, it would be framed by the question of what is the essential knowledge that all young people in New Zealand deserve to have, if they are to be educated to actively participate in society as historically literate and critically informed citizens. While the answer is not to return to a narrative model of New Zealand's past that discourages critique (and ignores the complexity of the past), gaining disciplinary knowledge cannot be seen as an end in itself. While the sorts of disciplinary skills and concepts that young people learn in the subject of history provide insights beyond common sense, unless it is aligned with difficult and controversial questions, a disciplinary approach can reduce history to exercises of analysis without any relation to meaningful relevant historical knowledge for contemporary society.⁴⁴ This is especially the case when disciplinary procedural knowledge is the key resource for high-stake qualifications (as is the case with NCEA) in which students are rewarded for adopting a narrow, skills-based approach to the past in assessment tasks that can be easily measured.⁴⁵

In this context, Kaupapa Māori research lays down a challenge for history as a school subject given the increasingly culturally diverse nature of New Zealand society and wider societal aims to reconcile the relationship between Māori and non-indigenous citizens. To move this question forward, we need to explore what are the purposes of history and ask what actual functions we want the his-

⁴² Zongyi Deng. "Rethinking Teaching and Teachers: Bringing Content back into the conversation." *London Review of Education* 16. no. 3 (2018): 371–383.

⁴³ Deng (2018).

⁴⁴ Nordgren (2017).

⁴⁵ Hipkins et al. (2016).

tory curriculum to perform.⁴⁶ Developing critical understandings about New Zealand's colonial past (including Māori perspectives) is arguably an essential ingredient of a balanced education as this country renegotiates questions of identity and reconciliation between Māori and non-indigenous New Zealanders. For the history teaching community this means going beyond young people simply knowing historical details about New Zealand's past and knowing how to think historically. It also requires young people to emotionally and empathically connect this knowledge with indigenous perspectives of place⁴⁷: knowledge that is meaningful to this place, at this time and, as such, knowledge that has the potential to be transformative. For example, if young people enter the classroom with the assumption that compensation for Māori tribes who lost land through confiscation after the wars of the nineteenth century is unnecessary and leave with a recognition that these are legitimate grievances that are rooted in oppression and that contemporary society has a responsibility to acknowledge past wrongs, then something transformational has happened. Something that gave them the intellectual tools (and the exposure to different perspectives) to develop empathic views, re-evaluate what they thought they knew, and make authentic links between the past and the present. This is may well be achieved through thinking critically about how they analyze the past informed by historical evidence and Māori perspectives.

A way forward here could be to develop a framework of teaching, where historical thinking concepts are linked to Māori concepts and informed by a curriculum theory that clarifies the purpose of history education. In history programs this could see questions to do with colonization aligned with activities that give meaning to disciplinary concepts as well as Māori concepts. It could also see a requirement that young people learn about the difficult features of New Zealand's past and that this objective is supported with quality resources and professional development so that teachers are empowered to make this a central feature of their programs. This is the aim of the NZHTA petition noted earlier. The combination of carefully selected content, historical thinking concepts, and Māori perspectives offers the opportunity to re-imagine how all students can be given access to 'powerful' disciplinary understandings of the past that incorporate the wider imperatives of indigenous Māori values, and thus engage with a model historical thinking that is truly transformative.

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⁴⁶ Biesta (2009).

⁴⁷ Harcourt (2015).

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Reasonable Interpretations or Emotional Identification? Using Video Testimony in History Lessons

Katalin Eszter Morgan

INTRODUCTION

Historical thinking is a rather complex and counter-intuitive, unnatural process as Samuel Wineburg expounded almost two decades ago.¹ It requires the weighing up of evidence and, based on it, arriving at plausible conclusions about the past. It is unnatural because it requires much effort, akin to learning to speak a specific kind of language, namely that of the discipline called history. Yet at the same time, it is also true that everyone is a historian—that it is something we all naturally do, consciously or not. Carl Becker, quoted in Lowenthal, referred to this as every man being his own historian. What he meant was that everyone creates a sense of continuity between the past, the present, and the future by way of relating events across the flow of time with the help of his/her memory and imagination.² We are all called to engage in historical thinking by constantly weighing up truth-claims that we are bombarded with every day and to integrate this knowledge with what we already know (memory) and expect (imagination).

¹Samuel Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

²David Lowenthal, “Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History.” In *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History, National and International Perspectives*, ed. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas and Samuel Wineburg, 63–82 (New York and London: New York University Press, 2000).

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One of the central problems in this apparent contradiction between the unnatural and the natural is the way in which we conceptualize cognition and emotion. The “unnatural” would correspond to the disciplined, structured, logical, counter-intuitive, conscious, cognitive process of historical thinking. Examples would be situating documents in place and time (contextualization), putting a set of critical questions to those documents (own scaffolding), and bringing ideas to the reading of the texts about the implications of their genre (expert knowledge).

“Natural” would refer to the instinctive, intuitive, culturally learnt, and partly subconscious areas of human emotions, memory, and imagination, realized through narrating a story by means of language. Examples would include the combining of affects, attitudes, performative aspects, and literary devices (such as allegory, irony, tragedy) into a story, drawing on human memory and imagination in the culturally specific sense-making process.³ The “unnatural” would be what is needed for reasonable interpretations, whereas the latter or “natural” for emotional identification. However, this risks oversimplification, and, according to Rüsen, based on the wrong assumption that the “objective,” which claims to have intersubjective validity, and the “subjective,” which is regarded as biased and unreliable, are separable and distinct areas of the human mind in terms of its sense-making capabilities.⁴

Neuroscientific research indicates, by contrast, that our thoughts and actions are essentially determined by the emotional memory of our experiences, indicating that it is not possible to separate emotions from cognition, even if we wanted to.⁵ An added level of complexity is another finding from neuroscientific research, based on fear-conditioning of mice, that traumatic memories can be inherited, independent of social transmission.⁶ This means that our ability to make sense of historical information is based not only on the memory of our own emotional experiences, but also, possibly and selectively, on the memories of our ancestors.

This chapter explores this apparent tension between the cognitive (objective) and the emotional (subjective) by firstly reviewing some literature on it in the context of German history and philosophy of history.⁷ Secondly, I am going to explain how this tension is mirrored in history curricula. Thirdly, I will

³Kieran Egan, “Memory, Imagination, and Learning: Connected by the Story.” *Phi Delta Kappan* 70, no. 6 (1989): 455–459; White Hayden, “The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory.” *History and Theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): 1–33.

⁴Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historein* 8 (2008): 41–53.

⁵Gerhard Roth, “Willensfreiheit und Schuldfähigkeit aus Sicht der Hirnforschung.” In *Das Gehirn und seine Freiheit. Beiträge zur neurowissenschaftlichen Grundlegung der Philosophie*, eds. Gerhard Roth and Klaus-Jürgen Grün, 9–27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

⁶Brian Dias and Kerry Ressler, “Parental olfactory experience influences behavior and neural structure in subsequent generations.” *Nature Neuroscience* 17, no. 1 (2014): 89–96.

⁷This comes with its own challenges, as I am constantly oscillating between two language–culture worlds, translating and interpreting complex and highly abstract German sources and trying to make them intelligible to an English readership.

present a case study that describes a selected set of history lessons in a German public school for adult learners. The subject matter is the use of testimonies by witnesses of the Holocaust or the Shoah.⁸ Finally, I will highlight aspects of this case study for discussion in the light of the cognitive-emotional duality, as well as the study participants' own reflections about the lessons.

TRADITIONS OF COGNITION AND EMOTION IN GERMAN HISTORY EDUCATION

“*Was haben Gefühle in der Geschichte zu suchen?*” is the eye-catching title of an article by historian and expert on emotions in history Ute Frevert.⁹ It is an idiomatic expression and could be translated as “what business do emotions have with history?” The implication is that they do not belong in history.¹⁰ A more recent example of the implicit assumption that full objectivity is attainable and desirable in the study of history is the somewhat apologetic formulation, “our observations are [not] fully objective,” in the abstract of an article on public and applied history in Germany by Nießer and Tomann,¹¹ the assumption being that it is at all possible to have totally objective observations. A third, more direct, reference to how cognition and emotion are seen as a “dangerous” mix comes from a study by Bertram, Wagner, and Trautwein about the use of oral interviews in history lessons with real eye witnesses who reported critically about the political system of the (then) German Democratic Republic (GDR).¹² Here the (German) authors surmise that the emotional experience of the pupils, who listened to these oral testimonies “might dissolve the cognitive distance from the oral history account that constitutes a cornerstone of historical reasoning.” The result is that—supposedly—emotions interfere with cognitive, historical thinking.

These examples highlight how in German history education, objectivity is given high priority to an extent that emotionality can be seen as an obstruction to rational thought. Historically, this has to do with a fear of the incalculable effects that emotions have due to their fluidity and indeterminacy, which are thought to affect historical learning in a negative way, with possible

⁸Notwithstanding the differences between these two terms referring to the same historical event, for the sake of this chapter, I will treat them interchangeably.

⁹Ute Frevert, “Was haben Gefühle in der Geschichte zu suchen?” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 35, no. 2 (2009): 183–208.

¹⁰It is a purposefully provocative formulation and the author challenges this assumption.

¹¹Nießer, Jacqueline and Juliane Tomann, “Public and Applied History in Germany. Just Another Brick in the Wall of the Academic Ivory Tower?” *The Public Historian* 40, no. 4 (2018): 11–27.

¹²Christiane Bertram, Wolfgang Wagner and Ulrich Trautwein, “Learning Historical Thinking With Oral History Interviews: A Cluster Randomized Controlled Intervention Study of Oral History Interviews in History Lessons.” *American Educational Research Journal* 54, no. 3 (2017): 444–484.

manipulative-indoctrinating intentions and consequences.¹³ Greek philosophy and German idealism also bear a strong influence on the development of the discipline of history in Germany. Such philosophy is based on a rationalist ontology that generally views emotion or passion in strictly negative terms, as something that threatens intellectual understanding.¹⁴ This kind of philosophy is anchored in a particular form of dualistic, Western thinking in which the mind is pitted against the body, the intellect against the emotions, and freedom of will against impulse or instinct.¹⁵ As a result, historians are, especially, skeptical about *any* involvement of emotions in the mediation of historical content because it is considered to be detrimental to the ability to take up such contents cognitively (rationally) (see Schönert and Weckwerth).¹⁶ The phrase “crying does not educate” is used to sum up this point of view.¹⁷

This thinking trend is traceable to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians and philosophers of history. Rösen takes a look at the work of Immanuel Kant (1724–1805), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), and Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886).¹⁸ These thinkers have strongly influenced the German tradition of historical sciences, including the perceived task of the historian, and, with it, the development of history education. Rösen comes to the conclusion that cognitively constructive historical interpretations offered a way out of the disgust these intellectuals felt when they studied men’s actions in the world. In Ranke’s words, the simple facts of the past created an impression of “wretchedness” and a “feeling for the voidness of all things and a disgust for the many heinous crimes by which men have stained themselves” (Ranke, quoted in Rösen).¹⁹ Herder shared similar sentiments and thought that human reason would create “one out of the many, order out of disorder,” and “permanent beauty out of manifold forces and intentions.”²⁰ Similarly, Hegel’s answer to the “nameless misery” was a transformation of feelings into thoughts, with a perceived ability to thus leave behind the horrors of the past “in favour of the pleasure of understanding

¹³ Juliane Brauer and Martin Lücke, eds. *Emotionen, Geschichte und historisches Lernen. Geschichtsdidaktische und geschichtskulturelle Perspektiven* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Unipress, 2013), 15.

¹⁴ David Patterson, *Hebrew Language and Jewish Thought* (New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2005), 105.

¹⁵ Yvonne Thorhauer, “Ethische Implikationen der Hirnforschung.” In *Das Gehirn und seine Freiheit. Beiträge zur neurowissenschaftlichen Grundlegung der Philosophie*, eds. Gerhard Roth and Klaus-Jürgen Grün, 67–81 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 67.

¹⁶ Volker Schönert and Susanne Weckwerth, “Emotionale Überwältigung?” In *Erschrecken – Mitgefühl – Distanz. Empirische Befunde über Schülerinnen und Schüler in Gedenkstätten und zeitgeschichtlichen Ausstellungen*, ed. Bert Pampel, 283–305 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2011).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Jörn Rösen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historiein* 8 (2008).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

history as the progress of human freedom.”²¹ Kant, in the context of “a certain disgust when contemplating men’s actions upon the world stage” developed “the idea of progress as the leitmotiv in which the past leads into a better future.”²²

A different perspective on the task of the historian is that there is a divine narrative to be transmitted, based on a divine commandment to remember through the telling of a story.²³ As Abraham Joshua Heschel explains, “history is not the understanding of events, but rather the understanding of man’s experience of events.”²⁴ That which lends the narratives their structure and meaning is not rationality or reason, but an ethical concern tied up with memory: In the words of Leo Baeck (1873–1956), “through the unity of the ethical is realised the unity of history.” So understood, history is the history of humanity’s struggle to create a realm in which the good that God demands may be realized. That struggle is a struggle for memory, which is a struggle for the future.²⁵

Within school curricula, it is this task to uphold the good and the ethical that underpins the civil and humanizing dimensions of history education. This is especially the case in American Holocaust education, influenced by the ethos of stressing innocence, goodness, and optimism and downplaying the dark and brutal sides of life.²⁶ By emphasizing the former, it is presumably easier for pupils to develop emotional identification with historical actors, who can be upheld as heroes and role models. In Germany, after the Holocaust, the upholding of national figures as heroes has not been common. Even the hoisting of the national flag is frowned upon by some liberals. Emotional identification, however, does not preclude rational interpretation. Gies notes that there is a close relationship between emotions, morality, and judgments, implying that any discerning functions of reasonable interpretations are inextricably linked with concern for the ethical.²⁷ For example, the simple decision to put a question to the past and to thus select something for historical analysis is tied up with a judgment about that something’s significance. Furthermore, emotional receptiveness to a topic helps one to dedicate one’s cognitive efforts to that topic in a motivated, engaged, and thus, effective manner.²⁸ We will now turn to examining how this cognition-emotion dichotomy is reflected in German history curricula.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ David Patterson, *Hebrew Language and Jewish Thought* (New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2005), 170.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Alvin H. Rosenfeld, *The Americanization of the Holocaust* (Michigan: Jean and Samuel Frankel Center for Judaic Studies, 1995), 8.

²⁷ Horst Gies, “Emotionalität versus Rationalität?” In *Emotionen und historisches Lernen*, eds. Berndt Mütter and Uwe Uffelman, 27–40 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992).

²⁸ Ibid., 39.

THE CURRICULAR BACKGROUND TO THE TEACHING OF THE SHOAH IN GERMAN SCHOOLS

The history curriculum is varied and there are no national, unified state objectives or teaching and learning criteria. Germany does not have a Federal (national) Ministry of Education. Instead, each of the 16 *Bundesländer* (federal states) and each of the four existing school forms has its own curricula.²⁹ Nevertheless, we can make a broad distinction between the content suggestions of the various curricula and the skills, attitudes, and values (or competencies) learners are meant to develop as a result of studying history.

In terms of the content of this history, most curricula follow a chronological presentation of societal patterns of events leading up to World War II. The topic of Nazism comes up in the 9th, 11th, and 12th grades; the Holocaust is almost always located in the broader context of national history.³⁰ For example, in the 11th grade, the French Revolution is covered, after which there is a chronological approach to more or less the present, or at least to the reunification of Germany in the 1980s. By that time many concepts and events that play a role in the teaching of the Holocaust would have been covered, like Imperialism—the idea of a superior European race. When covering the topic of Nazism, the content of history textbooks tends to focus on the portrayal of the perpetrators' perspectives, consisting mainly of laws, official documents, and excerpts from Hitler's speeches. The ethical, philosophical, and moral questions arising from this topic are mostly not addressed in the classroom. The after-effects of the Shoah on the victims and their descendants, such as the trauma and the ability to “continue living” afterward, are not topics in the history curriculum regarding this subject matter.

The competency focus in the teaching of history is broad, varies widely, and is based on various complex and at times very abstract models developed by professors of history education, often in a competing manner. Some common competencies—even though they might be termed differently—nevertheless form the basis for historical thinking across the board. They focus on mental operations of imagining, understanding, and judging, whereby a distinction is made between *Sachurteil*, which is a factual judgment or “subject matter competence”³¹ that establishes relationships between sets of information, and

²⁹ These four (high) school forms differ in their foci, ranging in emphasis from teaching theoretical to more practical skills, depending on the learners' abilities and aspirations. High school starts in the 5th grade, which is also the time when families have to decide which school form their child should attend. It is always possible to move across these forms and everyone has an opportunity to study further after the 12th or 13th grade, or to pursue a technical profession after the 10th grade, attending specialised colleges.

³⁰ Monique Eckmann and Oscar Österberg, “Research in German.” In *Research in Teaching and Learning about the Holocaust. A Dialogue Beyond Borders*, eds. by Monique Eckmann, Doyle Stevick and Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, 37–54 (Berlin: International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, 2017), 37.

³¹ Andreas Körber, “German History Didactics: From Historical Consciousness to Historical Competencies – and Beyond?” In *Historicizing the Uses of the Past. Scandinavian Perspectives on*

Werturteil or value judgment that establishes relationships between this information and the values of the viewer or reader.³² The latter is not well conceptualized, apart from the inclusion of personal evaluations, differentiating them from objective or factual ones.

Applying the general history curriculum to the specific ways in which the Shoah is treated and witness testimonies could be used, we can note that in all states and among all school forms the study of National Socialism and the Holocaust is mandatory in history education. Paradoxically, despite the fact that these topics have a high presence in German curricula also outside of history, including political science, social science, religion, and German, there has yet to be any intensified individual engagement with them.³³ Often young people's reaction to it is that they cannot hear it anymore, which is less grounded in their lack of interest than it is in the way the topic is mediated, namely with certain expectations that teachers (who hold positions of authority) have of their pupils to adopt an attitude of unanimous moral condemnation.³⁴ This has become entrenched into the culture of remembrance or culture of memory, called *Erinnerungskultur*, which is a facet of German culture that encodes both what is acceptable to remember and how, combining communicative and political processes.³⁵ When Nazism and the Holocaust are taught in schools, most students learn how to act according to the demands of this *Erinnerungskultur*, which is more about giving socially desired responses to morally difficult questions than engaging genuinely with the topic.³⁶

Some curricula encourage history classes to take excursions to "authentic" sites of remembrance (e.g. former concentration camp sites). Such encounters and excursion are designed to turn memory culture into a means for developing social and self-competence, which in turn is meant to lead, among other

History Culture, Historical Consciousness and Didactics of History Related to World War II, eds. Bjerg, Helle, Claudia and Erik Thorstensen, 145–164 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2011) 151.

³²Meik Zülsdorf-Kersting, "Weil das eben die Befehle sind'. Jugendliche erklären das Täterhandeln im Holocaust. Empirische Befunde." *Medaon* 5, no. 3 (2009): 14. January 27, 2020. <http://www.medaon.de/de/artikel/weil-das-ebend-die-befehle-sind-jugendliche-erklaren-das-taeterhandeln-im-holocaust-empirische-befunde/>

³³Thomas Schlag and Michael Scherrmann, eds. *Bevor Vergangenheit vergeht. Für einen zeitgemäßen Politik- und Geschichtsunterricht über Nationalsozialismus und Rechtsextremismus* (Schwalbach am Taunus: Wochenschau Verlag, 2005), 5.

³⁴Astrid Messerschmidt, "Selbstbilder zwischen Unschuld und Verantwortung. Beziehungen zu Täterschaft in Bildungskontexten." In *Nationalsozialistische Täterschaft. Nachwirkungen in Gesellschaft und Familie*, eds. by Oliver von Wrochem and Christine Eckel, 115–133 (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2016), 116–117.

³⁵Körber, Andreas, "German History Didactics: From Historical Consciousness to Historical Competencies – and Beyond?" In *Historicizing the Uses of the Past. Scandinavian Perspectives on History Culture, Historical Consciousness and Didactics of History Related to World War II*, eds. Bjerg, Helle, Claudia and Erik Thorstensen, 145–164 (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2011), 69.

³⁶Wolfgang Messeth, and Matthias Proske, "Mind the Gap: Holocaust education in Germany, between pedagogical intentions and classroom interactions." *Prospects* 40 (2010): 201–222.

things, to democratic tendencies (*Demokratiefähigkeit*).³⁷ The idea is that students learn to be respectful, work together, and live together with people, whose company they have not chosen. Lind describes this ability as being able to enter into a moral discussion with others, even with opponents, and to maintain it, even in the face of high controversy and strong emotions.³⁸

In sum, history curricula emphasize both cognitive (interpretive) and social identification—or dis-identification—(emotive) type of skills. The former can be related to *Sachurteil* and includes locating and evaluating evidence in a meaningful way, formulating appropriate questions, being able to critically evaluate sources by contextualizing them, questioning their origination or accuracy, and paying attention to the medium itself. It is called media, methodical, or inquiry competence and refers to the ability to deconstruct the generation of historical sources, after which a process of reconstructing occurs of the historical event, based on using and interpreting the evidence. This conception mirrors the view that history has a given condition (or an actuality) and that the historian's job is to re-narrate what they believe the past is telling them,³⁹ or to disclose the past from the source material.⁴⁰

The latter, or *Werturteil*, would be correlated to social and emotive competencies. An important social competence echoes that of empathy and is referred to as *Fremdverstehen* (the understanding of “strangers”). It is understood as the readiness and willingness to reflect and possibly transform one's ideas of the present and the past and its people on the basis of historical insights gained.⁴¹ Applied to Shoah testimonies, Barricelli, Brauer, and Wein argue that the subjective constructions embedded in the biographies can put learners in a valuable position of identification, allowing them to examine their historical consciousness in terms of its content, pre-concepts, and images precisely because the biographies afford the opportunity to adopt an “identifying perspective,” meaning that the viewer is able to identify with the experiences of the witnesses.⁴² It is the subjectivity, or emotional content of

³⁷ Ministry of Culture, “Unterricht über Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust.” November 2005: 34. Accessed 27 January 2020. http://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/Dateien/pdf/Bildung/AllgBildung/Zusammenfassung-Holocaust-November-05_01.pdf

³⁸ Georg, Lind, “Moral- und Demokratiefähigkeit –Eine Schlüsselkompetenz in und für die Lehrer(aus)bildung.” 2009. Accessed January 27, 2020. https://www.uni-konstanz.de/ag-moral/pdf/Lind-2009_lehrerbildung_moralkompetenz.pdf

³⁹ Alun Munslow, *A History of History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁴⁰ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historein* 8 (2008): 50.

⁴¹ Schreiber Waltraud, “Ein Kompetenz-Strukturmodell historischen Denkens.” *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 54, no. 2 (2008): 205.

⁴² Barricelli, Michele, Juliane Brauer and Dorothee Wein, “Zeugen der Shoah: Historisches Lernen mit lebensgeschichtlichen Videointerviews. Das Visual History Archive des Shoah Foundation Institute in der schulischen Bildung.” *Meadon* 5, no. 5 (2009). <http://www.medaon.de/de/artikel/zeugen-der-shoah-historisches-lernen-mit-lebensgeschichtlichen-videointerviews-das-visual-history-archive-des-shoah-foundation-institute-in-der-schulischen-bildung/>

these biographies, which acts in this way. Identification by means of remembering is described in some German school curricula as “taking hold of” (*erfassen*) the history of the Shoah. We will now discover how this happened in a particular set of history lessons.

THE CASE STUDY: BACKGROUND OF THE EDUCATIONAL MEDIUM AND THE SCHOOL SETTING

The case study describes a setting in an *Abendgymnasium*, which is a type of “catch up” evening school for (usually) working adults who, for whatever reason, did not complete the final grades (12th or 13th grade) of their secondary schooling. At this evening school they can get the same qualification—*Abitur*—as other learners attending a normal *Gymnasium* and it enables them to study at a university afterwards. The school is located in a metropolitan area with about 550,000 inhabitants, with a population density of approximately 2700 persons per km sq. The teacher, Mr. Hübner,⁴³ was teaching a class of 18 learners history as a *Leistungskurs* (a major subject) in the final year, which was the 13th grade.⁴⁴ He had almost three years of professional experience and also was also teaching German as a first language. The class composition was not homogeneous: most of the adult learners came from a variety of countries, for example, Russia, Latvia, the Philippines, Lebanon, Iraq, Ghana, and others, and although they all spoke with skilled mastery, German was mostly not their first language. A minority of German learners with single citizenship or one German parent or grandparent was also present. The age of the pupils varied between 21 and 46 years.

The research project specifically focused on how a particular DVD medium is received in school communities across a variety of educational setting in Germany. The DVD medium in question is a series of video-recorded interviews with selected witnesses of the Holocaust from the Steven Spielberg Visual History Archive (VHA). It also contains an interactive learning software that provides suggestions, opportunities, and numerous primary and secondary multi-media resources designed to help students work out a set of tasks based on the interviews and the source materials provided. These materials were selected, designed, and packaged specifically for use in German high schools from the ninth grade onwards. In the video interviews, witnesses talk about their youth, the war years, and the time after. The interviewer is not visible, only audible at times. There are transcripts provided, as well as translations of the English interviews in a document that can be scrolled alongside the video image (no subtitles or dubbing). Most interviews are in German, with some in English, to make the DVDs usable in language lessons too.⁴⁵

⁴³ All names are pseudonyms.

⁴⁴ In Germany some schools require 12 and others 13 grades for completion, qualifying students for entrance to university.

⁴⁵ For more detail on these educational materials and the DVDs, see Morgan, 2017, 90.

The data was gathered by ethnographic means, consisting of observation notes and focus group discussions after the lessons with those who volunteered to participate. These interviews, as well as the one between Mr. Hüfner and me, were audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated from German to English (by this author). I could not make any electronic recordings of the lessons as such because some students did not want to be recorded. The selection of the case study was based on the outcomes of these interviews as they provided explicit links between the content of the lessons and the reflections about them afterwards. This, together with the narrative structure of the ethnography, gives the presentation of the data a sense of coherence, which was a criterion for selecting the case study from the larger overall study. Another criterion was that the example should showcase how the tension between cognition and emotion plays out in a segment of reality. The data was then evaluated by discourse analysis. The overall aim of such an approach is the “conceptualisation of the field one engages with,” or interpreting the rules that govern the practices of the field and to understand or make explicit its structures of meaning.⁴⁶ By paying attention to how language or specific words and phrases are used, it is possible to reconstruct how languages shape manners of thinking and how language as social practice contributes to the reproduction of society.⁴⁷ For more detail on these methodological approaches to the case study, see Morgan.⁴⁸ Only a selection of the data pertaining to this case study is included here. My interpretations are thus also partly based on evidence that I cannot present here because it was attained from the case as a whole and also from the overall study.

THE LESSONS

The introductory exercise that Mr. H. carried out with the students was to familiarize them with the source type called “contemporary witness” (*Zeitzeugen*), together with the genre of oral history, and to let them think critically about the value of this genre for historiography. For this purpose, he referred to the findings of a doctoral study (in history) by Leonie Treber (2014) on the “myths of the rubble-women.” Leonie’s work challenged the popular discourse that the rubble-women single-handedly cleaned up after the war as they went into the bombed streets clearing away the rubble. The PhD thesis contradicted the master narrative, according to which German women and children were the vulnerable victims of the war, responsible for rebuilding the

⁴⁶ Oberhuber, Florian and Krzyzanowski, Michal. “Discourse analysis and ethnography.” In *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, eds. Ruth Wodak and Michal Krzyzanowski, 182–203 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Morgan, Katalin Eszter, “Guilt(y) today? What some German youths say after virtual encounters with Shoah survivors.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31, no 4 (2018): 436–454.

country heroically.⁴⁹ Treber came to the conclusion that the popular and culturally dominant representation of these women is based on a myth because there is very little evidence supporting it. It was mainly professional construction companies that undertook the removal of the debris.⁵⁰ On the projector, Mr. H. put up some of the irate responses to this study by German elderly people who were contemporary witnesses. One of the outraged reactions came from a 76-year-old woman: “I’m from Potsdam and my mother cleared away rubble, and at that time I had to clean up rubble as a schoolgirl, when I was just six years old and malnourished.”

In addition, Mr. H. showed two video interviews from a DVD recording featuring expert historians Gisela Wenzel and Wolfgang Benz, who talked about the significance, usability, and status of oral history within historiography. Prof Wenzel emphasized the need to make the subjective and emotional experiences of eye witnesses a legitimate area of historiographic inquiry in the light of the fact that, unlike in the USA, history in Germany has for a long time relied almost exclusively on written sources. Prof Benz said that oral history is useful for finding out about the present experiences of marginalized and discriminated-against minorities in a society, but not useful for compiling facts about historical events. He emphasized the need for historians to be cautious and “necessarily skeptical” when applying this unreliable and unscientific method. Mr. Hüfner’s question to the students was: “How can we use testimonies of contemporary witnesses profitably to determine knowledge?” This led to a lively debate on memory, its changeability, truth, truthfulness, and source reliability. In general, students did not know much about the process of memory formation and thought that numbers were reliable: if you asked enough eyewitnesses, you would eventually arrive at the truth. Or they said that contemporary witnesses “clarify things because they experienced it first-hand.” Only one person noticed that a six-year-old girl would not have called herself “malnourished” if she had really experienced it. If her memory had been formed on real experience, then she would have rather said something like “I was hungry all the time.”

In the next lesson the class was tasked with the interpretation of an artwork by Dutch illustrator Atie Siegenbeek van Heukelom called “Access Block.”⁵¹

⁴⁹ As a requirement for all PhDs in Germany, the dissertation was published as a book. On amazon.de there are mainly two types of reviews of this book: five star and one star and both types are written with an equal amount of passion. This reflects the controversy that this topic still ignites in German *Erinnerungskultur*. Leonie won a dissertation prize in 2015, awarded by the “Association for Women in History and Gender Studies.”

⁵⁰ This was especially the case in the western zones. In the GDR the Red Army drew on the socialist view of women as equal workers alongside men and thus obligated women as well as men in the manual clearing of the rubble, understood as expiatory work.

⁵¹ The image can be seen here: <http://www.ravensbrueckerinnen.at/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Zugangsblock-Atie-Siegenbeek-van.jpg>. It is housed at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

Atie was deported to the women's concentration camp Ravensbrück in 1944. The point of the lesson was to get a visual-aesthetic impression of the loss of humanity in the camps, which was the background against which Mr. Hüfner subsequently showed a ten-minute excerpt from Julia Lentini's video interview: "Auschwitz-Birkenau." Julia was born in 1926 in Eisern, a small town near Siegen in Germany, and migrated to the USA in 1946.⁵²

The teacher prepared the students for this interview sequence by contextualizing it:

She experienced persecution relatively late in 1943, namely, when race-lineage was established. She and her family appeared on the Nazi's radar as so-called gypsies. The mayor himself came to fetch the whole family. He told them that they had to go to Frankfurt for a few days, but then they were sent to the concentration camp.

Mr. H. also prepared the students for the way in which Mrs. Lentini talked: "She incorporates German words into her story which she tells in English because she has lived in the United States since 1946. This may sound a little strange to you." The following is a 75-second snippet of the ten-minute sequence.⁵³ Everyone listened and watched intently and read the translation that ran alongside the screen lit by the projector. Ms. Lentini, her animated image larger than life on the projected wall, told her memory of Auschwitz-Birkenau, where she was imprisoned as a 14-year-old girl with her family:

Then, the worst thing, is that *Entlausung* [delousing] thing, when we had to go to – after that you're going to the *Entlausung*. You strip. Now comes the finale, as far as my parents are concerned. I told you how *zärtlich* [gentle], how little innocent we were raised. Here is my mother, with her big children there, big boys, in the nude. She covered herself. All she had to say is: 'Stay together, kids. Stay together.' She had the little ones in front of her. I, I think that killed her right – that was the beginning of the end for her. This, this little – whatever she had. And, of course, we also had to strip then, of course. Everybody did. It was not just us. Everyone. And then they started to shave you. The hair, the arm. They spray you, you know what I mean? The, er, the *Entlausung* situation there. It was, was, I think it was the worst thing for my mom. It was a terrible -. My dad – it was terrible. I mean, anything there broke, whatever they had was finished right then and there, you know? (*Zeugen der Shoah*, DVD 2: Surviving).

After the film excerpt, it was dead quiet in the room.

⁵² Julia Lentini's full video-interview by the USC Shoah Foundation was available on YouTube at the time of writing this chapter on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24H25wImOsU>. The sequence described here starts at 53'35".

⁵³ The whole recording of the VHA archive is over three hours long and the edited version on the educational DVD is 30 minutes long.

Teacher: "Let's collect your impressions."

Student: "You notice that she would speak German better than English if she wanted to. It's surprising that she has lived in America for so long, but her English sounds so German."

Teacher: "If we look at the content, what do we notice? How is it related to the artwork 'Access Block?'"

Students mention Julia's description of the delousing, the work in the kitchen, the open toilets, and the sight of the corpses lying around. They made a connection to the art work they had just discussed: "She describes the situation in the block, the infectious diseases, that no one was spared."

Some students were confused and did not understand the delousing process. Another person wanted to know what the typhoid fever that Julia talked about later was. Many supplemented the interpretation of the interview excerpt with their own experiences of having watched films on the topic or having visited former concentration camp sites.

Mr. H. prepared the students for the next lesson, in which they worked on the task from the DVD with the title: "Talking about Auschwitz with a smile." The focus was on the way in which Julia narrated her story. Mr. H. gave them exact instructions: "Pick out an approximately 10-second long sequence from the video-clip we saw in the previous lesson and accurately describe Julia's facial expressions and gestures. How do they fit with the content of her statements? Why is she telling these stories with a smile?" He gave students 25–30 minutes to prepare a mini-presentation in pairs.

In the discussion that followed, some said they did not know why Julia smiled "because we are not studying psychology."

Student: "You notice that when she thinks about the things that make her happy, then she smiles, like for example when she talks about her mother, then she makes jokes and is positive and smiles. She talks as if she's forgetting everything else around her."

Teacher: "What about her body language?"

Student: "She talks with tenderness, she takes the sting out of the situation, she puts herself in her mother's position and imitates her to a tea, also the way the mother spoke. She whispers as her mother must have done, as if to say 'don't worry, it's not that bad' [referring to how horrible and emaciated the father had looked after some time at Auschwitz]."

For others, Julia's smile indicated a repression of the dire situation, the moment when the dignity was taken from her parents. "You realize that she has not completely processed it (*komplett verarbeitet*). It's a paradox: she smiles, but then you realise that she wipes her eyes, because the emotions surface when she thinks of the humiliation and nakedness of her parents in front of the children." Or, "those who have experienced traumata try to underplay it, but you realize that it goes much deeper. Really, from one second to the next, her narrative style changes abruptly. She looks away too. She is still ashamed." Another

student confirmed this and compared Julia's way of narrating her story to a literary work: "So she wants to make the terrible situation look better. After she finishes the sentence, she smiles again. It often happens that you then make a joke, it is difficult to understand. It shows that she did not fully process it, just like in the book we read: '*The Reader*' [by Bernhard Schlink]."

Another group presented a sequence in which Julia talks about a time when she stole leftover food from the kitchen of the concentration camp. "She gets ratted on by one of the people from her block. She then gets flogged so badly that the blood splatters. She smiles as she tells it. This way she is processing it because it is spiteful towards the Nazis who had to stop because the blood was splattering so much. You think of something like that, so that you can get a grip somehow."

Student: "The thing with the blood: she has built up distance to it, so she smiles. She doesn't say 'my blood' either. She mimics the whips, remembers the table on which she was beaten exactly and describes it in detail, the size, texture, type. She lifts her chin as she describes the overseer. She imitates her."

Another student responded to the same sequence: "Ms. Lentini knows that what she says will never be received the way she perceived this impression, which is why she underlines everything with her body language. Then she jokes, which is a kind of gleefulness that the Nazis did not have time to clean up."

Another student made comparisons with a documentary he had seen but that did not really illustrate Julia's mode of narrating.

Someone else said: "She seemed a bit confused or perplexed (*verstört*)."

Teacher: "Really? I thought Julia told her story in a rather coherent way. I mean there was a very strong common thread going through her narrative."

Student: "Well, she confused her English and German words. Also in general, she gave the impression that she was a bit befuddled and also sad when she smiled."

Teacher: "If you saw her laughing like that and you didn't know what she was saying, how would you think this reaction was elicited?"

Student: "[The experience] made a big impact on her life, she tries to cover it up (*überspielen*), if she talks like that, then she is able to deal with it; it is a protective mechanism."

Student: "Either you get depressed from a trauma or you deal with it with this kind of lightness. It was her way of dealing with her fate. I think she is a very strong woman. It's the other extreme compared to depression: you put yourself outside of that which happened and act as if you did not experience it yourself. I also think that she has told her story a few times before. She's come to terms with this a long time ago, she's 'tough', she's at peace with herself. It only gets to her when she talks about her parents and not when she talks about herself. I don't think that she has overplayed it (covered it up), but that she is really able to handle it now."

Other students saw it differently, namely as a covering up mechanism (*Überspielung*).

Student: “We have to consider that she was still a child, only 14 years old at that time. At that age it is much worse to have to endure the fact that your parents’ dignity is shattered right in front of your eyes. Her own torture is different.”

After the discussion, Mr. H summarized his aim: “The type of narration, the way she tells her story helps us as much in receiving the story as the content itself. The way she communicated tells us something, and quite bit at that. Also, as we saw, you can accurately reproduce the memory of that time, even the emotions that are associated with it, as if she were experiencing it right now, in the same manner.”

DISCUSSION

One of the consequences of doing an ethnographic case study, such as this one, is that the findings cannot be generalized. The students in this class had very little in common in terms of their age, country of origin, first language, and even the reasons for not having completed high school the first time. As we saw, their responses varied vastly, were rather individual, and often contradictory, to an extent that any attempt to standardize or categorize them must “inevitably become entangled in hopeless speculation.” This is how Harald Welzer described any effort to analyze the complex relationship between large-scale social interpretive patterns and individual memory, in the context of discussing “communities of remembrance.”⁵⁴ Applied here, this means that it is impossible to provide a reliable and valid analysis of general patterns that are attributable to social-demographic characteristics. Each person in the class represented a complex universe within him- or herself, with countless narratives woven into their respective social pasts and shaping their potential futures. All we can hope for is to gain an approximate impression of what is going on.⁵⁵ I will do so by highlighting a few aspects of the brief extract from the overall lesson sequences and interpret them not only with the help of some expert literature, but also with the reflections about the lessons by both the students themselves and the teacher, based on my interviews with them afterwards. Mr. Hüfner proved to be a very valuable resource in this regard because his dedication to the subject matter was as deep as his knowledge of his students and their backgrounds. Neither did the participating students hold back on their considerable insights into their own reactions to the video-interviews.

⁵⁴ Harald Welzer, *Das kommunikative Gedächtnis. Eine Theorie der Erinnerung* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2011), 162.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The following sub-sections were derived from the theoretical framework presented at the beginning of this chapter, focusing on the tension between cognitive and emotive interpretive processes, and examining how some of the curricular goals of history education might be fulfilled in the students' interpretations of the materials they worked with. The discourse analysis of the students' responses shows how their use of a cultural tool (in this case language) is invested with cultural meaning; it also shows how they shape and they are shaped by the *Erinnerungskultur* (culture of remembrance) that they are part of.

REASONABLE INTERPRETATIONS

The opening lesson clarified the status of oral history in Germany and thus contextualized the genre of witness testimony. This was helpful for most students in terms of being able to assess a witness's account as a historical source and thus to appeal to reason. It alerted them to the fact that memory is not a storehouse of experiences to be downloaded at will, but is changeable and dynamic, depending on many influences in addition to, or even apart from, the actual events to which they refer, including possible falsifications that happen over time and the subsequent adding of later-acquired knowledge to the facts. Written documents are believed to warrant fewer (if any) such biases. Prof. Benz's statements confirmed the view that most historians consider written documents as having been endowed with an authority denied to verbal sources.⁵⁶ But our information of life inside Auschwitz does not come from German documents.⁵⁷ Therefore, a voice like Julia's is necessary if we want to find out what life was like inside a concentration camp. For one of the German students, the realization of having to treat the eyewitness statements in a nuanced or differentiated way was very "instructive" (*lehrreich*), because "you usually automatically feel moved and affected (*betroffen*) by such documentations." But, as she put it:

You don't *really* differentiate anymore. And the fact that we were previously told to really differentiate means that we ask 'how much scientific and instructive information is in these witness statements that we are supposed to filter out?' What this meant was really this: You had to distance yourself simultaneously without feeling kind of un-moral so to speak. So you differentiate without telling someone that they are lying, as stupid as this may sound. And you differentiate by saying, 'that came in later, from another source, sometime later, and that's really just your own feeling and your own experience.'

This response illustrates the dilemma of the task of historians mentioned in the beginning. Western historical thinking based on Greek philosophy and German idealism uses rationality or reason as a way to progress from emotionally troublesome realizations. But, as Rüsen argues, the "miraculous transformation

⁵⁶ Langer Lawrence, "Hearing the Holocaust." *Poetics Today* 27, no 2 (2006): 299.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 303.

of emotion into cognition” as a way of creating sense and coherence in historical narratives is a grossly misleading understanding of the role of emotions in human cognition.⁵⁸ The student’s response above can be understood as a way of having learnt to mistrust any truth factor of the witness account and thereby possibly also the emotional impact it may be making on her. For her, the validity of a testimony was diminished by the personal and emotional experience attached to it.

The student was referring to the example of the rubble-women and said that had it not been for the guidance of the teacher, she would not have realized that a witness who was a six-year-old child at the time of the described event would not have said “malnourished.” By using the word “malnourished,” it became clear to this student that “she was told later about the event by a parent or another adult and she built her memory on that.” But there is a shortcoming in just simply differentiating or separating truth from interpretation of experience and then thinking that one has “dealt with” the issue, because the moral problems and ethical dilemmas are not solved. We have to ask what purpose the memory serves. Why do people hold onto memories that do not necessarily correspond with an event? Those memories could be called imaginings and they are as “real”—or even more so—as the actual event because the *consequences* of fulfilling the purpose which they serve are as real. Confino convincingly shows that the perpetuation and legitimation of the mass murders during the Shoah was a consequence of imagining a world without Jews.⁵⁹ To simply differentiate “the personal” or “one’s own experience” from the factuality of what actually happened—or differentiating the imagined from the real—is definitely a first step toward correcting any misconceptions or false illusions, *if* that is the will and purpose of the inquirer. The “myth of the rubble-women” concerned a desire to hold onto the victim/hero role. But thinking that one has thus dealt with the underlying moral problem pertaining to an injustice could be another *Entlastungsstrategie*, which in the German *Erinnerungskultur* refers to a strategy of avoiding, or distracting oneself from, the burdensome confrontation with the mass murder of Jews during the 1940s.

This kind of strategy was echoed by other students too as they realized that emotions play a big role in memory formation: “That it’s just an impression of an individual and that it also happened a long time ago can mean that it is falsified and that feelings play a very important role. But nonetheless it’s very interesting.” Another person reasoned that “given one’s own experience and the knowledge that was later added to it, truthfulness of the statements must be related to the hard cold facts.” And there is a distinction to be made between “factual” and “emotional,” which inevitably makes the two opposites: “that we learn to differentiate what is scientifically useful and what is too emotional or something.” Here the problem of the factual-emotional dualism

⁵⁸ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning,” *Historiein* 8 (2008): 43.

⁵⁹ Alon Confino, *A World Without Jews. The Nazi Imagination from Persecution to Genocide* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2014).

becomes evident: we discard—and thus forget—emotional content in favor of facts because of the former’s lack of verifiability. Again, the moral dilemmas are not solved with this differentiation; on the contrary, they are simply swept under the carpet. As psychologist Dori Laub puts it, “the not-telling of the story [and thus forgetting] serves as a perpetuation of its tyranny.”⁶⁰ Yet it is precisely this telling, this act of speaking by the witnesses to a willing listener that lends testimony its unique value.⁶¹ Or, as Hartmann summarizes, “Holocaust oral history is not just an informative medium that contributes to communication; it is also a reflection of the courageous effort to overcome silence.”⁶² Whether what the witnesses say is reasonable, accurate, or rational is one of the several factors in the overall assessment of a testimony’s value, but by far not the only one.

The problem of being free to disassociate from that which is personal and thus invalid because of its disputability is also an issue that Mr. Hüfner highlighted as one of the biggest challenges in teaching the subject of the Holocaust:

The challenge is that you *have* to let it get to you. And I think that’s a big problem, because that’s something that goes so deeply into your own personality, that you first have to open up and be able to open up to it. I think that some cannot manage to do that at all because it would overwhelm them. But I think that’s a big problem, that many are also trying to solve this issue by some kind of distancing mechanisms.

This mechanism was that of “differentiating” the cognitive or the reasonable from the emotional. It became a concept that enabled a process of interpretation that can become a tool for forgetting. This kind of interpretation underlies the idea that we progress from “nameless misery” to the “pleasure of understanding the past.” Forgetting, or leaving out aspects of the different perspectives and sources, is necessarily a basis for developing any narrative based on language. Language condenses years of lived experience into the form of a story that can be told and remembered and in this process it is inevitable that something is forgotten or left out.⁶³ As a result, interpretation becomes a mode of forgetting when we think of history as a raw material onto which we impose meaning. It occurs partly through a process of forgetting that which is hurtful; it is structurally forgotten in the act of doing history.⁶⁴ Forgetting, here, does

⁶⁰ Dori Laub, “An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival.” In *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, eds. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, 75–92 (New York: Routledge, 1992), 79.

⁶¹ Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*. Translated from the French by J. Stark (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 108–09.

⁶² Geoffrey Hartmann, “The Humanities of Testimony: An Introduction.” *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (2006): 251.

⁶³ Björn Krondorfer, “Is forgetting reprehensible? Holocaust remembrance and the task of oblivion.” *Journal of Religious Ethics* 36, no. 2 (2008): 243.

⁶⁴ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historiein* 8 (2008): 49.

not refer to the willful act of neglect and denial, but to the unavoidable mode of memory production based on “sedimenting, condensing, suppressing and expunging lived experiences of the past.”⁶⁵ For Krondorfer, this aspect of forgetting, on the part of the perpetrators, is a way to regain one’s humanity:

Oblivion on the part of perpetrators is the refusal of a memory that requires the acknowledgment of one’s own moral failure. [...] Paradoxically, such a refusal or resistance on the part of the perpetrator renders him human (rather than a monster). It is in his humanness (because he wants to continue living and be perceived as a ‘basically decent’ person) that he cannot accept the crushing weight of shame.⁶⁶

A willingness on the part of perpetrators to remember the human faces of their victims as well as their own human choices means to require them to grow beyond themselves, to become *exceptionally* human,⁶⁷ which, according to Krondorfer,⁶⁸ happens only in rare cases. As a result, the task of remembering “rightly” will have to fall onto other people and become the moral task of the descendants of the perpetrators.⁶⁹ In the above examples, the achievement of this task more or less failed.

When students offered their “reasonable” interpretations, it became clear that these were based largely on their prior knowledge (or memory) of some distantly related images or texts that they had been exposed to previously and that was not very substantial. Mr. Hüfner was irritated by this and thought that the students had come to prematurely quick interpretations and always made “exhausting” (annoying) comparisons to some other documentary films that they had seen, and did not really answer the question, in this case of how it was possible to tell about Auschwitz with a smile. Thus, so-called reasonable interpretations were not based on disciplined study of the context or the history, but on what students had come across in other popular media like films, novels, or exhibitions, which may have been just as biased as the oral testimony.

LANGUAGE

Any interpretation of the past has to rely on language. One of the key features that one of the students found noteworthy in Julia’s testimony was that after 50 years of having lived in the United States, her German would have been better if she had chosen to use that language. Although this was not a point of discussion in the class, it is noteworthy because it tells so much about our pos-

⁶⁵ Ibid., 242.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 254.

⁶⁷ Krondorfer is referring here to Volf’s (1996:131) notion that “if the perpetrators remember rightly, the memory of their wrongdoing will help restore their guilty past and transform it into the soil on which a more hopeful future can grow.”

⁶⁸ Ibid., 255.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

sibilities for interpreting testimony. For Annette Wieviorka, the language of testimony is fundamental and at the heart of a double question crucial for the historian: where does one testify from and what does one testify to?⁷⁰ Either way, the witness is associated with the destiny of the one to whom he witnesses and this is where the cognition of reasonable interpretations overlaps with the viewer's emotional identifications.⁷¹ The fact that Julia rejected German as her mother tongue was thought to be noteworthy by a German viewer and he seemed saddened by it. Other students can be provoked to outright indignation by such a rejection; see Morgan.⁷²

Another highlight in terms of language was the discussion about whether or not Julia was "confused" in general because she appeared to have mixed up her German and English words. To some students this made her seem befuddled, while Mr. Hüfner rejected this interpretation, given that Julia told her overall story clearly and coherently. This shows how individual, subjective, and varying different interpretations of the same event can be and that arriving at a "correct" one is tricky. This does not mean, however, that all interpretations are necessarily and equally plausible. In this case, the student thought that mixing up two languages equals mental confusion and a state of being troubled as traumatized people would be, even though Julia did not seem to be confused or even traumatized, considering her overall appearance and manner of speaking. "Reasonable" in this case would have to be related not to a previous experience or preconception, but to the context of the source itself, as well as to some knowledge of the trauma of survivors, both of which the students lacked. Julia as a Holocaust survivor used a language that "is often that of exiles caught up by an involuntary displacement. They may even feel exiled from language itself."⁷³ Therefore, the interpretation that Julia was confused because of confusing the languages would be wrong. The issues of identity, displacement, trauma, and her overall narration style would have to be considered in order to arrive at a reasonable interpretation. If Julia portrayed a sense of confusion or perplexity, this may well have been a sign of the inherent trauma she was carrying as a result of what she experienced in Auschwitz.

Another consideration is that a reasonable interpretation relies largely on the extent to which the interpreter has mastered the medium, which in our examples were both body and spoken language. When the students interpreted the artwork called "Access Block," some gaps in their vocabulary became evident. This was confirmed later by another interpretive task, not captured here, of a literary artwork by Jean Améry (1980). Words such as "typhoid," "delousing," "torture," "scepter," "homely," "resentment," or "accuse" had to be defined

⁷⁰ Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*. Translated from the French by J. Stark (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 32.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Katalin Eszter Morgan, "Guilt(y) today? What some German youths say after virtual encounters with Shoah survivors." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31, no 4 (2018): 449.

⁷³ Geoffrey Hartmann, "The Humanities of Testimony: An Introduction." *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (2006): 250.

first and this led to the loss of concentration and motivation, in addition to the significant difficulty in interpreting the sources reasonably.

The study by Bertram et al. mentioned earlier found that students, who had listened to live witnesses, were convinced of their learning progress, but scored statistically significantly lower on a post-test measuring understanding oral history and deconstruction when compared to students who were not in a face-to-face situation with a live witness.⁷⁴ The researchers concluded that these students “learned less” than the others because the live eyewitnesses’ authenticity and credibility might have made it difficult for them to maintain their distance from the oral testimonies. The authors interpreted the lower test scores as some kind of failure based on “dangerous” emotional interference with cognition. However, this difference in test scores disappeared on the follow-up test two to three months later. The researchers could not explain why the students’ scores went up again on the later test. I would like to suggest that the students did indeed learn a lot, namely socially intelligent behavior, and even moral behavior, by not double-guessing the witness at the time of the impactful encounter. As Wieviorka asks, can the historian, when face to face with a living person, act morally as a “memory critic”?⁷⁵ She reasons that the suffering conveyed by the story of a survivor can paralyze the historian. But this is a temporary condition and does not have to interfere with cognition per se. Face-to-face encounters make room for a different kind of learning that may not be measurable on a standardized test, but that may prove to be more valuable in human terms and thus contribute to *Demokratiefähigkeit*.

Interpreting the body language in Julia’s testimony appeared to be an easier task for Mr. Hüfner’s students. They were able to relate Julia’s body language to the content of her narration by making use of empathy, or in curricular terms *Fremdverstehen*. The mimicry of the whip of the Nazis, the impersonation of her mother, the jokes and smiles as a kind of triumph over the Nazi’s barbarism were used as valuable resources for the interpretive task, so that some students understood the difficulty of being “exiled” from normal discursive language. One person realized that Julia knew that her story would never be received and understood the way she experienced the events and that the body language served as a compensation for this. As Langer notes, those who survived Auschwitz know in advance that language will fail their mission of filling the “hiatus silence” between their wishes to describe and our desire to hear because of the absence of analogy to a place where the survivors have been and we have not. Some students were able to understand *and* to appreciate this.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Bertram, Christiane, Wolfgang Wagner and Ulrich Trautwein, “Learning Historical Thinking With Oral History Interviews: A Cluster Randomized Controlled Intervention Study of Oral History Interviews in History Lessons.” *American Educational Research Journal* 54, no. 3 (2017): 472–473.

⁷⁵ Annette Wieviorka, *The Era of the Witness*. Translated from the French by J. Stark (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 131.

⁷⁶ Lawrence Langer, “Hearing the Holocaust.” *Poetics Today* 27, no. 2 (2006): 297.

EMOTIONAL IDENTIFICATION

The emotional charge after the students had watched the film sequence was palpable, and this was a repeated pattern with all the other film sequences too. Although this emotionality was not discussed at the time, Mr. Hüfner and the students reflected on it afterwards. Mr. H. said:

I do get the impression that, well, in the moment when they watch it, that they are very impacted by what they see. So, one really has the impression that in the moment, when they see that, they are impacted. And I think that's a realisation that could not be better. That you really meet them at a point where they are interested and that motivates them to do further work.

The responses from the students were similar. The interviews were said to be “moving” and “really interesting” and you could internalize the “sad stories.” They would “get under your skin.” This emotionality could be recognized by noticing how much the victims were still affected by the events. But it can also be “burdensome” (*belastend*) because of your own experiences, given that “everyone has lost someone” and that’s why psychological insights in terms of making sense of the stories might have been welcomed. The set tasks were such that you were “forced” to deal with the stories beyond the purely informative or cognitive, which was appreciated because it facilitated an increased engagement with the topic. At the same time, “because of the tasks, we were supposed to try and look at the stories in a somewhat more distanced way, which was not necessarily possible because it was emotionally narrated.” And above all, “you just automatically start to analyze. Well, at least with me that was the case.” Or: “I’ve paid more attention to facial expressions instead of really following the person completely, so to speak.”

Here, again, we see that emotion and cognition are seen to be obstructing one another. As one of the students explained, you did not feel a reference to the person, but, rather, to the tasks at hand:

I think that the type of atmosphere plays an important role, because we are now of course here at school and we used PCs and headphones and because we have *tasks* to complete. In other words, we had a specific *reason* why we watched these interviews. Of course, on the one hand, it was moving, but the educational or instructive (*lehrhaft*) aspect, I think, outweighed it. I think that if you were to watch the interviews at home, then you would be a whole lot more involved personally and would have encountered the *Betroffenheit* (having been personally affected) in the content, yes this whole drama behind it, it would have taken you in more directly.

For this learner, an emotional encounter was seen as opposite to “educational,” mirroring German history curricula’s separation of the two. But, as mentioned, this is the case within a simplified model. A much more complex process is at work when we listen to a witness of the Shoah. Asking whether it

is rational or emotional does not accommodate the issue because a third category, the metaphysical, begins to play a role that combines both and it has to do with the trauma involved.

When we talk about emotional identification, we need to consider that the stories told in the observed lessons were traumatic. As one of the students mentioned, history is not equipped to deal with that. We need some philosophy and psychology too. What happens when the source materials with which we are working are traumatic? We need to differentiate among three components of a traumatic story: the victims, the perpetrators, and the content of the story itself that has implications for how we conceptualize time. Victim trauma refers to “total helplessness in the face of imminent annihilation (whether or not accurately perceived).”⁷⁷ “Perpetrator trauma” (if it can be called a trauma at all) refers to a ruined moral identity as a result of having been involved with the annihilation.⁷⁸ Both instances are characterized by broken time, that is, when time is not a chronological flow, enabling coherence, but suspended as a result of a “borderline experience,” presumably referring to a borderline between life and death.⁷⁹ The event that occurred has the ability to haunt the affected person again and again. Consequently, the time element in traumatic narratives becomes broken or suspended too.

Therefore, imposing meaning on the facts (interpretation) becomes difficult because the normal sense-making mechanism of chronology no longer works. It may, thus, appear that the facts themselves “destroy or deconstruct the meaning of the historian’s interpretation,” and that the past “has become senseless for historians.”⁸⁰ But in fact, it is not the time element in traumatic narratives that causes this apparent “senselessness,” but rather the bewilderment when confronted with absolute evil, which is the reason time is broken in the first place. If “the soul as an emanation from the Holy One transcends the coordinates of ontological, space-time reality,”⁸¹ then evil, understood as a separation from “the Holy One,” also transcends that time-space reality. Trauma, or the contact with evil, touches on that sphere that transcends time-space and can be understood as the loss of humanity:

a historical experience which negates the universal validity of the category of humankind by depriving individuals of their status as human beings touches the

⁷⁷ Henry Greenspan, Sara Horowitz, Éva Kovács, Berel Lang, Dori Laub, Kenneth Waltzer and Annette Wieviorka, “Engaging Survivors: Assessing ‘Testimony’ and ‘Trauma’ as Foundational Concepts.” *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 28, no. 3 (2014): 215.

⁷⁸ Bernhard Giesen, “The Trauma of Perpetrators. The Holocaust as the traumatic Reference of German National Identity.” In *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka, 112–154 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

⁷⁹ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historien* 8 (2008): 47.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ David Patterson, *Anti-Semitism and its Metaphysical Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 5.

very heart of all identity concepts based on the category of humankind. [...] Such a historical experience leads to the loss of the human self subjectivity in its specifically human quality.⁸²

That which Rüsen calls the “universal validity of the category of humankind” for sense-making in history, Patterson⁸³ identifies as the God-breathed “infinite dearness of the soul”⁸⁴ or the “infinite dearness of every human being.”⁸⁵ The past appears to be “senseless” to historians when this criterion of sense-generation loses its validity. The Holocaust can be understood as a historical experience in which validity was lost. One of the consequences for Rüsen is that the self,⁸⁶ as defined in relation to humankind, has died in this historical experience and the answer is to mourn, which he sees as a mental procedure of commemorating somebody or something lost and thereby regaining oneself: “The lost subject or object comes back: it comes back in the form of the presence of absence, which enlarges the mental horizon of the mourner through elements of transcendence.”⁸⁷ Rüsen sees this as a cultural achievement and a way to restore meaning. Yablonka says “when listening to survivors’ narratives, we must be conscious of the fact that, perhaps above all else, these are works of mourning and infinite grief.”⁸⁸ Emotional identification on the part of the listener involves partaking in this mourning. It is about “finding [yourself] naked before their nakedness, defenceless in the presence of their vulnerability.”⁸⁹ Within history education, this would entail a willingness on the part of students and teachers to listen and feel the witnesses’ stories, without a need to explain, measure, rationalize, or justify it in any way.

It was precisely this nakedness, as narrated by Julia, that was highlighted by one of the students as a key moment for a paradox: Julia smiled when she talked about it, but she also wiped away her tears, “because the emotions surface[d] when she [thought] of the humiliation and nakedness of her parents in front of the children” (student). This student’s response was empathetic to the extent of finding herself naked in front of Julia’s and her parents’ nakedness. Moreover, she noticed that Julia was noticeably shaken not so much when she spoke about her own ordeal of being beaten, but about the humiliation

⁸² Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning,” *Historiein* 8 (2008): 50.

⁸³ David Patterson, *Anti-Semitism and its Metaphysical Origins* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸⁶ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning,” *Historiein* 8 (2008): 51.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁸⁸ Hanna Yablonka, “The Reception of Holocaust Testimony in Israel.” In *Video Interviews about Nazi Crimes. Perspectives and Experiences in Four Countries*, eds. Dagi Knellessen and Ralf Possekel, 27–46 (Berlin: Stiftung EVZ, 2015), 44.

⁸⁹ Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), xiii.

experienced by her parents. It is not a matter of *Fremdverstehen* or understanding the “stranger” cognitively or rationally, but experiencing that person’s trauma, so that afterwards she is not a stranger to the viewer anymore.

The same student who showed this kind of emotional identification with Julia’s story said, in the focus group interview:

what I’ve noticed is that the trauma that the people have gone through will not diminish over time. That is to say, I do not believe that these people will ever truly get over (*verarbeiten*) these experiences, and their worldview has changed with that experience. And that impacted me personally.

Okay, so you would have expected that after a time one would get over it? (me as interviewer).

Exactly, yes, that is exactly what I thought and would have expected.

For several students, this reality of perpetual trauma, of not ever being able to ever “get over it,” was a new realization that would not have been enabled this effectively without the visible signs of trauma on the faces of the witnesses, in their voices, and in their paradoxical body language. Survivor Charlotte Delbo (quoted in Langer⁹⁰), when asked if she lives with Auschwitz after her return, said “no - I live beside it. Auschwitz is there, fixed and unchangeable, but wrapped in the impervious skin of memory that segregates itself from the present ‘me.’ Unlike the snake’s skin, the skin of memory doesn’t renew itself.” The student in the above dialogue learnt what this metaphor means. Langer⁹¹ explains that living “beside” Auschwitz refers to a comparison far more complex than the natural event of shedding and renewal, reflecting on experience as a storehouse of consecutive moments in time. Julia’s smile during her narration of Auschwitz may well have functioned as the transitions between these moments in time, neither as a sign of “covering up” the trauma, nor as an indication that she “is really able to handle it now,” but as a way of communicating to the listener that she can switch between both. Perhaps in Julia’s case, her smile was a pervious layer in her “skin of memory.”

CONCLUSION

Asking whether it is reasonable interpretation or emotional identification that is at work when using oral Shoah testimonies is the wrong question. Emotional identification with the Shoah victims’ stories does not stand in the way of reasonable or rational interpretations. The students in this study were well able to interpret the testimonies they had watched rationally and insightfully, despite or because of having been emotionally impacted by them.

When using video oral testimonies by witnesses of the Shoah, who have experienced trauma, a narrow definition of what constitutes history and historical

⁹⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁹¹ Ibid.

thinking is unable to accommodate the complex interactions and transactions taking place between a narrating witness and a listening viewer. Hearing Holocaust testimony forces us to participate in the creative process⁹² and, as such, the history in which the testimony is embedded cannot be seen as possessing a kind of “givenness” of the experience of the past that is to be disclosed or deconstructed from the source material.⁹³ The analysis of the students’ interpretations and responses showed that the students made sense of history as they *co-constructed* the meaning of the witnesses’ accounts and artifacts. They did not just reconstruct a given event or situation from particular sources, but learned to work with a genre (traumatic memory narratives) and a medium (video testimony) that was new for them.

The emotion-cognition divide upheld in the tradition of German historiography and history education was clearly mirrored in some of the responses. What the analysis showed is that years of school history learning, with its focus on analyzing sources and favoring cognitive-interpretive tasks, had conditioned students to uphold this type of history learning as a cultural value, possibly at the expense of understanding the contribution emotional identification could also make to historical learning. Although students were visibly impacted emotionally when they listened to Julia’s testimony, there was no evidence that their emotions interfered with or impaired their cognitive uptake. There was, however, evidence that some of the materials presented students with considerable cognitive difficulties, for example, when they lacked knowledge of certain words or phrases used by the witnesses, or when, instead of having the results of disciplined historical study at their disposal, they relied on popular media offerings on the subject matter for their “reasonable” interpretations.

It is suggested that difficulties with cognitive problem-solving might dissolve the emotional proximity needed for meaningful engagement with a testimony and with it the motivation to do so. Another conclusion from the case study is that rather than having been “paralyzed” by the emotional impact of a testimony in terms of an ability to interpret it reasonably, it was more a case of seeking refuge in the necessarily subjective nature of the testimonies. One of the students used the subjective and emotional nature of the testimony as a way to justifiably (or reasonably) avoid the moral dilemmas shown up by it. In other words, if the truth factor of a testimony is doubtful, given its subjective nature, then it is not necessary to really engage with the moral dilemmas addressed in it, and thus rationality acted as a shield of protection for the listener.

The interaction with the new genre and medium meant that despite the focus on cognitive tasks, the students (and the teacher) engaged both cognitively and emotionally with the traumatic stories and pictures. The implication is that we need to widen our definition of history to include all “the means through which we give shape to the intangible movement of life and

⁹² Langer Lawrence, “Hearing the Holocaust.” *Poetics Today* 27, no 2 (2006): 308.

⁹³ Jörn Rüsen, “Emotional Forces in Historical Thinking: Some Metahistorical Reflections and the Case of Mourning.” *Historiein* 8 (2008): 50.

experience called time,” without worrying that possible emotional identification interferes or inhibits “correct” cognitive processing.⁹⁴

Watching and listening to testimony is a way of giving shape to the experience called time as we reconstruct meaning from the many sources of information transmitted by such a medium simultaneously, be they sensory, discursive, narrative, emotional, or empathetic. In this reconstruction process, our uniquely individual memories and imaginations play a vital role, so that subjectivity cannot be excluded. Put together, what this sense-making process achieves in the context of Shoah testimonies is that as a result of partaking in a process of mourning, a traumatized person’s humanity is restored—both that of the victim and of the perpetrator. If this is what can be learnt from using witness testimonies in history lessons, then it would be a step toward learning how to act out democracy by learning to recognize the humanity in others, despite all the differences.

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⁹⁴Singer-Gabella Marcy, “The art(s) of historical sense.” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 27, no. 2 (1995): 154.

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To What Purpose? The Ends and Means of History Education in the Modern World

Jason Endacott, Matt Dingle, and Joe O'Brien

INTRODUCTION

A music industry publication recently conducted a study on American's music listening habits and found that the average person stops keeping up with new music at the age of 33.¹ Even if the medium one uses to listen to music is on the cutting edge of technology, the playlists stored on that device are likely an aging musical accompaniment of that person's life in the years leading up to age 33. We found this study compelling because, at least for us, it is painfully true—even if one of us is not yet 33 years old. There were no definitive or generalizable findings from the study, it was a music industry publication study after all, but one might reasonably assume that our musical tastes take shape in our formative years because those are the years that we long for understanding of who we are and what we become. We are developing into who we will mostly become for the rest of our lives. After age 33, we may listen to music from our youth because that is what we are comfortable with, for nostalgic

¹Ajay Kalia, "Music Was Better Back Then": When Do We Stop Keeping Up with Popular Music?" *Skynet and Ebert*. December 30, 2015. <https://skynetandebert.com/2015/04/22/music-was-better-back-then-when-do-we-stop-keeping-up-with-popular-music/>

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reasons, or perhaps because the soundtrack for adulthood is not nearly as much fun. Music has changed considerably over the past few decades, with some genres and eras holding up better than others to the test of time, yet it would appear that the music we are exposed to during our formative years becomes entrenched as our preference.

When reading about this study, some questions pertinent to this chapter arose. First, how have various approaches to history education addressed the purpose for historical study over time? Secondly, how do these approaches stand the test of time when viewed by the harsh light cast by the state of our modern existence? Finally, what might the future hold? As three generations of scholars our formative years of development span nearly 40 years in the field, and while we share numerous similarities between our formative experiences, we also recognize the uniqueness that our individual stories hold. This affords us the opportunity to consider how the teaching and learning of history has evolved over time and what we need to consider if we want to stay abreast of future developments. Our academic lineage began in the 1980s with Author 3's entry into the field, continued into the early to mid-2000s with Author 1's time studying under Author 3, and currently carries on with Author 2 nearing completion of his doctoral studies in the early 2020s under Author 1. History education changed considerably over this span of time, so we start by identifying the dominant approaches that shaped our formative experiences.

FORTY YEARS AND FOUR ORIENTATIONS TOWARD HISTORY EDUCATION

In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, Peter Seixas outlines three primary orientations toward teaching history that are employed in history education.² The first, history as collective memory, seeks to provide an overarching narrative for the past that serves to “define who we are in the present, our relations with others, relations in civil society – nation and state, right and wrong, good and bad – and broad parameters for action in the future.”³ The second orientation takes a disciplinary approach to teaching history by presenting multiple versions of the past and teaching students to determine which version is superior based upon evaluation utilizing disciplinary tools. The third orientation is a postmodern approach to history that questions the relationship between historical knowledge and power and views historical sources with a critical eye toward cultural convention and language. In addition to the three orientations outlined by Seixas, we have added a fourth orientation, the socio-cultural approach, which focuses on social practice and how people operate in

²Peter Seixas, “Schweigen! die Kinder! Or, Does Postmodern History Have a Place in the Schools?” In P. N. Stearns, P. Seixas, and S. Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*. 19–37. New York: NYU Press, 2000.

³Ibid.

real-life settings.⁴ Each of these orientations toward history holds at least some power over the history learner and each can tell us a great deal about what purpose is to be found in learning about the past. Taken together, they also represent the evolution of orientations to history education across the development of three generations of history education scholars. Author 3 completed his doctoral studies as history education shifted from developmental to cognitive theories of learning. Thus, he witnessed firsthand the emergence of the disciplinary orientation to history education and its emphasis on thinking like a historian. Author 1 entered the field as sociocultural history took root and pressed the importance of experience in context. Finally, Author 2 is completing his studies as postmodern/critical history critiques power dynamics and the status quo. Notably absent from this list is history as collective memory, which has in many ways reigned supreme over the past 40 years despite the challenges posed by newer orientations to the field. As such, we have all been shaped by history as collective memory—a claim that should become clear as we unpack each of these orientations further. Having identified the orientations toward historical study that will serve as the focal point of our examination, we turn now to establishing the purpose for historical study as a common basis for comparison.

WHY LEARN HISTORY? PURPOSE FOR LEARNING ABOUT THE PAST

When the philosopher George Santayana wrote in *Life of Reason*, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it,”⁵ he gave life to what would eventually become one of the most famous, overused, and misunderstood quotations regarding history, its importance, and its purpose. The notion that history teaches us lessons is a common one and it seems eminently reasonable. What better reason for studying history if not to avoid the mistakes of the past? Of course, not all agree with this assumption. One such dissenter was Henry Ford, who unabashedly argued for an orientation toward the present and future when he famously said, “History is more or less bunk.” What is far less known, if known at all, about Ford’s comment is what he said next. He followed this abrupt dismissal of history by adding, “What difference does it make how many times the Ancient Greeks flew their kites?”⁶

Henry Ford was almost certainly unaware that he was posing a glib example of a question that would come to be hotly debated. Disagreements over “what” history students should learn continue in the twenty-first century at a time when history has found itself reeling on its back foot as K-12 and undergraduate education have become increasingly focused on notions of “career readiness”

⁴Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004.

⁵George Santayana, *The Life of Reason*. New York: Collier, 1962.

⁶N.A. “History Is Bunk Says Henry Ford.” *New York Times*. October 29, 1921.

and the production of human capital. One way to approach this marginalization of history is to make a case for its contributions to our “salable” skillset, and while appropriate given the current neoliberal context of education, this is hardly history’s strongest argument.⁷

Writing on the American Historical Association (AHA) website, Peter Stearns answers the question that historians often face when queried about the usefulness of history.

Why study history? The answer is because we virtually must, to gain access to the laboratory of human experience. When we study it reasonably well, and so acquire some usable habits of mind, as well as some basic data about the forces that affect our own lives, we emerge with relevant skills and an enhanced capacity for informed citizenship, critical thinking, and simple awareness.⁸

Informed citizenship is a common refrain in rationales for historical study and Retz⁹ notes that history education in North America places considerably more emphasis on teaching about democracy than is typically afforded in other countries. There are a number of other reasons why engaging in historical study is important; however, since history falls within the domain of the social studies, which in turn serves as the laboratory for preparing future citizens in K-12 schools, we will rely on informed citizenship as our basis of comparison between orientations to history education.

Westheimer and Kahne describe three types of citizens and their roles in a democratic society.¹⁰ The first, the *personally responsible citizen* is honest, law-abiding, and responsible, though not necessarily outwardly active in public life. The *participatory citizen* takes an active role in society, solving social problems and improving society through active participation within established systems and community structures. The *justice-oriented citizen* also solves social problems and improves society, but takes a different approach that questions, debates, and challenges established systems and structures that reproduce patterns of injustice over time. The difference between these types of citizens is essentially a matter of means and ends, “if participatory citizens are organizing the food drive and personally responsible citizens are donating food, justice-oriented citizens are asking why people are hungry and acting on what they discover.”¹¹ Simply promoting personally responsible citizenship does not guarantee, and in fact may even hinder, the development of participatory or justice-oriented citizenship. Therefore, if fostering active and/or justice-oriented

⁷Peter Stearns, “Why Study History?” | *Historians.org*. 2018. <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/why-study-history/>

⁸Peter Stearns, “Why Study History?” | *Historians.org*. 2018. <https://www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/why-study-history/>

⁹Tyson Retz, *Empathy in History*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2018.

¹⁰Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne, “What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy.” *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 2 (January 2004): 237–69.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 242.

participation in democratic life is an explicit goal for social studies educators, then these efforts must be explicitly outlined in the curriculum.¹² By extension, the content and method of historical study must also align with intended citizenship outcomes if we wish to reasonably expect informed citizenship to manifest itself in civic life.

History as Collective Memory

In the late 1980s, the Bradley Commission set about to report on the state of history in America's schools and to make recommendations for supporting history education. The primary theme behind their message was the importance of history education to maintaining America's democratic heritage. The Commission concluded that "If Americans are to preserve that vision and bring it to daily practice, it is imperative that all citizens understand how it was shaped in the past, what events and forces either helped or obstructed it, and how it has evolved down to the circumstances and political discourse of our time."¹³ For those espousing a collective memory approach to historical study, "...democratic citizenship and effective participation in the determination of public policy require citizens to share a collective memory, organized into historical knowledge and belief."¹⁴ History as collective memory holds a special attraction for citizenship education. A common narrative of the past can act as the glue that holds a diverse nation's people together in a common quest for liberty guided by a democratic process that relies on informed citizens to steer the ship. Collective memory insinuates a sense of shared ownership for a nation's history, the learning of which takes on unique importance for those who believe that knowing the history of America's common political vision is essential to liberty, equality, and justice.¹⁵

Featured elements of the collective national narrative include progress toward achieving national goals¹⁶; emphasis on ethnic success stories while downplaying ethnic struggles and conflicts¹⁷; current history of immigrant groups primarily within context of their lives in the United States, virtually devoid of reference to immigrants' experiences in their birth nation¹⁸; and

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Bradley Commission on History in Schools. *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools*. Washington, DC: 1988. 2.

¹⁴ William McNeil, "How History Helps Us to Understand Current Affairs." In P. Gagnon (Ed.), *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*. 104–137. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1989.

¹⁵ Bradley Commission (1989, 2).

¹⁶ Stuart J. Foster, "Whose history? Portrayal of immigrant groups in U.S. history textbooks, 1800–Present." In *What Shall We Tell the Children? International Perspectives on School History Textbooks* 155–178. Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2006.

¹⁷ Bruce VanSledright, "Narratives of nation-state, historical knowledge, and school history education." *Review of Research in Education*, 32, no. 1 (2008), 109–146.

¹⁸ Michael Olneck, Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900–1925: An Analysis of Symbolic Action. *American Journal of Education*, 92 (1989): 398–423.

national development and a quest for freedom.¹⁹ Students learn “highly selective, sentimental, sanitized versions of American history [that represents] a severely simplified vision of how we came to the society we are now,”²⁰ and leave U.S. history courses knowing about the experiences of Americans through narrative accounts, but not necessarily believing what they have been told.²¹

Standards that promote a specific body of historical knowledge are important for codifying history as collective memory. The state of Alabama refers to the notion of a common political past as the “unique American heritage of liberty” in the front matter of its standards for history.²² The history standards for the state of North Carolina assert that,

Traditionally, the centerpiece of social studies, particularly at the middle and high school levels, has been history. This is as it should be because an understanding of our history is critical to being an informed and active citizen of the United States. Students must be aware of our past and its impact on our present. At the same time, however, there is a difference between learning history and learning FROM history. This distinction was made clear by George Santayana in his now famous quote that “those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat it.” Learning from history requires more than the memorization of people, places, dates, and events. It requires that students are able to explain the causal connections between and among events, use historical knowledge to resolve contemporary problems, analyze contemporary issues in terms of historical knowledge, and understand that our heroes were people too. In the vernacular, they had “feet of clay.”²³

Biblical reference aside, this excerpt from the front matter of the North Carolina history plays upon the familiar theme of history serving citizenship, or the past serving the present for the purpose of a better future. The use of the first-person plural pronoun “our” in reference to the envisioned collective history students are to learn assumes shared ownership and responsibility for historical experiences. The first-person plural pronoun is repeated in reference to “our historical heroes,” a phrase that is immediately followed by heavenly forgiveness for the mistakes one will inevitably find historical heroes making if one looks hard enough. Studying historical heroes is a hallmark of history as

¹⁹ James Wertsch and Kevin O’Connor, Multi-Voicedness in Historical Representation: American College Students’ Accounts of the Origin of the US. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 4, no. 4 (1991) 295–310.

²⁰ Michael Kammen, “History Is Our Heritage: The Past in Contemporary American Culture.” In P. Gagnon (Ed.), *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*. 138–156. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1989, 139.

²¹ James Wertsch, “Is It Possible to Teach Beliefs, as Well as Knowledge About History?” In *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences*. 38–50. New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000.

²² Alabama State Department of Education. “2010 Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies.” Accessed February 14, 2019. <https://www.alsde.edu/sec/sct/COS/2010%20Alabama%20Social%20Studies%20Course%20of%20Study.pdf/>.

²³ North Carolina, emphasis added.

collective memory, the theory being that historical heroes “convey a sense of civic responsibility by graphic portrayals of virtue, courage, and wisdom – and their opposites.”²⁴

The collective memory orientation is also attractive to educators who believe that history education should convince students of the glories found in their shared national past.²⁵ Emphasis is placed upon the exceptional rather than the common. Great political leaders and ideas take precedence over social issues or stories of the individual. Collective memory is also politically popular with legislative bodies that must approve state history standards, because, “legislators like to think they might buy loyalty and conscientious work habits with the money they pay for history teaching.”²⁶ It appears to be at least somewhat effective in that regard since students typically emphasize “prominent events,” “official history,” or “grand narratives” of U.S. history when asked to identify historical events they consider to be significant.²⁷

Viewing history as a collective body of knowledge that is a precondition for democratic citizen reveals the juxtaposition between the legion of “everyday” students and the great figures whose accomplishments they read about. It also paints a clear portrait of personally responsible citizen as the ideal form of civic participation.²⁸ Historical heroes, the vast majority of which resemble the social majority, are held up to esteem while the documents or movements they were responsible for serve as the bedrock upon which democratic principles are anchored and built out. It is easy to see why such an approach to learning history would be attractive to many, especially those in power. Despite the fact that the collective memory orientation to history education is the oldest of the orientations we cover here, it persists in many ways undisturbed in the classroom, due in part to its political draw and its deference to national heritage.

Disciplinary History

Early research into historical thinking conducted in the 1970s, examined historical thinking from a developmental perspective concluding that historical thinking occurred only after students reached Jean Piaget’s formal operational stage of development, suggesting that it was only appropriate for students of high school age.²⁹ Through the 1980s and 1990s, the study of historical thinking shifted as researchers began to study historical thinking using a constructivist

²⁴ Bradley Commission (1989, 5–6).

²⁵ Peter Stearns, 1996. “A cease-fire for history?” *The History Teacher*, 30 (1), 71.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Elizabeth A. Yeager, Stuart J. Foster, and Jennifer Greer, 2002. “How Eighth Graders in England and the United States View Historical Significance.” *The Elementary School Journal*. 103 (2). 213.

²⁸ Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne, “What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy.” *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 2 (January 2004): 237–69.

²⁹ Roy Hallam, Attempting to Improve Logical Thinking in School History. *Research in Education*, 21 (1979): 1–23.

rather than developmental approach.³⁰ The work of Sam Wineburg, a psychologist and historian, in the early 1990s led many researchers to consider the unique cognitive processes of learning history. The construct of historical thinking was now considered to be an active process of knowledge construction about the past as opposed to the ability to recall historical facts. This shift in research focus challenged the findings of the Piagetian developmental studies by showing that students in the elementary grades were indeed capable of historical thinking at a rudimentary level.³¹ The disciplinary orientation gathered considerably more momentum after the publication of Wineburg's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* in 2001. Wineburg's research, as well as others within the disciplinary history orientation, inspired much of the research conducted by Author 3 in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Of course, the disciplinary history orientation was not a uniquely American approach. In the United Kingdom, the Schools History Project sought to transform students from receptacles of historical fact into processors of historical evidence with an "emphasis on the logical, rational elements in historical study."³² The changes meant: (1) greater focus on interpretation, which lent importance to the individual's role in evaluating history³³; (2) students were to think like historians, and the exceptionality of history as a way of knowing was stressed³⁴; (3) history was increasingly viewed as explanatory in nature with an emphasis on the creation of historical analogies as frames of reference that depended upon the individual's interpretation³⁵; (4) students were expected to apply deductive logic to the historical evidence they studied³⁶; (5) knowing "how" history happened rather than just knowing the events that occurred elevated the roles of causation and use of evidence by students³⁷; and (6) emphasis on causation translated to deeper examination and interpretation of the decisions made by historical figures.³⁸

Those who espouse the disciplinary history orientation generally have a relatively low opinion of the collective memory orientation to history. Seixas

³⁰Linda S. Levstik and Christine C. Pappas, "Exploring the Development of Historical Understanding." *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 21, no. 1 (1987): 1–15.

³¹Nancy Dulberg, "The Theory Behind How Students Learn: Applying Developmental Theory to Research on Children's Historical Thinking." *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 33, no. 4 (2005) 508–531.

³²Barton and Levstik, 70.

³³Peter Lee, "Why Learn History?" In *Learning History*, London, UK: Heinemann, 1984: 1–19.

³⁴Martin Booth, "Skills, Concepts and Attitudes: The Development of Adolescent Children's Historical Thinking." *History and Theory*, 22 (1983) 101–117.

³⁵Lee (1984).

³⁶Denis Shemilt, "Beauty and the Philosopher: Empathy in History and Classroom." In *Learning History*, London, UK: Heinemann, 1984: 39–84.

³⁷Peter Rogers, "Why Teach History?" In *Learning History*, London, UK: Heinemann, 1984: 21–39.

³⁸Tony Boddington, The Schools Council History 13–16 project. *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 19, no. 3 (1984): 129–137.

dismisses it outright, calling it “consistent with an authoritarian political culture” preferring the disciplinary orientation because its epistemological focus between knower and known aligns with the goals for educating citizens in a liberal democracy.³⁹ Furthermore, collective memory’s promotion of patriotism through celebration of historical achievement rings hollow for disciplinary history educators who raise the likelihood of failure since, “...nothing can serve patriotism worse than suppressing dark chapters of our past, smoothing over clearly documentable examples of shameful behavior in public places high and low...If events like these are seen as mere footnotes to history, America’s youth are unlikely to swallow the story, especially when they see around them systemic problems that eat at the national fabric.”⁴⁰ Yet, VanSledright characterizes K-16 history learners as “naïve realists” who accept written historical accounts as eminently believable, which poses quite a conundrum in this arena of democratic process.⁴¹ Historical knowledge is crucial to the deliberative process, and without such knowledge as well as the ability to wield it as a shield against nefarious attempts to mislead, the “only alternatives are outraged rejection or gullible acceptance.”⁴²

The disciplinary orientation to history education addresses this concern by developing students’ historical thinking through the use of disciplinary tools such as invoking inquiry, using key habits of the discipline, and accessing multiple texts.⁴³ Historical thinking emphasizes the epistemological facets of interpretation, and the second-order historical concepts including, “historical significance, change over time, progress and decline, causation, evidence, and colligatory concepts that frame historical narratives.”⁴⁴

To assist in translating historical thinking to classroom instruction, Seixas and Morton unpack modern historical thinking into interdependent concepts: (1) establishing historical significance; (2) using primary source evidence; (3) examining continuity and change; (4) analyzing cause and consequence; (5) taking historical perspectives; and (6) attempting to understand the ethical dimension of history.⁴⁵ Through these concepts, students can interpret history for themselves and communicate their interpretations to others. Communicating conclusions is a form of disciplinary literacy, which in history is largely accomplished through the creation of narrative or argumentation.⁴⁶ Argumentation,

³⁹ Seixas (2000, 24).

⁴⁰ Gary Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 2000, 16.

⁴¹ Bruce VanSledright, *The Challenge of Rethinking History Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

⁴² Rogers (1987, 21).

⁴³ Michael Manderino and Corrine Wickens, “Addressing Disciplinary Literacy in the CCSS.” *Illinois Reading Council Journal*, 42, no. 2 (2014): 28–39.

⁴⁴ VanSledright (2011, 68).

⁴⁵ Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big 6: Historical Thinking Concepts*. Toronto, ON, Canada: Nelson, 2012.

⁴⁶ Moje, Elizabeth. “Foregrounding the Disciplines in Secondary Literacy Teaching and Learning: A Call for Change.” *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy*. 52 (2008): 96–107.

in turn, is a key component of civic deliberation, especially as it is conceived of in most frameworks for citizen education.

Through the use of historical thinking skills and modes of thought, the disciplinary orientation is set to, “extend the range of situations one is equipped to recognize, and the range of possibilities one is prepared to meet.”⁴⁷ Grasping our place in the range of possibilities is enhanced by the “personal moorings, both secular and religious”⁴⁸ that history helps us establish based upon our unique pasts and perspectives. We find that history provides perspective beyond our contemporary concerns, establishing and grounding us in a unique time and place in the human story.⁴⁹ Perhaps most importantly, as our understanding of history’s unique temporal nature grows in depth and nuance, we come to appreciate the differences as much as the similarities. We come to appreciate how history that “reveals the utter differentness and discontinuity of the past tends to undermine that crude instrumental and presentist use of the past that we Americans have been prone to.”⁵⁰ Our transformation into “historically developed beings” empowers us as agents of the present and future because such beings are “not something easily manipulated or transformed.”⁵¹ In a modern world where students are bombarded by instantly available information from sources that are often quite dubious, the ability to judge sources, corroborate, and contextualize information is a powerful weapon against propaganda masquerading as news.

While fostering historical thinking in students focuses on historical process over historical content, there are frequent references to historical thinking in the front matter of state history standards. South Carolina, for example, describes the “unique, discipline-specific practices” of history:

Historical thinking requires understanding evaluating continuity and change over time...developing arguments about the past. It involves locating and assessing historical sources of many different types to understand the contexts of given historical eras and the perspectives of different individuals and groups within geographic units that range from the local to the global...[with the] goal of developing credible explanations of historical events and developments based on reasoned interpretation of evidence.⁵²

The Colorado history standards suggest that history “inspires by exposing students to the wonders and beauty of the past. The historical perspective prepares

⁴⁷ Lee (1984, 2).

⁴⁸ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*, 9.

⁴⁹ Bradley Commission (1989).

⁵⁰ Nash et al. (2000, 14).

⁵¹ Gordon Wood, *The Purpose of the Past: Reflections on the Uses of History*. New York: Penguin Books. 2009: 11–12.

⁵² South Carolina Department of Education. “South Carolina Social Studies College-and-Career Ready Standards.” Accessed February 14, 2019. <https://ed.sc.gov/instruction/standards-learning/social-studies/standards/south-carolina-social-studies-college-and-career-ready-standards/>

for an ever-changing future by helping to understand changes in the past.”⁵³ Standing at the junction between past and future, denizens of the present are most likely more concerned about what is before them than what lies behind them. However, as the Colorado standards suggest, the manner in which we see the future is inevitably influenced by how we came to arrive at the present, so situating ourselves within history is important. In that sense, history serves as an organized body of knowledge to explain the world around us and our place in it.⁵⁴ As we situate ourselves in the past, present, and future, we are exposed to historical causation—the multifaceted chain of causes and effects that bring about evolution in the world around us. We come to understand historical concepts within the context of multiple historical events, revealing the temporal nature of history⁵⁵ and the attendant assumption that all historical events are, at least in some part, unique to their specific time and place.⁵⁶

In terms of citizenship, the disciplinary history orientation is somewhat agnostic outside of its rejection of the sanitized version of the past portrayed via collective memory. Disciplinary history privileges process and product over content, which may appeal to those who recognize that controversial content can be a flashpoint in the public and political sphere. It puts some of the tools needed for solving society’s problems in the hands of students but lacks a positional stance that would guide students in the direction of problems to solve. As such, it leaves many history educators with the sense that historical study should have an explicit civic purpose for the historical knowledge generated through inquiry in the classroom. The last two orientations discussed here address this concern in related but different ways.

Sociocultural History

The sociocultural orientation toward history education is a pluralist and humanist approach to democratic education that promotes reasoned judgment, develops powers of critical appraisal, promotes an expanded view of humanity, and, most importantly, includes deliberation over the common good.⁵⁷ The sociocultural orientation assumes that all human activity is situated in history and culture; therefore, history education should concentrate on what people do in the concrete settings of society beyond the concepts or procedural knowledge of the discipline. Therefore, history need not consist of a grand

⁵³ Colorado Department of Education. “Social Studies.” Accessed February 14, 2019.

<http://www.cde.state.co.us/cosocialstudies/>

⁵⁴ Kenneth Nordgren, “How to Do Things With History: Use of History as a Link Between Historical Consciousness and Historical Culture.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 4 (2016): 479–504.

⁵⁵ Lee (1984).

⁵⁶ David Lowenthal, “Dilemmas and Delights of Learning History.” In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspective*. New York: New York University Press. 2000. 63–82.

⁵⁷ Barton and Levstik (2004).

narrative of overarching explanation. Each individual starts with their own diverse social history, which is interpreted through daily experiences in life, family, stories, pictures, and artifacts.⁵⁸ Our histories may be similar to the histories of others with which we have common ties, but even within social, national, cultural, racial, and ethnic groups, humans are still fundamentally individuals who each retain their own personal histories.

Barton and Levstik's *Teaching History for the Common Good* is a seminal text for sociocultural history educators. In fact, it was the book that first inspired Author 1's early research agenda, as well as the text that he had permanently added to the tenured faculty collection at his university upon his successful tenure bid. In it, Barton and Levstik detail the manner by which students are expected to analyze and respond morally to the past—two actions that are important to the sociocultural orientation.⁵⁹ When analyzing history, students deconstruct multiple accounts while looking for patterns as well as causes and their attendant consequences. Much like the disciplinary orientation, the historical investigator embodies the instrument of analysis. However, the sociocultural orientation also considers how history has played out with respect to the common good. Sociocultural historical significance is determined as much by the realities of the past that have been repressed in the historical record as the events that have been reported, codified, and elucidated.⁶⁰ Revealing the repressed historical record opens new doors to analysis and opportunities to respond morally. Moral responses including remembrance, admiration, and condemnation are invoked by judgments about people and events from the past with one eye kept on the humanist and pluralist notion of common good. Students should be expected to come to grips with difficult issues and turn them into democratic actions, not merely ideals or beliefs.⁶¹ The belief that pro-social civic actions are the *real* outcomes that history educators seek to achieve is no small difference. If one is teaching history for the purpose of simply compiling historical knowledge for use in an undetermined future democratic choice, then questions about preferred historical knowledge and the learner's relationship with that knowledge are different than if one purposefully seeks to use knowledge to actually engender democratic actions in response to a specific issue or question.

As such, while the sociocultural orientation shares similar ideas regarding sourcing, inquiry, and analysis with the disciplinary orientation, it cannot afford a similar approach to eschewing expectations for historical content. While the disciplinary orientation assumes that all historical evidence is within the realm of consideration, the sociocultural orientation recognizes that some histories have been unquestionably repressed over time and that some historical

⁵⁸ Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools*. 2nd ed. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001.

⁵⁹ Barton and Levstik (2004).

⁶⁰ Levstik (2001).

⁶¹ Kathy Bickmore, "Social Justice and the Social Studies." In *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2008. 155–171.

evidence, events, and individuals need to be drawn out of collective memory's long shadow.

The publication of the National History Standards (NHS) developed by the National Center for History in the Schools in 1996 brought historical thinking and content together into a single set of voluntary national standards.

From a balanced and inclusive world history student may gain an appreciation both of the world's many peoples and of their shared humanity and common problems. Students may also acquire the habit of seeing matters through others' eyes and come to realize that they can better understand themselves as they study others, as well as the other way around. Historical understanding based on such comparative studies in world history does not require approval or forgiveness for the tragedies either of one's own society or of others; nor does it negate the importance of critically examining alternative value systems and their effects in supporting or denying the basic human rights and aspirations of all their peoples.⁶²

The NHS included separate disciplinary standards for historical thinking including (1) Chronological Thinking, (2) Historical Comprehension, (3) Historical Analysis and Interpretation, (4) Historical Research Capabilities, and (5) Historical Issues-Analysis and Decision-Making.

This list of specific skills was a lot less controversial than the debate sparked by the historical content contained within the standards, which was described as "influenced by contemporary socio-cultural historical scholarship that challenged traditional conceptions of the nation's history."⁶³ In a response from the collective memory camp, Cheney wrote that the proposed standards represented "The end of history" since, among other concerns, "not a single one of the 31 standards mentions the Constitution."⁶⁴ The controversy illustrated the tension between an approach to history education where students learn a "highly selective, sentimental, sanitized versions of American history [that represents] a severely simplified vision of how we came to the society we are now,"⁶⁵ and one that "reveals the blemishes, leaves rough edges intact, and eschews cosmetics."⁶⁶ The U.S. Senate passed a resolution denouncing the National History Standards with a vote of 99-1, with the lone holdout objecting based on the belief that the resolution did not go far enough in its denouncement of the standards.

Despite the NHS's failure to gain traction, its disciplinary and sociocultural influences can be found in National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)

⁶² National History Standards.

⁶³ Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut, *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2002, 3.

⁶⁴ Lynne Cheney, "The End of History." *Wall Street Journal*. October 20, 1994. http://www.trinityhistory.org/AmH/Cheney_WST.pdf/.

⁶⁵ Michael Kammen, "History Is Our heritage: The Past in Contemporary American Culture." In *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1989. 138-156.

⁶⁶ VanSledright (2008, 121).

materials such as the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Standards.⁶⁷ By extension, some states have included disciplinary and sociocultural ideas in the front matter of their history standards. Michigan, for example, describes civic efficacy as, “the readiness and willingness to assume responsibilities of citizenship—knowing how, when, and where to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good in a pluralistic, democratic society.”⁶⁸

Ostensibly, students learning history under the guidance of such standards would be prepared to be participatory or even justice-oriented citizens based upon the emphasis of pluralism, democracy, and the public good. However, in many ways the sociocultural struggle for history’s pluralistic purpose is undermined by the entrenched hold that collective memory has on politicians, standards, textbooks, curricula, and even teachers. The sociocultural orientation avoids the use of first-person plural pronouns such as “our society,” “our country,” or “we fought,” yet these phrases are commonly used by high school students and teachers and teachers of all experience levels, not just the beginning or veteran teacher.⁶⁹

These habits may be ingrained over decades of collective historical memory and essentializing the past into an easily understood and commonly told tale in which “we” are presumably aligned with great American figures, which may provide some modicum of comfort. However, as Levstik warns, “Ignoring the complexity of the American experience may serve to maintain existing economic and social structures, but it certainly confuses students and teachers about a good deal of American history.”⁷⁰ It is the complex relationship between student and historical actors that continues to intrigue Author 1 and inspire his research to this day.

Postmodern/Critical History

One reason the preparation of future citizens sounds like a struggle to control the hearts and minds of history students is the crucial role that power dynamics play in the vision of citizenship and the historical narratives surrounding it.⁷¹ Power dynamics are imbalanced in many respects within democratic societies, heavily favoring those with the most resources or access to others in power.

⁶⁷National Council for the Social Studies. *The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History*. Silver Spring, MD: National Council for the Social Studies, 2013.

⁶⁸Michigan Department of Education. “Draft: Michigan K-12 Standards Social Studies.” Accessed February 14, 2019. https://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/SS_Cut_Cap_Final_622356_7.pdf/

⁶⁹Linda S. Levstik, “Articulating the Silences: Teachers’ and Adolescents’ Conceptions of Historical Significance.” In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*. New York: New York University Press, 2001. 301.

⁷⁰Linda S. Levstik, “Articulating the Silences: Teachers’ and Adolescents’ Conceptions of Historical Significance.” In *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*. New York: New York University Press, 2001. 284–305.

⁷¹Barton and Levstik (2004).

The critical orientation to history education seeks to disrupt these power imbalances and generate understanding by questioning modern discourses and practices while also turning them back to the conditions they were established under.⁷² Critical history education concerns itself with questioning why specific historical accounts exist, who actually created them, and what purposes they serve when we interpret them. As such, "...a critical approach is not simply interested in studying the past itself and for itself. Rather...it is interested in how and why particular pasts are constructed, legitimated, and disseminated by various discursive communities."⁷³ As an emerging scholar in the era of populism, tampered elections, and autocratic politicians, Author 2 is becoming steeped in critical civic and history education orientation as a way to educate others to disrupt and deconstruct power imbalances in society.

Critical history educators recognize that the history selected for use in the classroom, as well as the manner by which students engage with it, inevitably conveys powerful messages about the meaning they should make of the world and their place in it.⁷⁴ In that sense, our relationship with history is mutually reactive because our identities can influence the degree of significance or treatment we ascribe to a given event, agent, or era from the past. Segall contends that:

...history education is first and foremost about the production of identity and subjectivity. It positions and directs students as knowers and actors, determining the degree to which they view themselves as objects of history or as its subjects; whether they learn to accept existing societal structures, arrangements, and meanings as given, or break with the obvious and work toward what might be.⁷⁵

Not surprisingly, students are more likely to find history meaningful when they are given an opportunity to study people who were like them at times in which they were prominent agents in history.⁷⁶ It seems reasonable to imagine oneself or show interest in others like us in history, while at the same time using history to understand our own role in humankind's long story.⁷⁷

The critical history education orientation has its fair share of detractors. Some collective memory advocates view postmodern history's "bottom-up" interpretive ladder as historically insignificant favoring a top-down view of history instead. Diggins argues that this top-down view of the past is how history is made because, "If blacks, women, farmers, and laborers had to wait to be liberated 'from the bottom up,' they would still be waiting for history to make

⁷² Avner Segall, "What's the Purpose of Teaching a Discipline Anyway? The Case of History." In *Social Studies the Next Generation: Re-searching in the Postmodern*. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2006. 1125–40.

⁷³ Ibid., 138.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 125.

⁷⁶ Barton (2009).

⁷⁷ Nash et al. (2000, 8).

its move.”⁷⁸ The history standards for the states of Florida and California illustrate the dichotomy of historical orientations with striking clarity. The front matter of Florida’s history standards states unequivocally that “American history shall be viewed as factual, not as constructed, shall be viewed as knowable, teachable, and testable, and shall be defined as the creation of a new nation based largely on the universal principles stated in the Declaration of Independence.”⁷⁹ The notion that history is knowable is not a question of epistemology—how the learner relates to knowledge—but rather one of ontology—the nature of knowledge itself. If American history is factual and knowable, then there is little to debate regarding interpretation of events or why certain interpretations even exist at all. Furthermore, by establishing the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence as the basis of fact for the narrative of American history, there really is not a compelling reason to even debate our ontological understanding of history—we already know it because the Florida state legislature has defined it for us.

In contrast, the California state history framework and standards, “emphasize the importance of history as a constructed narrative that is continually being reshaped and retold.”⁸⁰ While not specific about the nature of the reshaping and retelling, California’s standards at least allow for various interpretations at various points in time. Alaska’s frameworks are even more interesting in that they have “cultural” standards that complement content standards and guide students toward engaging in learning through local culture. The Alaska standards state, “We recognize all forms of knowledge, ways of knowing, and world views as equally valid, adaptable, and complementary to one another in mutually beneficial ways.

“These cultural standards are not intended to be inclusive, exclusive, or conclusive, and should be reviewed and adapted to fit local needs.”⁸¹ Unlike the first-person plural pronoun use of the collective memory approach that defines “we” as Americans, but really defines “we” as those represented in the dominant national narrative, Alaska’s use of “we” recognizes that it is impossible to definitively inform all cultures, wrong to exclude certain cultures, and myopic to believe it is possible to shut the door on future knowledge about cultures.

Disciplinary-oriented historians or history educators may also be dismissive of the postmodern orientation believing it is susceptible to relativism, which would mean, “...we can teach whatever serves our purposes in schools: history

⁷⁸ John P. Diggins, Teaching American History. *The American Scholar*, 67 (1998): 94.

⁷⁹ Florida Department of Education. “Social Studies.” Accessed February 14, 2019. <http://www.fldoe.org/academics/standards/subject-areas/social-studies.stml>

⁸⁰ California State Board of Education. “History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve.” Accessed February 14, 2019. <https://www.cde.ca.gov/be/st/ss/documents/histsocscistnd.pdf>

⁸¹ Alaska Department of Education & Early Development. “Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools.” Accessed February 14, 2019. <http://ankn.uaf.edu/Publications/CulturalStandards.pdf>

as collective memory, disciplinary history, postmodernist history, or none at all.”⁸² A postmodernist might reply by pointing out that while the disciplinary orientation hopes to improve history curricula by including a broader range of figures, groups, and histories, those efforts can actually serve to legitimize the master narrative that was originally produced without them in mind.⁸³ This skirts the messy work of examining the social, political, and economic conditions that gave rise to the original narrative. Conversely, postmodern or critical historians waded directly into that messy work, asking “What and whose discursive conventions does it comply with so as to be considered true? How might it be taken up by others? What might it tell us about the assumptions, values and world views of the person making it and the discourses enabling its production? How does it position those engaging it to read it in particular ways and from particular subject positions?”⁸⁴ Whereas the disciplinary history educator might ponder whether or not their interpretation of all of the available evidence provides the most analytically complete version of the past, the postmodernist would instead raise questions about what other evidence must be missing because it did not suit influential needs at the time and whether their attendant constructed understanding of the past should be communicated to others if its flaws perpetuate the perception of authoritative approval.

It is perhaps rather obvious that the *justice-oriented* citizen most closely matches with ends and means of the critical history orientation. However, in response to the aforementioned imbalance of democratic power and its effects on humans in society, alternative critical views on citizenship such as “dangerous citizenship” have taken root and found support.⁸⁵ Dangerous citizenship centers on political participation, critical awareness, and intentional action to disrupt “exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence in both schools and society.”⁸⁶ Dangerous citizenship education counts on future citizens to expand the principles of freedom and democracy that are the backbone of contemporary notions of citizenship to marginalized and oppressed individuals and groups. History reveals the multitude of ways the marginalized and oppressed were denied realization of the founding principles that democratic citizenship universally touts. Using history as a language of counterpower is one tactic for posing a critical challenge to an establishment in order to influence the world.⁸⁷ The history standards for the state of Massachusetts open the door to the possibility of engendering a more critical citizenry by suggesting “The future of democracy depends on our students’ development of the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of citizens who embrace

⁸² Seixas (2000, 34).

⁸³ Segall (2006).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 138.

⁸⁵ E. Wayne Ross and Kevin Vinson, “Insurrectionist Pedagogies and the Pursuit of Dangerous Citizenship.” In *Rethinking Social Studies: Critical Pedagogy in Pursuit of Dangerous Citizenship*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 2018, 35–62.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 49.

⁸⁷ Nordgren (2016).

democracy's potential and its challenges." The concept of dangerous citizenship is a clear sign that the notion of "informed citizenship" must consider what the informed citizen actually *does* once empowered by historical knowledge. This notion is what drives Author 2 forward in his quest to foster dangerous citizenship in the social studies and other civic spaces.

Civics and History Education Moving Forward

As history education moves into the second decade of the twenty-first century, it is important to pause and consider modern themes in what it means to become an informed citizen now and in the future since informed citizenship is the most widely recognized purpose for studying history. In the sections that follow, we briefly summarize the last five years of civics scholarship published in *Theory and Research in Social Education*, the leading journal for social education, to better understand trends in citizenship education. Following the review of civics literature, we provide a similar survey of scholarship in history education to ascertain similar trends and their alignment with the purposes for teaching history. What follows is not offered as a thorough review of the literature in civics or history education. Instead, we endeavor to use leading scholarship as a beacon pointing toward what might be ahead for teaching history.

WHAT KIND OF CITIZEN?

Our review of leading research on civics education in recent years revealed that scholars are emphasizing the importance of civic action, immigrant citizenship, and critical citizenship in the preparation of future citizens. The first theme in the literature we reviewed was civic reasoning, decision-making, and action. Studies in this category of research were particularly interested in the ways in which students interact as citizens as individuals and groups in democratic society. For example, Jane Lo drew upon sociocultural understanding of identity "as a way that one is positioned and positions himself or herself both in the moment and over time across social practice" to understand how students' identities are shaped by simulations and role play.⁸⁸ In addition to this examination of the interplay between individual identities and democratic practice, research also explored collaborative efforts at democratic deliberation. Kohlmeier and Saye utilized Collaborative Communities of Practice to explore students' moral reasoning of just versus unjust laws,⁸⁹ while Blevins, LeCompte, and Wells explored the effectiveness of action civics programs, the curricula and programs that combine civic education with civic action by leading students

⁸⁸ Jane Lo, "Adolescents Developing Civic Identities: Sociocultural Perspectives on Simulations and Role-Play in a Civic Classroom" *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 2. (2017): 192.

⁸⁹ Jada Kohlmeier and John Saye, "Ethical Reasoning of U.S. High School Seniors Exploring Just versus Unjust Laws." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 4. (2014): 548–78.

through six stages of problem finding through action to affect policy.⁹⁰ These empirical examinations of students' civic identities, decision-making, and action fit well with the sociocultural orientation's focus on the interaction between the individual and the context in which the individual thinks and acts.

The second theme we found in the literature is immigrant citizenship. Rather than focusing on immigration as a civic issue from society's perspective, scholars have examined immigrant citizenship from the perspective and experiences of immigrants themselves. The literature includes studies on immigrant education and socialization in schools⁹¹; the utilization of sociocultural and immigrant optimism theory to explore immigrant's civic identities⁹²; an asset-based civics education approach for/with/by immigrant students based on a theoretical framework of additive acculturation, civic education, and codetermination⁹³; and culturally responsive civics pedagogy and education.⁹⁴

Critical citizenship, or the use of critical theory as a framework for research, was the third and most commonly represented theme we found in our review of civics scholarship in recent years. It was also the most theoretically diverse group of studies, with frameworks related to Black Critical Patriotism,⁹⁵ multicultural citizenship,⁹⁶ critical race theory,⁹⁷ feminist transnationalism, and Latina citizenship identity.⁹⁸ The research into critical citizenship unearthed topics and pedagogies that have been buried under many years of "blind allegiance to liberal democracy; i.e., authoritarian patriotism and democratic patriotism."⁹⁹ Topics of study included minority (Asian) elementary teachers

⁹⁰ Brooke Blevins, Karon LeCompte, and Sunny Wells. "Innovations in Civic Education: Developing Civic Agency Through Action Civics." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 3. (2016): 344–84.

⁹¹ Dafney Blanca Dabach, Aliza Fones, Natasha Hakimali Merchant, and Adebowale Adekile, "Teachers Navigating Civic Education When Students are Undocumented: Building Case Knowledge." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46, no. 3 (2018): 331–73.

⁹² Rebecca M. Callahan and Kathryn Obenchain, "Garnering Civic Hope: Social Studies, Expectations, and the Lost Civic Potential of Immigrant Youth." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 1 (2016): 36–71.

⁹³ Jeremy Hilburn, "Asset-Based Civics For, With, and By Immigrant Students: Three Sites of Enriched Teaching and Learning for Immigrant and Native-Born Students." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 43, no. 3 (2015): 372–404.

⁹⁴ Ashley Jaffee, "Social Studies Pedagogy for Latino/a Newcomer Youth: Toward a Theory of Culturally and Linguistically Relevant Citizenship Education." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 2 (2016): 147–83.

⁹⁵ Christopher Busey and Irene Walker. 2017. "A Dream and a Bus: Black Critical Patriotism in Elementary Social Studies Standards." *Theory & Research in Social Education* 45, no. 3 (2017): 456–88.

⁹⁶ Antonio Castro, "What Makes a Citizen? Critical and Multicultural Citizenship and Preservice Teachers' Understanding of Citizenship Skills" *Theory and Research in Social Education* 41, no. 2 (2013): 219–246.

⁹⁷ Ashley Woodson, "We're Just Ordinary People: Messianic Master Narratives and Black Youths' Civic Agency." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 2 (2016): 184–211.

⁹⁸ Jennifer Bondy, "Latina Youth, Education, and Citizenship: A Feminist Transnational Analysis." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 2 (2016): 212–243.

⁹⁹ Busey and Walker (2017, 460).

disrupting normative conceptualizations of citizen¹⁰⁰; the role of gender, sexuality, race, and state institutions in the making and unmaking of the Nation and bodies that fit and do not fit the national character¹⁰¹; messianic master narratives¹⁰²; how Black historical figures and their efforts are represented in elementary social studies standards¹⁰³; and digital media production as a counter-hegemonic act supporting active citizens dedicated to promoting social justice.¹⁰⁴ Civic education from a critical perspective would prepare students for participation in a version of democracy that, “embodies a vision of an ideal society and calls for citizens to take action to make this justice-oriented vision a reality.”¹⁰⁵

If the leading scholarship in recent years is an indication of where civics education is heading in the future, students will be asked to eschew “personally responsible” notions of democratic life and take up the mantle of “justice oriented” or at the very least “participatory” citizen.¹⁰⁶ The literature we reviewed is heavily influenced by sociocultural and postmodern or critical theories of democratic education. In turn, if students are to answer the call of citizenship for such purposes, it stands to reason that history education should address the content and modes of inquiry needed to be considered “properly informed” civic actors.

History for Informed Citizenship

Our review of recent scholarship in history education revealed two primary takeaways for history educators interested in fostering informed citizenship that aligns with contemporary scholarship on civics education. First, the studies were unpacked into two main categories—historical thinking and critical history—that largely align conceptually with visions for participatory and justice-oriented citizens. However, the research findings also reveal that history has a very long way to go if it hopes to prepare students for civic outcomes as outlined by recent scholarship in citizen education.

¹⁰⁰Noreen Rodríguez, “From Margins to Center: Developing Cultural Citizenship Education Through the Teaching of Asian American History.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46, no. 4 (2018): 528–73.

¹⁰¹Bondy (2016).

¹⁰²Woodson (2016).

¹⁰³Busey and Walker (2017).

¹⁰⁴Sarah Montgomery, “Critical Democracy Through Digital Media Production in a Third-Grade Classroom Production in a Third-Grade Classroom.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 2 (2014): 197–227.

¹⁰⁵Montgomery (2014, 201).

¹⁰⁶Westheimer and Kahne (2004).

HISTORICAL THINKING

What stood out immediately about the recent research related to historical thinking was that we could characterize all but two of the articles as specifically addressing history teaching and learning. That is, nearly all of the studies were empirical examinations focused on investigating some aspects of historical thinking in the classroom. A smaller subset of the historical thinking research inquired into specific concepts valued by disciplinary history. These studies included students' ability to perform historical perspective taking,¹⁰⁷ the concept of historical distance,¹⁰⁸ as well as epistemological views of historians and how they can help students understand the nature of historical knowledge.¹⁰⁹

There larger subject of the historical thinking literature explored historical thinking or understanding with influence from the sociocultural orientation toward history education. Of this group of studies, one explored how middle school social studies teachers demonstrate, or invite students to make, past/present connections,¹¹⁰ while the remainder placed students' learning at the center of inquiry in most of the studies. This research was marked by a purposeful interjection of the students' identities, values, beliefs, or judgments when developing historical understanding. Research questions inquired into the relationship between learners' social identity and their historical practices and understanding,¹¹¹ how students negotiate the cognitive–affective process of engaging in historical empathy,¹¹² and the manner in which students construct narratives of events they share a heritage with.¹¹³ Topics of historical study also indicated a distinct sociocultural influence. Santiago utilized a court case about Mexican American school segregation in the 1940s to explore how a class of primarily Mexican American students came to understand that court

¹⁰⁷Tim Huijgen, Carla van Boxtel, Wim van de Grift, and Paul Holthuis, "Toward Historical Perspective Taking: Students' Reasoning When Contextualizing the Actions of People in the Past." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 1 (2017): 110–44; Bjorn Wansink, Sanne Akkerman, Itzél Zuiker, and Theo Wubbels, "Where Does Teaching Multiperspectivity in History Education Begin and End? An Analysis of the Uses of Temporality." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46, no. 4. (2018): 495–527.

¹⁰⁸Stephan Klein, "Preparing to Teach a Slavery Past: History Teachers and Educators as Navigators of Historical Distance." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 1 (2017): 75–109.

¹⁰⁹Jeffery D. Nokes, "Elementary Students Roles and Epistemic Stances during Document-Based History Lessons." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 3 (2014): 375–413.

¹¹⁰Sarah Brooks, "Connecting the Past to the Present in the Middle-Level Classroom: A Comparative Case Study." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 1 (2014): 65–95.

¹¹¹Tsafirir Goldberg, "It's in My Veins: Identity and Disciplinary Practice in Students' Discussions of a Historical Issue." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 41, no. 1 (2013): 33–64.

¹¹²Jason Endacott, "Negotiating the Process of Historical Empathy." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 1 (2014): 4–34.

¹¹³Sara A. Levy, "How Students Navigate the Construction of Heritage Narratives." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 2 (2017): 157–88.

case in light of their heritage.¹¹⁴ In a somewhat similar study, Levy asked Hmong, Chinese, and Jewish students to construct historical accounts of the Vietnam War, Modern China, and the Holocaust, respectively.¹¹⁵

The two articles from this time period that were not empirical were still oriented toward informing history teaching in theory and practice. Kenneth Nordgren, for example, outlines the relationship between history and the idea of its use, pointing out the need for considering “nearby and overlapping concepts such as collective memory and heritage.”¹¹⁶ He proposes a hermeneutical process that sees history as a communicative action between encoder (recorder of evidence or history), message (meaning), and decoder (student) across four analytical levels. The final article we reviewed detailed the manner in which ethical judgment could be applied to the case of the *MS St. Louis*, a steamship in 1939 that carried nearly a thousand Jewish refugees from Germany, was barred from port in Cuba, and was further denied entry by the United States and Canada, before finally being sent back to Germany.¹¹⁷ The authors posit the philosophy of ethics as a conceptual lens for making judgments in history and point out that such a framework is needed given the seeming regularity of humanitarian crises, specifically in light of the Syrian refugee crisis of the 2010s.

One thing that all of the studies we reviewed as related to historical thinking had in common was the goal of improving history teaching and learning. Of those with sociocultural influence, most dealt with epistemological concerns for connecting history learners with historical knowledge within a given social context. Given the specificity of the research into historical thinking concepts, many of these studies reflect an advanced state of knowledge generation for the purposes of improving history education. One could reasonably conclude that even though some of the history represented in these articles has been excluded from the collective memory of school history, and many of the learners are being exposed to topics that were previously repressed, the research into the method by which students learn about this history is relatively well developed.

Critical History

Unlike the studies related to historical thinking, the leading critical history research in recent years has coalesced around examination of curricula, curricular materials, and historical content as well as empirical examinations of teaching and learning history. Originating from a multitude of theoretical frameworks, recent history education research has witnessed empirical studies

¹¹⁴Maribel Santiago, “Erasing Differences for the Sake of Inclusion: How Mexican/Mexican American Students Construct Historical Narratives.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 1 (2017): 43–74.

¹¹⁵Levy (2017).

¹¹⁶Nordgren (2016, 498).

¹¹⁷Andrea Milligan, Lindsay Gibson, and Carla L. Peck. “Enriching Ethical Judgments in History Education.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46 no. 3 (2018): 449–79.

based on anti-oppressive education,¹¹⁸ AsianCrit,¹¹⁹ silencing the past,¹²⁰ Critical Race Theory,¹²¹ critical consciousness,¹²² and Postcolonial Theory.¹²³ Not surprisingly, two of these studies have provided critical content analyses of U.S. history standards to determine the manner in which state standards represent Asian Americans and their experiences,¹²⁴ as well as Indigenous histories and cultures.¹²⁵ In addition to these analyses, King and Womac examined how Black American history is misrepresented through television as an educational outlet,¹²⁶ while Woysner and Schocker investigated representation of Black women in high school history textbooks.¹²⁷

The results of this most recent body of research illustrate just how much further history education has to progress if it hopes to fulfill notions of democratic citizenship based on the principles state standards tout as guideposts for informed citizens. After analyzing the educational television program *Founders, Fridays*, King and Womac concluded that the programming likely did more harm than good if its mission was to better educate viewers about Black American history:

We contend that the viewers of *Founders* learned about race and Black American history in the following ways: (a) the White Founding Fathers were not racist, (b) the “true” history of the Black American experience was not as bad as it is typically presented, and (c) Black Americans’ historical perspectives excluded women and were similar to mainstream society. First, by presenting the White Framers as non-discriminatory toward Black Americans, viewers get a sense that race was not (and still is not) a major issue in Black Americans’ quest for citizenship...They also understand race not as an institutional system that was embedded within the legal structures of society but as aberrations or single acts of immorality that have been solved.¹²⁸

¹¹⁸Anita Chikkatur, “Teaching and Learning African American History in a Multiracial Classroom.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 41, no. 4 (2013): 514–34.

¹¹⁹Sohyun An, “Asian Americans in American History: An AsianCrit Perspective on Asian American Inclusion in State U.S. History Curriculum Standards.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 2 (2016): 244–76.

¹²⁰La Garrett J. King and Patrick Womac, “A Bundle of Silences: Examining the Racial Representation of Black Founding Fathers of the United States Through Glenn Beck’s *Founders Fridays*.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 1 (2014): 35–64.

¹²¹Christopher C. Martell, “Race and Histories: Examining Culturally Relevant Teaching in the U.S. History Classroom.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 41, no. 1 (2013): 65–88.

¹²²Hillary Parkhouse, “Pedagogies of Naming, Questioning, and Demystification: A Study of Two Critical U.S. History Classrooms.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 46, no. 2. (2018): 277–317.

¹²³Sarah Shear, Ryan T. Knowles, Gregory J. Soden, and Antonio J. Castro, “Manifesting Destiny: Re/Presentations of Indigenous Peoples in K-12 U.S. History Standards.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 43, no. 1 (2015): 68–101.

¹²⁴An (2016).

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶King and Womac (2014).

¹²⁷Christine Woysner and Jessica B. Schocker. “Cultural Parallax and Content Analysis: Images of Black Women in High School History Textbooks.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 43, no. 4. (2015): 441–68.

¹²⁸King and Womac (2014).

After analyzing 823 images in Black history and mainstream history textbooks, Woyshner and Schocker discovered that mainstream texts actually balanced the proportion of women and men more equitably than the Black textbook, though the Black textbook portrayed Black women in a greater variety of roles. However, when the researchers emphasized race over gender in their analysis, they found that the Black text reified the oppression framework by representing Black historical figures most frequently in relation to famous firsts and Afro-centrist narratives.¹²⁹

Following her analysis of Asian American representations in state history standards, Sohyun An points out that while representations of other minority groups continue to be manipulated to fit the dominant national narrative, Asian Americans are nearly invisible in the standards. She concluded that the “invisibility of the Asian American experience in the official script of U.S. history sends a message that Asian Americans are not legitimate members of this nation and have little place in the story of the United States.”¹³⁰

Arguably most destructive, however, is the manner in which Indigenous Peoples are reflected in the state standards for all 50 U.S. states and Washington, DC. The content analysis of Shear et al. revealed that nearly 87% of the standards require student learning about Indigenous Peoples in the context of U.S. history prior to 1900, after which point Indigenous Peoples virtually disappear from the educational documents. Not only are Indigenous Peoples nearly invisible in U.S. history standards after the nineteenth century, but also, in the years up to that point, their history is always framed within the context of Euro-America. Examples included “describe the characteristics of other indigenous peoples that had an effect upon New Mexico’s development” and “identify the Wampanoags and their leaders at the time the Pilgrims arrive, and describe their way of life.”¹³¹ The authors describe how such depictions are dangerously deleterious by pointing out that the standards frame Indigenous Peoples as both insiders and outsiders to American history, the latter of which is reinforced in post-American Revolution to smooth over the invasive and genocidal progression of Manifest Destiny within the national narrative.

Fortunately, the critical research we reviewed for this chapter also highlighted the potential that new approaches to history teaching and learning may hold for the future. Martell, studying the intersection between his students’ race/ethnicity and their experiences learning history, found that culturally relevant pedagogy had a positive impact on students of color in the history classroom.¹³² He also concluded that culturally relevant pedagogy could be improved by including more culturally relevant content and listening to the voices of students of color during instructional planning. Parkhouse studied the manner in which teachers engaged students in the pedagogies of naming,

¹²⁹Woyshner and Schocker (2015).

¹³⁰An (2016).

¹³¹Shear et al. (2015).

¹³²Martell (2013).

questioning, and demystification to enhance students' critical consciousness and agency as civic actors. The research revealed that teachers were able to engage in typical practices related to presenting mandated content, giving tests, and assigning grades while also maintaining emancipatory aims for instruction based on specific pedagogical decisions they made for their specific students.¹³³

The historical thinking and critical history are from the first takeaway; where is the explanation of the second takeaway? Is it the next section on the future?

The Future of History Education

Democratic citizenship may be a widely accepted goal in history education, but Barton and Levstik argue, "saying that schools should prepare students for democratic citizenship may say so much that it says nothing at all. Sometimes it seems little more than a mantra, changed without reflection on its deeper meaning or implications for practice."¹³⁴ Typical proposals for citizenship education focus almost exclusively on the relationship between individual citizens and the state. It is assumed that citizens' positions, developed with the benefit of history or without, are conceptualized independently of the political process before entering the public sphere to engage in deliberation. It is further assumed that citizens' positions must then compete for influence with other citizens' views that were conceptualized under similar circumstances. This process inevitably leads to a binary win or lose scenario in which the public sphere serves as the field of play (or battle) that amounts to little more than argument between competing perspectives.¹³⁵ Competing perspectives in a democratic nation often become entrenched in partisan politics, with both sides using history as a weapon for those who hope to influence our deliberations.¹³⁶ This is the quagmire within which students learn history on the eve of a new decade and it is unclear what the 2020s will hold for democracy and democratic processes.

However, while our brief summation of recent leading scholarship in civics and history education certainly does not represent a comprehensive review of the literature, it can tell us a great deal about the concerns that history educators and scholars are grappling with as the 2010s roll into the 2020s. The disciplinary and sociocultural orientations to history education are supported by research into advanced modes of history teaching and learning, while postmodern or critical history is still fighting marginalization, or in some cases exclusion, from the documents that guide educators' instruction. One might counter this conclusion by pointing out that critical research sees its charge as disruption of repressive structures, which politically influenced state history standards are a prime example of. However, as long as critical educators are

¹³³ Parkhouse (2018).

¹³⁴ Barton and Levstik (2004, 28).

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Rogers (1984).

diverting effort to critiquing hegemonic history standards and fighting for anti-oppressive inclusion in the classroom, they cannot fully commit to conducting research into the most impactful modes of historical study that promote informed and critical citizens. The disciplinary and sociocultural orientations may struggle less in this regard because their approaches are primarily process oriented, and the content-related pluralist goals of sociocultural educators are far less threatening to the hegemony of collective national memory than most critical orientations.

It is at this point that we have to step back and marvel at the fact that despite all of the progress made in the field of history education outlined in this chapter—as a nation we are still subject to the confines of history as collective memory and the political motives of those who promote it. Looking back over the past three decades, perhaps it was the standards movement, the point at which history content became a codified body of knowledge subject to approval from legislative bodies, that shielded collective memory from other orientations with far more to offer students.

Yet the idealized national narrative codified in state standards is anything but ideal. It runs counter to the complexity of people in general and the constantly changing face of democratic life in particular. As globalization and an increasing number of immigrants to the United States add to the richness and complexity of American society, we must remain mindful of the continuing problem our nation faces to “recognize and legitimize difference and yet construct an overarching national identity that incorporates the voices, experiences, and hopes of the diverse groups that compose it.”¹³⁷ U.S. history, as currently taught in American schools, emphasizes the development of national identity at the expense of the voices and experiences of many groups who compose it. As we have seen here, the resulting effect on history curriculum is one of relative prominence, marginalization, and irrelevance. Prominent American heroes take center stage in a national narrative in which societal problems are often portrayed simply as opportunities for further achievement.¹³⁸ For some historically marginalized groups, such as African Americans, inclusion in the pantheon of figures that compose collective memory has broadened in recent years to include figures such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr.¹³⁹ However, when these groups are incorporated into the typical curriculum, their experiences and achievements are often depicted only to the extent that they reinforce the image of progress and national achievement.¹⁴⁰

History has so much more to offer than a list of causes, problems, and events that were addressed by a mostly homogenous ruling class of White men.

¹³⁷ James Banks, “Diversity, Group Identity, and Citizenship Education in a Global Age.” *Educational Researcher*, 37, no. 3 (2008): 133.

¹³⁸ Barton (2009).

¹³⁹ Sam Wineburg and Chauncey Monte-Sano, “‘Famous Americans’: The Changing Pantheon of American Heroes.” *Journal of American History*. 94, no. 4 (2008). 1186–1202.

¹⁴⁰ Barton (2009).

Regrettably, under the current approach taken in most social studies classrooms, students are exposed to “an incoherent, disjointed picture of those who are not White,”¹⁴¹ and to resources, textbooks, and curricular materials that lack sufficient, thoughtful, and substantive historical examples of civic action by individuals and groups.¹⁴² How can we expect our students to become active agents of democracy if they do not have the opportunity to learn about how people from all stations in life engaged in civic activity in the past? How can we expect our students to work toward rectifying injustice if they are not exposed to the struggles that preceded them?

Democratic societies are defined in part by the people that comprise them and by the place and time in which they are set, and the principles upon which each one is based can serve as common ground among them. In the United States, documents such as the Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights provide written elucidation of democratic principles and ideals. However, these types of documents lack voice, which creates a problem for students when they try to interpret them.¹⁴³ Also, documents such as the Constitution are consensual documents that are representative of a range of voices, whose interpretation is contextualized in time and place. The richness and diversity of the contributing voices are missing, and such documents fail to even hint at the excluded voices. As King and Womac remind us in their study of *Founders Fridays*, when Chief Justice Robert Brook Taney penned the majority opinion in the Dred Scott case in 1857, he wrote that “it was obvious that [Black Americans] were not even in the minds of the framers...and were never intended to be citizens of the United States.”¹⁴⁴ Relying heavily on such documents excludes those that were not permitted to politically participate, such as women, non-Whites, and the economically disadvantaged of the time, while also setting up the eventual expansion of rights to those groups as a grand national achievement rather than the righting of an oppressive wrong.

Yet, despite the sluggish change in history practice, the future holds considerable potential for thinking deeply about epistemological notions about our relationships with historical knowledge and how that informs our identities, situates us in the world, and prepares us to act as informed citizens for the common good. History unquestionably provides us with a lens on the present, but that lens need not present history as a maze of possibilities with the correct solution highlighted for the student to easily follow. Citizenship, when done correctly, is messy and rarely leaves everybody completely satisfied.

¹⁴¹ Gloria Ladson-Billings, *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on the Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2003, 4.

¹⁴² Judith Torney-Purta, “The Second IEA Civic Education Project: Development of Content Guidelines and Items for a Cross-National Test and Survey.” *Canadian and International Education* 25 (1996): 199–214.

¹⁴³ Richard Paxton, The Influence of Author Visibility on High School Students Solving a Historical Problem. *Cognition and Instruction*, 20, (2002): 197–248.

¹⁴⁴ King and Womac (2014).

Of course, historical study affords us much more beyond informed citizenship. The aforementioned and much-maligned National History Standards provide a succinct yet descriptive summation of the role that history plays in our lives as human beings:

Historical memory is the key to self-identity, to seeing one's place in the stream of time, and one's connectedness with all of humankind. We are part of an ancient chain, and the long hand of the past is upon us—for good and for ill—just as our hands will rest on our descendants for years to come. Denied knowledge of one's roots and of one's place in the great stream of human history, the individual is deprived of the fullest sense of self and of that sense of shared community on which one's fullest personal development as well as responsible citizenship depends.¹⁴⁵

Taking guidance from this statement, we recognize the power history has to inform our outward-facing identity, the one we present to the world, as well as our inward-facing reflection that processes the past and present as our identity evolves. The human mind craves history as a usable past for identity formation and development,¹⁴⁶ because it serves as a filter on the lens through which we confirm our own identities and begin to understand the identities of others.¹⁴⁷ When entering into a new situation it is quite normal to consider the context in which we are interacting with others (e.g., personal, professional, and social) as well as wonder how others came to occupy a shared place in space and time. Historical knowledge, be it personal, institutional, societal, legal, economic, or any other given viewpoint on the past, helps us navigate these situations as it informs our awareness of human differences, similarities, motivations, and aspirations¹⁴⁸ that shape behavior in specific contexts. Since our identities develop over time, history can deepen and even complicate our identities as our current sense of self often contradicts who we used to be.¹⁴⁹ As history reveals more about us, it also allows us to appreciate the rational and irrational aspects of our behavior and the behavior of others, reminding us that we remain fallible human beings.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵National Council for History Education. *National Standards for History* (Los Angeles, CA: National Council for History Education, 1996).

¹⁴⁶Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *History on Trial*; C. Portal, Empathy. *Teaching History*, 58 (1990): 36–38.; National History Standards, National Council for History Education.

¹⁴⁷Kenneth Nordgren, “How to Do Things with History: Use of History as a Link Between Historical Consciousness and Historical Culture.” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 44, no. 4 (2016): 479–504.

¹⁴⁸Michael Kammen, “History is our heritage: The past in contemporary American culture.” In P. Gagnon (Ed.), *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, 138–156. (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1989).

¹⁴⁹Wood (2009).

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

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The History You Don't Know, and the History You Do: The Promise of Signature Pedagogies in History Education

Dave Powell

Inspired by the Greek philosopher and essayist Plutarch, Harry S. Truman once declared that “it was the same with those old birds in Greece and Rome as it is now: the only thing new in the world is the history you don't know.”¹ It may be this fact, more than any other, that makes learning to become a history teacher so difficult.

This is, of course, because there is so much to learn: new history is being made every minute, not just with the passing of time but also with its interpretation and re-interpretation. It's no wonder, then, that new teachers of history often feel compelled to focus on one thing above all others: how to master the illimitable body of knowledge they think they will have to know in order to teach the subject effectively. But as Lauren McArthur Harris and Robert Bain have written, concern about the content knowledge held by teachers—especially beginning teachers—often focuses on university coursework as a proxy for the knowledge teachers need to teach effectively.² Meanwhile teacher educators, in the estimation of Harris and Bain, have increasingly embraced the

¹Samuel W. Rushay, “Harry Truman's History Lessons.” *Prologue Magazine* (2009). <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2009/spring/truman-history.html>

²Lauren McArthur Harris and Robert B. Bain, “Pedagogical Content Knowledge for World History Teachers: What Is It? How Might Prospective Teachers Develop It?” *The Social Studies* 102 (2011): 9–17.

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idea that the content knowledge of teachers has an “instrumental quality” that is focused less on the amount or disciplinary depth of teacher knowledge and more on “the particular type of knowledge teachers need to help specific students learn specific content, including subject-specific facts, concepts, and skills.”³ Finding a way to bridge the gap between subject-matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge has proven to be a vexing problem for teacher educators and new teachers alike.⁴

This chapter offers up a new way of thinking about how to address that problem. While existing efforts to bridge the gap between content and pedagogy in teacher education have focused on intensive collaborations between education faculty and their colleagues in disciplinary fields, or on the integration of disciplinary knowledge into teacher education coursework, work still can be done to address the problem of providing beginning teachers with the balance of deep and flexible content knowledge complemented by practical teaching maneuvers that so many of them crave. To be clear, this is not a report of a formal empirical research study; it offers an exploration of an idea that has not been given enough attention in teacher education, one that holds the promise of potentially helping to assuage the concerns of beginning teachers preoccupied by fears that they may not be adequately prepared to marry their knowledge of subject matter and pedagogy effectively once they enter the classroom.

As it happens, such an approach has been elaborated but never fully applied to the problem of preparing new teachers of history. In a piece he published in 2005, Lee Shulman, then of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, explored the notion of “signature pedagogies” as a way of explaining how induction occurs in most professions.⁵ In the piece, Shulman describes signature pedagogies as something we all know how to identify intuitively: “these are the forms of instruction,” he says, “that leap to mind when we first think about the preparation of members of particular professions.” He provides vivid examples of pre-professional instruction in fields as diverse as medicine, the law, and engineering. He argues that signature pedagogies “can teach us a lot about the personalities, dispositions, and cultures of their fields.” He reminds us that signature pedagogies play a “critical role” in “shaping the character of future practice and in symbolizing the values and hopes of the professions” that

³Harris and Bain, 9.

⁴See, for example, Robert B. Bain, “Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction,” in *Teaching, Learning, and Knowing History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter C. Seixas, Peter N. Stearns, and Samuel S. Wineburg (New York: NYU Press, 2000); Robert Bain and Jeffrey Mirel, “Setting Up Camp at the Great Instructional Divide: Educating Beginning History Teachers,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 57, no. 3 (2006): 212–219; and G. Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen, “A Catwalk Across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

⁵Lee S. Shulman, “Signature Pedagogies in the Professions,” *Daedalus* 134, no. 3 (2005): 52–59.

have adopted them.⁶ And he raises important questions, in passing, about the role signature pedagogies play in the induction of new teachers.

This chapter explores the usefulness of signature pedagogies as a solution to an old educational problem. As Shulman observes, signature pedagogies play a critical role in shaping the experiences of people preparing to enter a variety of different professions. But what utility do they have in teacher education? To answer that question, we'll first look more closely at the separation of content and pedagogy in traditional teacher education programs, which has proven to be a significant obstacle for teacher educators interested in helping future teachers of history and the broader social studies develop pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). Next, we'll explore Shulman's definition of signature pedagogies and the ways they are used to induct new members into various professions. Finally, we'll ask some other important questions. Why don't signature pedagogies seem to exist in teacher education, especially where the preparation of history teachers is concerned? Can they be developed, and, if so, what would it take to develop them? And, finally, what might teaching in elementary and secondary schools look like if pre-service history teachers had induction experiences centered on the use of signature pedagogies? What difference might they make?

In the end, this chapter will hopefully spark new conversations about the efficacy of signature pedagogies as an approach to educating future history teachers. Ultimately it will be up to teacher educators, scholars, and teachers themselves to decide if such an approach could be implemented and, if so, how it might look to do so. In the meantime, however, giving renewed attention to the problem of helping teachers develop deep and meaningful knowledge of subject matter and connecting it to effective and high-quality teaching practices can at least demonstrate the promise of signature pedagogues as a professional tool for teacher educators to consider as part of their own practice.

INTO THE BREACH AND ACROSS THE GREAT DIVIDE

Simply put: in many, if not most, traditional teacher education programs, education about *teaching* happens in education courses, while education about subject-matter *content* happens somewhere else. "Somewhere else," in this case, is in courses taught by instructors with very different goals than those of teacher educators. But simply being aware of the need for these two types of knowledge is a not a guarantee of success. As Avner Segall has pointed out, citing the work of Barton and Levstik, "the premise that teachers should be exposed to the work of scholars in their discipline and to the best pedagogical approaches to make that knowledge instructional for students—a notion university courses in disciplinary knowledge and education as well as professional development programs have long advocated—does not always result in much

⁶Shulman, 52–53.

of either filtering into classrooms.”⁷ This is probably because future teachers are often left to figure out for themselves how content and pedagogy interact to form pedagogical content knowledge, that unique form of professional knowledge identified by Lee Shulman as the special province of professional teachers.⁸

There is, as yet, no scholarly consensus on how this happens in the minds of history and social studies teachers.⁹ While many studies of pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) development exist across other subject fields, from science to English language arts to mathematics and even in fields like instructional technology and physical education, in social studies this has proven to be a harder nut to crack. Conceptually, social studies poses unique problems for researchers interested in nailing down the foundations of PCK since social studies is not, as it happens, a “subject studied in college” like literature, math, or history, and therefore is not, as Peter Seixas has put it, the “starting point for student teachers in the way that the study of literature or history could be.”¹⁰ But even in a more focused subject like history, the literature on PCK is relatively thin. Where scholars have concentrated on the elements of PCK in history, they have often zeroed in on ideas like disciplinary knowledge, historical thinking, and concepts like “content knowledge for teaching” without specifically naming them as components of pedagogical content knowledge.¹¹ Only a handful of studies have explicitly focused on Shulman’s conceptualization of pedagogical content knowledge. Even Shulman himself only wrote explicitly about PCK in social studies once, focusing on the differences between novice teachers and experts rather than on how PCK is developed in the first place.¹²

Making matters worse, new teachers often find themselves entering schools and classrooms where knowledge about the past is perceived as fixed and unchangeable—very much in contrast to what most of them were probably taught in their university coursework. According to Susan Adler, prevailing expectations of teachers that they “maintain control and cover the material” are more powerful than the combination of content knowledge and pedagogical

⁷ Avner Segall, “Blurring the Lines Between Content and Pedagogy,” *Social Education* 68, no. 7 (2004): 480.

⁸ Lee S. Shulman, “Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching,” *Educational Researcher* 15, no. 2 (1986): 4–14.

⁹ Dave Powell, “Brother, Can You Paradigm?: Toward a Theory of Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Social Studies,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 69, no. 3 (2018): 252–262.

¹⁰ Peter Seixas, “Review of Research in Social Studies,” in *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, ed. Virginia Richardson (Washington, D.C.: AERA, 2001), 546.

¹¹ See, for example, Deborah L. Ball, “Bridging Practices: Intertwining Content and Pedagogy in Teaching and Learning How to Teach,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 51, no. 3 (2000): 241–47; Suzanne Wilson and Sam Wineburg, “Peering at History Through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History,” *Teachers College Record*, 89, no. 4 (1988): 525–539; and Sam Wineburg, “Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 80, no. 7 (1999): 488–99.

¹² Sigrun Gudmundsdottir and Lee Shulman, “Pedagogical Content Knowledge in Social Studies,” *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research* 31, no. 2 (1987): 59–70.

knowledge most novice teachers bring to the classroom.¹³ As Chauncey Monte-Sano has put it, students “typically enter middle and high school classrooms believing that history is a static set of names and dates that they are to memorize,” impressions that they no doubt gained from “routine instruction” in other history courses that involved “lecture, textbook work, and multiple choice assessments—all tools and strategies that preserve a notion of history as fixed information and obscure traces of how such knowledge was produced.”¹⁴ It should come as little surprise, then, that many beginning teachers, confronted with students who have been conditioned to view history as, in the words of Thomas Holt, “the ordering of already-known facts into agreed-upon chronologies,” find themselves discarding what they learned about the discipline of history once they enter secondary school classrooms.¹⁵

The question is: how can beginning teachers overcome the obstacle of connecting subject-matter knowledge and pedagogical knowledge given the divide between the two that so often exists in teacher education programs? It should be said at the outset that surely there are teacher educators who effectively bridge these gaps in their own practice; they may, for example, integrate immersive and thorough examinations of historical knowledge into their methods courses. If so, not many have written about the success of their experiences. It seems likely that this is because the structure of teacher education—in which, again, future teachers learn their history from historians and then practice methods and address other “practical” concerns in their education coursework—makes finding the time to do so difficult indeed. Moreover, most teacher educators earned their terminal degrees in teaching or education and naturally focus their research agendas on those fields as well; rarely are teacher educators, in schools of education, also engaging in disciplinary scholarship. Expecting them to remain abreast of new developments in historical scholarship while simultaneously preparing new teachers and maintaining scholarly agendas of their own is a tall order, indeed.

And, yet, the current arrangement leaves much to be desired. Efforts to bridge the gap between content and pedagogy in teacher education have yielded promising results for some teacher educators, but often come with substantial drawbacks. In one case, dubbed by the authors as an effort to “build a catwalk across the great divide,” a collaboration between professors of education and history resulted in a reconfigured teaching methods course focused on historical thinking.¹⁶ After explaining that such collaborations can be exceptionally difficult to enact for a variety of reasons, the authors explained that

¹³Susan Adler, “The Education of Social Studies Teachers,” in *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Education*, eds. Linda S. Levstik and Cynthia A. Tyson (New York: Routledge, 2008), 344.

¹⁴Chauncey Monte-Sano, “Learning to Open Up History for Students: Preservice Teachers’ Emerging Pedagogical Content Knowledge.” *Journal of Teacher Education* 62, no. 3 (2011): 260–272.

¹⁵Quoted in Monte-Sano, “Learning to Open Up,” 260.

¹⁶G. Williamson McDiarmid and Peter Vinten-Johansen, “A Catwalk Across the Great Divide: Redesigning the History Teaching Methods Course,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning*

focusing too much on historical content in an initial experiment left many students feeling unprepared for the “practical” challenges of teaching; in a subsequent experiment they found that focusing on curriculum development seemed to address some of the concerns expressed by students after the first experiment, but with time only to develop one curriculum unit it seems reasonable to ask if the program would effectively overcome the problems described by Segall, Adler, and Monte-Sano earlier. Monte-Sano, meanwhile, has reported on how strong disciplinary knowledge enabled one novice teacher to expand the evidence-based thinking and interpretive skills of her students, but while future teachers in this case study received instruction in a methods course sequence focused on teaching history as an “inquiry-oriented subject,” the separation of history coursework from those methods courses was still apparent.¹⁷

Another promising approach has been employed by Harris and Bain, whose “history lab” innovation was designed to help students in a world history course see the “pedagogical moves” being made by the instructor of a history course they were all enrolled in.¹⁸ The important question to ask here is about the impact such an innovation might have on the practice of these students once they become teachers. And while Harris and Bain’s experiment does indeed look like a promising innovation, it too depends on the collaboration of faculty in other departments—a difficult lift for many teacher educators.

In contrast, signature pedagogies could potentially address the shortcomings of each of the approaches described earlier while bringing the benefits of them aboard as well. One way this could happen is by encouraging collaboration between teacher education faculty and faculty in the disciplines not in the shared space of a classroom but in a different kind of shared space: in the kind of collaboration that scholars engage in when they seek to understand each other’s work. The development of signature pedagogies would depend on mutual cooperation between professionals with a stake in ensuring the future of their profession. In fields from medicine to engineering to law, new professionals are inducted using pedagogical approaches that are remarkably consistent across time and space. In law, for example, scholars of legal history and trial lawyers don’t share the same classroom as they attempt to prepare lawyers to do their work; they instead have contributed to the development of a professional ethos that lends itself to specific pedagogical approaches when future professionals complete their induction experiences. Consensus on goals and on the expected outcomes of legal education no doubt contributes greatly to the success of this enterprise as well, but the clarity and purpose provided by tried and true teaching approaches undoubtedly strengthen that consensus.

History: National and International Perspectives, eds. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

¹⁷ Monte-Sano, “Learning to Open Up.”

¹⁸ Harris and Bain, “Pedagogical Content Knowledge for World History Teachers.”

Before we get too far ahead, however, it makes sense to explain more fully what signature pedagogies are, and how they function in other professional induction experiences.

WHAT ARE SIGNATURE PEDAGOGIES?

“If you wish to understand why professions develop as they do,” Shulman has written, with an homage to the work of the psychologist Erik Erikson, “study their nurseries.” He means by this that one of the best ways to understand the work of professionals is to see how they are prepared—to look closely at their “forms of professional preparation,” which offer a window into the ways members of those professions conceptualize the three “fundamental dimensions of professional work”: to think, to perform, and to act with integrity.¹⁹ Professionals are born in classrooms, as well as in clinical settings, in field placements, in internship sites, in studios, and wherever else they are taught about the nature of the work they plan to undertake. Those experiences do much to communicate to them what it means to be a member of the profession they hope to join, and also set the course they will travel as they seek to become initiated into the professional work they plan to do.

Aspiring lawyers, for example, are accustomed to participating in intense, teacher-driven investigations of case law. After visiting a class on contract law, Shulman observed that instructors in such settings tend to focus on particular students for extended bouts of interrogation in which students are quizzed about their knowledge of specific cases and challenged to carefully read the precise wording of contracts or rulings under investigation. In these classrooms it’s the language of statutes and contracts and court decisions that provides the foundation for student understanding, and a common text for everyone to draw on as learning occurs. This text-based back-and-forth between instructor and student is at the heart of the learning process, but careful preparation by both instructors and students is critical to the success of the enterprise.

By way of comparison, Shulman offers up an example of a class in fluid dynamics taught at an engineering school. In that setting, desks are arranged differently—instead of a theater-style arrangement like those common in law schools, this engineering classroom has all students facing forward in rows so they can see the “mathematical representations of physical processes” drawn by the instructor, whose back is turned to his audience, on the blackboard.²⁰ In a third example, Shulman describes the work of other engineering students in a design studio. In contrast to their cohorts in fluid dynamics, these students are assembled “around work areas with physical models or virtual designs on computer screens.” It’s not clear where the front of the room is located; it’s not even clear who the instructor is. The classroom is a place of experimentation and collaboration where the “designed artifact,” rather the teacher, is the focus

¹⁹ Shulman, 52.

²⁰ Shulman, 53.

of instruction. The artifact, like the contract or statute in the legal classroom, is the thing that holds the knowledge students are after. Unlike in that classroom, however, the teacher prods students and pushes their thinking in a less aggressive and more congenial way.²¹

Finally, Shulman offers up an example from medical training. Here, doctors and other health professionals are taught in clinical rounds where the classroom is the hospital and the “clinical triad”—the patient, the attending physician, and the intern—work together to facilitate learning. As Shulman describes it, “The ritual of case presentation, pointed questions, exploration of alternative interpretations, working diagnosis, and treatment plan is routine.” There is “no question,” he adds, that “instruction centers on the patient, and not on medicine in some more abstract sense.”²²

What makes all of these approaches *signature* pedagogies is their ubiquity within the fields they represent: they are “modes of teaching and learning that are not unique to individual teachers, programs, or institutions,” as Shulman puts it. Indeed, he says, it is the pervasiveness of these pedagogies that makes them so important. “They implicitly define,” says Shulman, “what counts as knowledge in a field and how things become known”; they also “define how knowledge is analyzed, criticized, accepted, or discarded,” and they “define the functions of expertise in a field, the locus of authority, and the privileges of rank and standing.”²³ The pedagogical approaches employed by instructors in each of these professional fields have been tested by others and handed down to those charged with initiating new members into the professions they will serve. They are used because they work: they enable the transmission not only of knowledge to aspiring professionals but also common values, skills, and dispositions. And they are used consistently.

It doesn’t take much imagination to figure out what the future professionals in each of the classroom settings Shulman described will be expected to do once they begin their professional work. In the case of the students learning about contracts, the emphasis on close and careful reading of text—where every word matters and where every interpretation must be made very carefully—signals the importance of such skills in the practice of law. The future engineers absorbing knowledge from a blackboard being hurriedly filled with information are receiving a different kind of signal: they had better get this information, and get it right, because in the field of fluid dynamics a single mistake made while working with volatile liquids or gases can lead to catastrophe. The design engineers, on the other hand, are learning how to study objects closely, together with others, to think about creative ways of tweaking the form and function of those objects. Finally, the future doctors completing their rounds with attending physicians are learning largely by observation and via pointed questioning: they are going through the motions of the work they

²¹ Shulman, 54.

²² Ibid.

²³ Shulman, 54.

plan to soon do independently, studying charts, asking probing questions of patients, and drawing on the volumes of knowledge they internalized earlier in medical school. The education they receive is carefully tailored to prepare them for that future work.

The question teachers and teacher educators may want to ask themselves is: what are the prevailing signature pedagogies in our field? Are there any? One striking conclusion to be drawn from Shulman's examples is that elements of each of the pedagogical approaches he features—(somewhat) discussion-based, Socratic learning; direct transmission of knowledge from teachers to students; carefully managed cooperative group work; and practice-oriented work undertaken in the field itself—are present in most teacher education programs. Indeed, it is probably not unusual for future teachers to be exposed to each of these pedagogical techniques within even a single *course*. But are there pervasive approaches to the education of new teachers that help them define the boundaries of the professional work they plan to do? Do these approaches implicitly define what counts as knowledge in history education? Do they help define how that knowledge is analyzed, criticized, accepted, or discarded? Do they define the functions of expertise for history teachers, the locus of their authority (especially in relation to scholars, but also to teachers of other subjects), and the privileges that come with history teaching?

To be fair, the signature pedagogies Shulman describes are not the only ones in use in the education of the future professionals he observed. Doctors, for example, have substantial amounts of knowledge about body functions, disease, and treatment transmitted to them in fairly traditional ways alongside their clinical experience. Lawyers, too, have to not only master the skills of argumentation and critical thinking but also a massive body of case law and statutory information that will guide their work. Engineers can't just design new things; they have to test them to ensure that they work as well, especially within established safety protocols. Some pedagogical diversity should be expected in every field.

But the *signature* approaches particular to each field say a lot about how it is conceived by the people in it. Where they don't exist it seems fair to conclude that there is not much agreement on the knowledge and skills needed to do the job well. That may well be the case in teacher education. Shulman seems to have concluded as much, having written that “teacher education does not exist in the United States,” pointing specifically to the “cacophony of pathways” into teaching, which signal to outsiders that professional teachers do not really care how new teachers are brought into the field.²⁴ It may seem unfair to blame teachers for that—politicians and policymakers wield a great deal of influence over who is allowed to work in classrooms as teachers—but one of the marks of a true profession is its ability to police itself.

One could argue that the absence of signature pedagogies opens the door to the “cacophony of pathways” bemoaned by Shulman, and feeds the notion

²⁴ Lee Shulman, “Teacher Education Does Not Exist,” *The Stanford Educator* (Fall 2005), 7.

that teaching is a “natural” skill that some people have and some people don’t. In this conceptualization, teaching is “spontaneous and non-deliberate and occurs whenever a person” with certain tendencies “is with any other person.”²⁵ Those tendencies include collecting and manipulating things, talking about what you know, correcting the mistakes of others, jumping in to provide knowledge when others are grasping for it, and “pointing to the moral,” as Frank Murray puts it—saying, in other words, “I told you so.” If this is the best definition we have of what it means to be a teacher, it is not hard to see why teachers lack the respect afforded to other professionals. In the “natural” conceptualization of teaching, teachers come off as officious know-it-alls, not knowledgeable professionals.

The suggestion here is that while there may be many approaches taken to educate new professionals, if specific signature approaches are consistently in use wherever new professionals are being educated, the induction of new members into professional work is likely to be more focused and more coherent. At the very least, it could be said that one characteristic of high-quality professional preparation—one that is consistent across many different professions—is the presence of signature pedagogies. And the consistency of these approaches is important because that consistency helps establish routines that enable professionals to extend their learning in important ways. Routines can be dangerous and stultifying, as Shulman acknowledges, but they have their virtues. As he puts it,

Learning to do complex things in a routine manner permits both students and teachers to spend far less time figuring out the rules of engagement, thereby enabling them to focus on increasingly complex subject matter. ... Pedagogies that bridge theory and practice are never simple. They entail highly complex performances of observation and analysis, reading and interpretation, question and answer, conjecture and refutation, proposal and response, problem and hypothesis, query and evidence, individual invention and collective deliberation. To the extent that the substance of these complex performances changes with each session, chapter, or patient, the cognitive and behavioral demands on both students and faculty would be overwhelming if it were not possible to routinize significant components of the pedagogy.²⁶

It’s difficult to overstate the value of this point: when we establish high-quality routines, we enable ourselves to focus on balancing the competing demands of the work we do—and we also enable creativity to flourish. Each of the professional endeavors Shulman spotlighted in his discussion of signature pedagogies is a demanding one: lawyers, doctors, and engineers often face complex ethical and moral dilemmas that would be debilitating if the people facing those

²⁵ Frank B. Murray, “Beyond Natural Teaching: The Case for Professional Education,” in *The Teacher Educator’s Handbook: Building a Knowledge Base for the Preparation of Teachers*, ed. Frank B. Murray (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

²⁶ Shulman, “Signature Pedagogies,” 56.

dilemmas were not prepared to spring into action without even really thinking about it.

In another setting, Shulman once compared the work of being an elementary teacher to being an emergency room physician during a natural disaster—while noting that this is what elementary teaching is like every day. The need to address the individual needs of students is not unlike the work of diagnosing patients, deciding whose needs are most urgent and whose can be addressed after those with the most critical needs are met. The knowledge required to engage in this kind of educational triage—knowledge of content, of learning theories, of the larger teaching context, and of the students themselves—can be overwhelming. It speaks to the complexity of teaching as an everyday act. “To put it simply,” Shulman says, “signature pedagogies simplify the dauntingly complex challenges of professional education because once they are learned and internalized, we don’t have to think about them; we can think with them.” He argues that the “routine of pedagogical practice cushions the burdens of higher learning” by shifting “new learning into our zones of proximal development, transforming the impossible into the merely difficult.”²⁷

Teachers may not face life-or-death decisions every day, but the work they do is no less important than the work done by other professionals, and in many ways it is more important. In the end, Shulman’s advocacy for pedagogical routines offers a compelling rationale for the education of teachers: coming to some consensus on the signature ways we want new teachers to be educated could go a long way toward establishing a foundation for responding to the challenges of teaching that currently seems to be missing for many of them.

TOWARD SIGNATURE PEDAGOGIES IN HISTORY EDUCATION

So what would such signature pedagogies look like in history education? Shulman identifies three dimensions of signature pedagogies that may be helpful to consider here. First is the surface structure, which consists of “concrete, operational acts of teaching and learning, of showing and demonstrating, of questioning and answering, of interacting and withholding, of approaching and withdrawing.”²⁸ We might think of the surface structure as the elements of teaching that are most readily observable: these are the parts of a teacher’s practice most likely to be evaluated by outsiders because they can be *seen*.

The second dimension of signature pedagogies is what Shulman refers to as their deep structure. Shulman describes the deep structure as “a set of assumptions about how best to impart a certain body of knowledge and know-how,” which rests on the assertion that what is really being taught is not just that body of knowledge but theories about how best to put it to good use and how to think and act like a member of the profession someone hopes to enter. Both the surface structure and deep structure are reminiscent of Joseph Schwab’s

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Shulman, 54–55.

delineation of the “substantive” and “syntactic” structures of academic disciplines—structures that provide a foundation for Shulman’s elaboration of the concept of pedagogical content knowledge.²⁹ The syntactic structure of a discipline, which mirrors the deep structure of a signature pedagogy, is composed of the discipline’s epistemological foundations and the methods used within the discipline to establish truth; likewise, the deep structure of a signature pedagogy encompasses valued ideas about what truths are to be taught, zeroing in on the sometimes hidden “secondary curriculum” imparted by teachers. A history teacher, for example, might employ a pedagogical approach with a surface structure that is clearly focused on the substantive history she wants students to learn: the names, dates, facts, and key interpretations that form the foundation of historical understanding. But the teaching may also have a deep structure as well, focused on skills like contextualization, corroboration, close reading, and sourcing of materials—the skills historians use to establish the veracity of an account of the past or to determine the validity of the resources they encounter.

Shulman also describes a third dimension of signature pedagogies: the implicit structure. He defines the implicit structure as “a moral dimension that comprises a set of beliefs about professional attitudes, values, and dispositions.”³⁰ The implicit structure, needless to say, is critical to the development of conscientious professionals, and the teaching of young people is, of course, a profession in which conscientiousness is of paramount importance. But the implicit structure also sets expectations for how professionals should *carry* themselves, and where the primary focus of their work should lie. To place the three dimensions in context Shulman returns again to the example of a course on legal case methods; with regard to the implicit structure of the education provided in such courses, he writes:

We observed several interactions in which students questioned whether a particular legal judgment was fair to the parties, in addition to being legally correct. The instructor generally responded that they were there to learn the law, not to learn what was fair—which was another matter entirely. This distinction between legal reasoning and moral judgment emerged from the pedagogy as a tacit principle.³¹

If the reputation of lawyers has never progressed much further than Dick the Butcher’s famous suggestion in Shakespeare’s *Henry VI*—“the first thing we do, let’s kill all the lawyers”—it may be because the aphorism speaks to the cool, calculated way lawyers go about their business. It should come as no surprise that lawyers approach their work the way they do because it’s what they were taught to do.

²⁹ Joseph J. Schwab, “Education and the Structure of the Disciplines,” in *Science, Curriculum, and Liberal Education: Selected Essays*, eds. Ian Westbury and Neil J. Wilkof (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

³⁰ Shulman, 55.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Applying these ideas to the preparation of teachers—history teachers, in particular—is not as straightforward as it may seem to be at first. One relationship that must be untangled is the relationship between the work of historians and the work of history teachers. It may be true, as Avner Segall has written, that the line between “scholar” and “teacher” is much more blurry than it might appear to be at first glance, but the blurring of that distinction has not yet fully permeated teacher education.³² Robert Bain illustrated this nicely when he described the dissonant experience of trying to earn a graduate degree in history while also working as a high school history teacher. He described the history he studied at night, away from his classroom, as “a way of knowing the universe,” an exhilarating assimilation of knowledge and skills to be mastered so the world would make sense, but when he got back to school it was transformed into something much more prosaic. There, history became “a subject students took and teachers taught, differing from other subjects only in the facts covered.”³³ Lendol Calder made a similar point while bemoaning the fact that survey courses in history are often perceived by undergraduates to be not all that different from the introductory courses they take in other subjects—as one student described it, it’s “first you listen to a lecture, then you read a textbook, then you take a test.” Calder continues,

When the only history course most people ever take from a professionally trained historian tempts students to believe that there is little difference between history and sociology or history and biology except for the facts to be learned, it is not surprising that teachers occasionally sense they might be “doing it wrong.”³⁴

No doubt many students across all levels feel the same way about the history they encounter during their school years. The truth is that many young people will only encounter history formally while they are in school, and if that experience leaves them with the sense that it is, to pick up the old saw, “one damned thing after another,” the chances that any but the most dedicated among them will continue to expand their knowledge of history is slim, to say the least. “Here historians flirt with calamity,” says Calder. Teachers do too.

So, ideally, any effort to articulate and develop signature pedagogies in history education would effectively bridge this gap between teachers and scholars, and also between “coverage” models and models of teaching focused on “doing” history. Joel M. Sipress and David J. Voelker attempted as much by pointing to the value of moving “beyond the coverage model” that has traditionally defined history instruction and focusing, instead, on “doing” history

³² Avner Segall, “Blurring the Lines Between Content and Pedagogy,” *Social Education* 68, no. 7 (2004): 479–482.

³³ Robert B. Bain, “Into the Breach: Using Research and Theory to Shape History Instruction,” in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: NYU Press, 2000).

³⁴ Lendol Calder, “Uncoverage: Toward a Signature Pedagogy for the History Survey,” *Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006): 1358–1370.

rather than just “learning” it. Of course the idea that learning and doing history are separate things is a problematic one; historians *learn* about the past by *doing* the things historians do to make sense of it. It is in the doing that things get learned. While it is certainly true, as Sipress and Voelker argue, that the transmission model limits the time students are able to spend practicing the work of interpreting the past, no doubt a viable solution to the problem of improving history teaching will bring these two ideas into accord with each other. Students can’t do history without learning it any more than they can learn it without doing it.³⁵

Still, Sipress and Voelker do suggest a path forward in the quest to define signature pedagogies in history education. In the first place, those signature pedagogies must incorporate the structures of the discipline of history, which, in turn, would form the basis of the surface structure and deep structure of the pedagogies to be employed. Many historians are already trying to do that. Sipress and Voelker point to several examples, including Calder’s, of historians actively trying to push the field past the coverage model and toward more active approaches to engaging students in the study of the past. They note the support provided by the American Historical Association, which has commissioned reports on overhauling the education of history teachers and sponsored panels to discuss the challenges associated with it, and they observe the increasing number of articles published in venues like *The History Teacher* that are focused on promoting more effective approaches to teaching and learning. They also cite federally funded programs like the now-defunct Teaching American History grants funded by the US Department of Education, which facilitated dialogue between post-secondary scholars of history and K-12 history teachers. All of this work points in the direction of a possible paradigm shift in the teaching of history—as yet unrealized, but promising nonetheless.

Furthermore, as Sipress and Voelker rightly note, “the systematic investigation of student learning” that would need to serve as a basis for attempting to define signature pedagogies “must begin with a clear definition of what we want our students to learn.”³⁶ In this way they hint at the importance of defining an implicit structure for these pedagogical approaches as well: what we want students to learn is intimately tied to who we want them to *be*, and what kind of society we hope to live in. As such, attempts to elaborate signature pedagogies for history education should focus on defining what it means to act ethically as a history teacher, not just on what teachers need to know and be able to do from an academic standpoint. To do this the field will have to grapple with difficult questions. What role should the teaching of controversial subjects play in history classrooms? What does it mean to be objective or

³⁵ Joel M. Sipress and David J. Voelker, “From Learning History to Doing History: Beyond the Coverage Model,” in *Exploring Signature Pedagogies: Approaches to Teaching Disciplinary Habits of Mind*, eds. Regan A.R. Gurung, Nancy L. Chick, and Aeron Haynie (Sterling, Va.: Stylus, 2008).

³⁶ Sipress and Voelker, 32.

dispassionate when studying the past, and how important is it to approach the past in these ways? What are the political implications of teaching history in certain ways, and what is the place of political content in schools? To be sure, no teacher should seek to indoctrinate his or her students with specific political views, but the act of teaching is a political one by its very nature—it is the act of transmitting and transforming knowledge in collaboration with others, an act of empowerment. In this sense, the presence of political questions and concerns in history classrooms is simply an inescapable fact of life. How teachers are taught to grapple with that is as important as anything else they learn.

So, needless to say, there are many pieces to this puzzle that will need to be assembled before history teachers, scholars, and teacher educators can begin to think about the widespread adoption of signature pedagogies. Certainly zeroing in on what history is good for—why students should learn it, what skills it imparts, what value it has in a democratic society—must be a centerpiece of this effort. There is undoubtedly a great deal of agreement already about some of these issues, but they will need to be taken up explicitly if consensus is to be built around them. It will also be important to begin thinking about how specific people, events, eras, topics, and other historical phenomena are taught. Ideas about the past change over time as historians uncover new sources and develop new interpretations. It may not be true, as George Santayana supposedly opined, that history is a pack of lies about events that never happened told by people who weren't there, but it is true that knowledge about history is rarely fixed, and surely interpretations do shift, as they should, when new knowledge comes to light and as political and social conditions absorb the attention of scholars and teachers. Earlier ideas about the Reconstruction era following the Civil War, for example, suggested that it was an unmitigated disaster (interpretations that were more than likely shaped by political considerations, not historical ones³⁷); now scholars have coalesced around a much more nuanced view of what happened and what it represented, especially for freed former slaves.³⁸ We might call the prevailing interpretations of the past at any given time “signature interpretations”—the generally agreed-upon, but never fully permanent, interpretations of past events about which historians have reached some consensus. When attempting to define the surface structure and deep structure of signature pedagogies in history, signature interpretations will need to figure prominently.

Of course, Shulman's definition of signature pedagogies in the professions does not address such fine details. His interest was not in addressing the content of the courses he observed where signature pedagogies were in use so much as it was in describing the pedagogies themselves. But such questions have to be addressed by professionals concerned with the education of new members of their professions. To be clear, the goal of identifying signature

³⁷ Eric Foner, “The New View of Reconstruction,” *American Heritage* 34, no. 6 (1983).

³⁸ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2014).

interpretations would be to map the current paradigms in place in our collective understanding of history—it would not be to somehow curtail the ability of scholars to push our understanding in new directions. The bottom line is that teachers do need to know what they are being expected to teach, and establishing some consensus on that would be immensely helpful to many of them.

It would also be helpful to teacher educators. One explanation for the endurance of the content/pedagogy divide in teacher education is that teacher educators lack the subject-matter knowledge of scholars, and therefore depend on them to provide it to future teachers; this could be addressed, of course, by encouraging more historians to take up the challenge of preparing teachers, and by allowing more teacher educators time to study, teach, and write about history. But another explanation is that teacher educators have no way of knowing what their students have learned where disciplinary content is concerned or what they will be asked to teach. We can blame broad-field certification policies for this, in part, and we can blame the interference of political actors with axes to grind too, but we should also look inward and think about the role scholars and teachers play in shaping the school curriculum. By encouraging teacher candidates to recognize signature interpretations in the service of developing signature pedagogies, we might not only alleviate some of the tension associated with learning to teach but also actively reframe the elementary and secondary school curriculum in ways that more accurately reflect and build upon current scholarship. This, in many ways, would be a winning situation all around.

Still there is one final dimension of the problem of defining signature pedagogies that should be considered as well: are there signature pedagogies in teacher education more generally that would apply here? Traditionally, as Calder and others have pointed out, historians have concerned themselves mostly with the transmission of knowledge they had already internalized to the students they taught, at least when they were teaching survey courses; most historians, it seems, paid little attention to learning theories or commonly accepted ideas about effective pedagogical practice. That is beginning to change, but historians still have a long way to go in this regard to catch up with their colleagues in teacher education programs and in elementary and secondary schools. (This street goes both ways, of course; traditionally teachers and teacher educators have struggled to keep up with the work of scholars as well.) Students of history are not engineers of fluid dynamics; the substantive knowledge they gain in history class needs to be connected to the methods and ways of knowing that are central to the work of historians in a symbiotic way. To do that, anyone associated with the teaching of history will need to be aware of prevailing paradigms in the psychology of education and will need to pay more attention to the way pedagogical experiences are structured and organized.

This was a problem taken up by Linda Crafton and Peggy Albers in an exploration of the idea that it may be possible to elaborate a signature pedagogy (note the singular form) in teacher education. Crafton and Albers

concerned themselves chiefly with the concept of teaching as a form of self-discovery, and as “both a moral and an ethical commitment.”³⁹ They point to the classic work of Kenneth Zeichner and Jennifer Gore, who identified functionalist, interpretive, and critical traditions in the education of teachers, to elaborate the claim that teacher training, teacher preparation, and teacher education are all supposedly synonymous terms that actually describe very different professional induction experiences.⁴⁰ As work is undertaken to begin rethinking the way new history teachers are brought into the profession, attention should be paid to these traditions. Is teacher education primarily a functionalist enterprise, driven by the need to transmit information from one generation to the next? Historians and teacher educators seem to be moving away from this approach, which leaves the interpretive and critical traditions—or something else not yet defined—to help guide the development of signature pedagogies. Crafton and Albers argue that the interpretive stance “recognizes the importance of an individual’s subjective experience in understanding the social world.”⁴¹ Within this tradition, teachers might be encouraged to adopt approaches to teaching that are more closely aligned with ideas about “doing” history—that is, that are more focused on teaching students the interpretive and analytical skills historians use to make sense of the past. It is, after all, through interpretation of the world that we come to understand it, but not everyone’s interpretation is quite the same. Teachers who are trained to view teaching as an act undertaken to encourage students to find themselves and their place in the world are more likely to employ pedagogical approaches that emphasize these goals.

The third tradition stands in opposition to the other two by encouraging practitioners to challenge the status quo. In the critical tradition of teacher education, individual teachers are given “agency to transform within the often deeply rooted structures that comprise the field of education,” as Crafton and Albers put it.⁴² The emphasis in critical approaches is on education for liberation—liberation of the mind, body, and soul through the acquisition of knowledge. At first blush, many historians may be deeply uncomfortable with critical approaches to history teaching since even the most radical of contemporary historians still believe in the importance of tethering the conclusions they draw to the evidence that is available to them. Of course, just because an approach is critical, it doesn’t mean its proponents seek to undermine the methods of establishing truth; they may simply advance an orientation toward what knowledge is useful for. The historian Howard Zinn is often excoriated by members of his own profession for writing “subjective” history that advanced personal

³⁹ Linda K. Crafton and Peggy Albers, “Toward a Signature Pedagogy in Teacher Education,” in *Exploring More Signature Pedagogies: Approaches to Teaching Disciplinary Habits of Mind*, eds. Nancy L. Chick, Aeron Haynie, and Regan A.R. Gurung (Sterling, Va.: Stylus, 2012), 218.

⁴⁰ Kenneth M. Zeichner and Jennifer Gore, “Teacher Socialization,” in *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, ed. W. R. Houston (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 329–348.

⁴¹ Crafton and Albers, 219.

⁴² *Ibid.*

views that he was not shy about sharing. But Zinn countered that students “should be encouraged to go into history in order to come out of it, and should be discouraged from going into history and getting lost in it, as some historians do.”⁴³

His point was that history ought to be useful in helping us resolve moral, ethical, and political dilemmas, that we can, indeed, learn from the experiences of others in the past to improve our prospects for the future. He was perhaps the most ardent of the new wave of historians intent on bringing the voices of the invisible from our past into the spotlight, and the critical lens he employed is one that many historians themselves use, even if they are not as strident in promulgating their political views as Zinn was.⁴⁴ At any rate the debate engendered by Zinn’s approach, amplified by the continuing popularity of his *A People’s History of the United States*, points toward the important role controversy plays in determining what we know and believe to be true about the past. Surely more students of history would benefit from exposure to controversies like these, which expose not only the enduring truth that history is so much more than just “what happened,” but is in fact eternally contested, sometimes passionately so.

The point is that anyone interested in the development of signature pedagogies in history will need to grapple with the existence of these three traditions, which compete with one another for predominance in the socialization of teachers. It could well be the case that a favored approach to teaching history in schools (and/or to teaching history teachers) will straddle the line between the interpretive and critical traditions, with some of the old functionalism thrown in for good measure—surely students can be expected to internalize bodies of knowledge while also learning to interpret the past and questioning the society they live in. Zeichner and Gore, of course, were primarily interested in exploring the ways teachers are socialized, but in the process they helped explain some of the disconnect that exists between teacher education programs and the teaching that happens in schools. Crafton and Albers, for their part, are interested in picking up on the influence of these traditions to argue for a signature approach to teacher education that advances critical goals. As the terrain of potential signature pedagogies in history education is mapped, it will no doubt be important to consider both perspectives: that traditions do exist and that understanding them can help lead to changes in the way teachers are educated.

⁴³ Barbara Miner, “Why Students Should Study History: An Interview with Howard Zinn,” in *Rethinking Schools: An Agenda for Change*, eds. Robert Lowe, Robert Peterson, and David Levine (New York: The New Press, 1995).

⁴⁴ Zinn, of course, is a polarizing figure among historians and history educators. Sam Wineburg published a critique of Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States*, titled “Undue Certainty: Where Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History* Falls Short,” in *American Educator* in 2013, and historian David Greenberg also published a scathing critique of Zinn in *The New Republic* himself in 2013, “Agit Prof: Howard Zinn’s Influential Mutilations of American History.”

CONCLUSION

In the end, the promise of signature pedagogies in history education is the promise of education itself: if taken up as a framework within which scholars, teacher educators, and teachers can begin to engage in conversations about the kind of education teachers need, signature pedagogies could help bring coherence, clarity, and a well-articulated sense of purpose to teacher education experiences. As he reflected on what he had learned by observing the signature pedagogies in use in other professions, Shulman concluded simply that

One thing is clear: signature pedagogies make a difference. They form habits of the mind, habits of the heart, and habits of the hand. As Erikson observed in the context of the nurseries, signature pedagogies prefigure the cultures of professional work and provide the early socialization into the practices and values of a field. Whether in a lecture hall or a lab, in a design studio or a clinical setting, the way we teach will shape how professionals behave—and in a society dependent on its professionals, that is no small matter.⁴⁵

He couldn't be more correct. The habits of hand, heart, and mind engendered by the deliberate and carefully planned education of new professionals made possible by signature pedagogies could bring renewed emphasis to all the things that matter most to those of us who care deeply about the study of the past. By carefully defining what professionals should know—and by doing so in a way that encourages consensus building by drawing on the collective insights of scholars and teachers—teachers could begin to approach their professional work from day one with routines in mind that would allow them to respond to challenges more effectively and, eventually, meet even their most ambitious goals.

It's perfectly understandable for beginning teachers of history today—and even veterans—to be preoccupied with the history they don't know. As long as coverage prevails as a teaching paradigm in history, that uneasiness will continue. But if signature pedagogies can be developed to guide the education of teachers, it at least seems possible that some of that anxiety can be dissipated. If the only thing new under the sun for most people is the history they don't know, the only thing new under the sun for historians and history teachers may be what they have not learned yet about signature pedagogies. If they can grasp that, the first problem—at least for those who go into classrooms to teach every day—could certainly be mitigated.

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⁴⁵ Shulman, 59.

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Dynamic Literacies and Democracy: A Framework for Historical Literacy

Melanie Innes

INTRODUCTION

Debates over a focus on either skills or content in the History curriculum have become a key feature of History education in Australia.¹ In the current iteration of the *Australian Curriculum: History* for high school (secondary), two strands are identified as the focus of the subject: historical knowledge and understanding, and historical skills. The knowledge component is carefully framed around an explanation that the prescribed content provides opportunities to develop historical understanding through key historical concepts, as observed by Tudball.² However, this research calls for a reconceptualization of History curriculum, aiming to contribute to an understanding of historical literacy that situates this term within the broader concept of historical consciousness. In an era of emphasis on measurable outcomes and competencies, there is a need to reflect on the nature of history as a school subject, its purpose, and aims.³ As

¹ Robert Parkes and Debra Donnelly, “Changing Conceptions of Historical Thinking in History Education: An Australian case study,” *Revista Tempo e Argumento* 6, no. 11 (2014): 113–136.

² Libby Tudbull, “The Humanities and Social Sciences: Developing active and informed citizens in a changing world,” in *The Australian Curriculum: Promises, Problems and Perspectives*, eds. Alan Reid and Deborah Price (Deakin West, ACT: Australian Curriculum Studies Association, 2018), 86.

³ Andreas Körber, “German History Didactics: From Historical Consciousness to Historical Competencies – and Beyond?” in *Historicizing the Uses of the Past: Scandinavian Perspectives on History Culture, Historical Consciousness and Didactics of History Related to World War II*, eds. Helle Bjerg, Claudia Lenz and Erik Thorstenson (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011), 146.

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argued by Peter Lee, the mental processes required of historical literacy cannot be reduced to theory or skills; rather, there is a need for conceptual understanding of disciplinary concepts to understand the importance of thinking historically in the present.⁴ The framework proposed here incorporates aspects of sociocultural approach of James Wertsch to acknowledge the dynamic and contextual nature of literacies.⁵ As explained by Barton and Levstik:

the most important implication of this approach is that it calls attention to the socially situated nature and purpose of students' actions – what they do with history – rather than focussing on the knowledge assumed to exist inside their heads or the skills they are believed to possess as individuals.⁶

This chapter is specifically interested in how the development of historical literacies can contribute to active and informed citizenship in the twenty-first century. A major aspect of citizenship education in schooling is to help young people prepare for the kind of decision making that will be required of them in the future.⁷ Regarding the implications for citizenship as a result of societal changes due to globalization and proliferation of technology, Kalantzis et al. write:

A key reason for the rise of this kind and level of diversity, we would argue, is a profound shift in what we call 'the balance of agency'. As workers, citizens and persons, we are more and more required to be users, players, creators and discerning consumers rather than the spectators, delegates, audiences or quiescent consumers of an earlier era. Even though it is only happening in fits and starts, the hierarchical command society is being displaced by the society of peer-to-peer reflexivity.⁸

Historical literacy is an ambiguous term, used in a variety of different ways in literature, often with vague or inconsistent explanations.⁹ Arguably, to be literate today is to engage with multiple literacies¹⁰; as Virta describes, "Effective, functional reading requires interpreting and processing the text,

⁴Lee, "History Education and Historical Literacy," 64–66.

⁵James V. Wertsch, *Voices of the Mind: A Sociocultural Approach to Mediated Action* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991).

⁶Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 6–7.

⁷Barton, "Agency, Choice and Historical Action," 131–142.

⁸Mary Kalantzis, et al., *Literacies*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 54–55.

⁹Marshall Maposa and Johan Wasserman, "Conceptualising Historical Literacy – A Review of the Literature," *Yesterday and Today*, no. 4 (2009): 41–66; Taylor and Young, *Making History*, 30–32.

¹⁰Peter Freebody and Allan Luke, "Literacy as Engaging with New Forms of Life: The 'Four Roles' Model," in *The Literacy Lexicon*, eds. Geoff Bull and Michèle Anstey (Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia, 2003), 51–66.

willingness to be critical and to ask questions, in other words, to test the value of statements.”¹¹ Changing social and cultural conditions, as well as the rise of new technologies, have impacted changing conceptions of literacy, now requiring a degree of proficiency in visual, media, and internet literacies.¹² In school, specific subjects reflect the knowledge, or epistemology, of the academic discipline/s the subject is derived from.¹³ As described by Retz, this is the result of a process of *disciplinary distillation*, undertaken by educators to “isolate the concepts through which learning in its corresponding school subject could be publicly registered and tested.”¹⁴ In History education, this is represented by the procedural approach, or historical thinking concepts as detailed in curriculum documents and associated resources such as textbooks.¹⁵ Although History students are already exposed to a multitude of (sometimes competing) historical representations, through family histories, popular culture, and collective memories in their everyday lives; learning to think historically can expose students to a sense of how historical knowledge is developed, or potentially manipulated, and conveyed for a particular purpose.¹⁶

Despite major changes that have occurred in the way people communicate in the digital age, there has been a continuous focus on conventional or traditional literacies in education policy. However, it is argued literacy is inseparable from the social context in which communication occurs.¹⁷ As such, there is a need to acknowledge that young people today have grown up communicating in online communities, as non-physical social spaces. Moreover, digital media has altered the long-held systems used in evaluating the authenticity of historical information¹⁸; as a result, there is a need to consider the socially situated context in which interaction occurs and the potential implications of communica-

¹¹ Arja Virta, “Historical Literacy: Thinking, Reading and Understanding History,” *Journal of Research in Teacher Education* 14, no. 4 (2007): 12.

¹² James Paul Gee, “Literacy and Social Minds,” in *The Literacy Lexicon*, 2nd ed., eds. G. Bull and M. Anstey (Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia, 2003), 3–14; Carmen Luke, “Cyber-Schooling and Technological Change: Multiliteracies for New Times,” in *Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures*, eds. Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis (South Yarra, VIC: Macmillan Publishers, 2000), 69–91.

¹³ Tyson Retz, “Teaching Empathy and the critical examination of historical evidence,” in *Historical Thinking for History Teachers: A New Approach to Engaging Students and Developing Historical Consciousness*, eds. Tim Allender, Anna Clark and Robert J. Parkes (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2019), 91–92.

¹⁴ Retz, “Teaching Empathy,” 92.

¹⁵ Retz, 91–92.

¹⁶ Stéphane Lévesque, *Thinking Historically: Educating students for the Twenty-First Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 171–2.

¹⁷ Gee J. Paul, “Literacy and Social Minds.” In *The Literacy Lexicon*, edited by Geoff Bull and Michèle Anstey. (Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia, 2003), 3–14.

¹⁸ Roy Rosenzweig, “Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past,” in *Clio Wired: The future of the past in the digital age*, eds. Roy Rosenzweig and Anthony Grafton (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 3–27; Wineburg, et al., “Evaluating Information: The Cornerstone of Civic Online Reasoning,” (Stanford Digital Repository, 2016), <http://purl.stanford.edu/fv751yt5934>

tion in online spaces as well as face-to-face or traditional print media contexts.¹⁹ With this idea in mind, this research employs the term *dynamic literacies*,²⁰ drawing together multiple strands of literacies research. This conceptualization acknowledges the contextual nature of language and meaning, as well as the individual agent's ability to consider meaning and knowledge as connected to the wider social culture. These literacies are also often based on the individual's lived experience, such as navigating a particular social 'space' or communicative 'event.'²¹ Historical literacy is seemingly no different, as Lévesque argues, developments in media have not only impacted the way history is consumed, it also allowed students to construct and create their own interpretations of history, whether factual, satirical, or artistic.²² Therefore, this chapter calls for the inclusion of aspects of a sociocultural approach in theorizing historical literacies that acknowledges the situatedness of historical interpretation and subsequent *action*; or asks the question, what do students *do* with the historical representations they encounter in their practical lives?²³

There are a number of prominent scholars, such as Sam Wineburg and Keith Barton, who argue for the potential of History education to help students to develop the kinds of reasoning and judgment that may be required for civic reasoning and agency.²⁴ The focus of this research is concerned with literacies required for active and informed citizenship in the twenty-first century, and the ways studying history can encourage reasoning and analysis that can help young people prepare for future decision making. Lee outlines the following three aims for student acquisition in History education: first, history as a discipline of knowledge, as a way of viewing the world, as well as conceptual knowledge that underlies historical thinking; second, *dispositions*:

- (a) disposition to produce the best possible arguments for whatever stories we tell *relative to our questions and presuppositions*, appealing to the *validity* of the stories and the truth of singular factual statements. Acquiring respect for evidence is as important as acquiring a concept of historical evidence.
- (b) Acceptance that we may be obliged to tell different stories from the ones we would prefer to tell (even to the point of questioning presuppositions).

¹⁹ Moyle, 2014, 37.

²⁰ John Potter and Julian McDougall, *Digital Media, Culture & Education: Theorizing Third Space Literacies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 16.

²¹ Potter and McDougall, *Digital Media, Culture & Education*, 16.

²² Stéphane Lévesque, "Breaking away from Passive History in the Digital Age," *Public History Weekly* 3, no. 30 (2015): paragraph 3.

²³ Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 6–7.

²⁴ See, for example: Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When it's Already on your Phone)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); Barton, "Agency, Choice and Historical Action," 131–142; Sam Wineburg, "Why Historical Thinking Is not About History," *History News* 71, no. 2 (2016): 13–16.

- (c) Recognition of the importance of according people in the past the same respect as we would want for ourselves as human beings.²⁵

Third, the ability to orient oneself in time as a historical being belonging to a particular historical time, and therefore expanding possibilities for thinking about the future.²⁶ Building on these ideas, the following sections present a working framework toward a common understanding of historical literacy. Through a reflection on the aims of History education in developing active and informed citizenship and the Australian curriculum context, the following section outlines the competing demands placed on History teachers, informed by the Australian curriculum, as well as ideological differences underlying public and political debates about the purpose of History in schools. To illustrate the impact of these ideas, this study draws on a research project²⁷ conducted during the centenary of World War I (WWI). Specifically, this research was interested in Australian secondary school students' perceptions of Australia's commemoration of the 1915 Gallipoli campaign,²⁸ an enduring feature of national historical narratives particularly in relation to national identity and the attributes attributed to the "Anzac Legend."²⁹ An overview of the significance of the Anzac Legend in Australia is outlined below.

BACKGROUND

The Australian Curriculum Context

History education in the Australian context has been vigorously debated in the public sphere, at times reflecting political concerns about the role of History education in the formation of national identity, and the perceived lack of

²⁵ Lee, "History Education and Historical Literacy," 65.

²⁶ Lee, 64–66.

²⁷ For publications of this research, please see: Melanie Innes and Heather Sharp, "World War I Commemoration and Student Historical Consciousness: A Study of High-School Students' Views," *History Education Research Journal* 15, no. 2 (2018): 193–205; Heather Sharp and Melanie Innes, "Australian High School Students on Commemorating the Gallipoli Campaign: 'It Baffles Me' and 'It's a Bit Weird,'" *Journal of International Social Studies* 9, no. 1 (2019): 29–52; Heather Sharp, "After the ideological battles: Student views on sources representing the Gallipoli conflict," *International Perspectives on Teaching Rival Histories Pedagogical Responses to Contested Narratives and the History Wars*, eds. Henrik Åström Elmersjö, Anna Clark and Monika Vinterek (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 229–250.

²⁸ The Gallipoli campaign of 1915 was the first major military action fought by Australian and New Zealand army forces in World War I. Allied troops landed on the Gallipoli peninsula in Turkey on April 25, 1915. Ultimately, after a defeat, the Allies were evacuated eight months later in December 1915.

²⁹ Jennifer Lawless and Sedat Bulgu, "Turkey, Australia and Gallipoli: The challenges of a shared history," in *Teaching history and the changing nation-state: Transnational and intranational perspectives*, ed. R. Guyver (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 223, ed. R. Guyver (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 223.

knowledge about Australia's past.³⁰ Roberts argued that while many Western nations (including Australia) have attempted to address such issues through the creation of a national curriculum in recent years, the focus has been driven by the political imperative of History education, writing, "the transmission of historical content, fundamental beliefs and understandings about the past, and considerations of how we understand the past in relation to national development and identity."³¹ History education literature, such as *Making History: A guide for the teaching and learning of history in Australian schools*, argues that these debates need to be focused on the understanding that History education should aim for the development of historical literacy in students, rather than the memorization of historical facts. Historical literacy is described as "a systematic process with particular sets of skills, attitudes and conceptual understandings that mediate and develop historical consciousness."³² Here, an overview of how historical literacy is problematized in the Australian context is provided, where both History and literacy education have been the focus of political and public rhetoric surrounding the types of knowledge and skills Australian students *should* be learning in school.

Increasingly, Australian curriculum reforms have been concerned with the attributes or qualities that may be required of the successful twenty-first century citizen. Explicitly stated in the national document, *Melbourne Declaration of Educational Goals for Young Australians* is a call for all students to become "active and informed citizens."³³ While at the same time, political interest in education is increasingly concerned with employability and national competitiveness in the world economy, employing a "global comparative economic lens," placing greater significance on results in the Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) and high stakes forms of assessment, by governments worldwide.³⁴ Arguably, this detracts from less measurable educational objectives, mainly concerned with the formation of the person, instead focusing on quick-fix strategies to improve scores in a "race for certification."³⁵ Reid asserted that there are three dominant themes that are under threat of redefinition through the imposition of economic political agendas linked to standardization, economic development, and teacher accountability; these are equity,

³⁰ Anna Clark, *Private Lives, Public History* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2016), 34–37.

³¹ Philip Roberts, "From Historical Literacy to a Pedagogy of History" (presentation, Building Bridges for Historical Learning: Connecting Teacher Education and Museum Education, University of Canberra Convention Centre, ACT, 2011), 3.

³² Tony Taylor and Carmel Young, *Making History: A guide for the teaching and learning of history in Australian schools* (Carlton South, Victoria: Curriculum Corporation, 2003), 35.

³³ MCEETYA, *Melbourne Declaration*, 9.

³⁴ Lyn Yates, et al., *Knowledge at the crossroads? Physics and History in the Changing World of Schools and Universities* (Singapore: Springer, 2017), 16.

³⁵ Lyn Yates, "Schools, Universities and History in a world of twenty-first century skills: 'The end of knowledge as we know it?'" *History of Education Review* 46, no. 1 (2017): 7.

student-centered pedagogy, and teachers' professional autonomy.³⁶ In the Australian context, this focus on human capital has bi-partisan support through the establishment of the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). Viewing curriculum through a sociological perspective, Lingard argues that in the current political context where economic sovereignty may be consumed by globalizing markets, national curriculum may be asserted as cultural sovereignty.³⁷ This idea is evident in the political interest in the nature of history being taught in Australian schools, as specifically connected to national identity.

Despite the undeniable force of globalization, it is important to acknowledge that national identity continues to be reproduced, remaining relevant in an increasingly transnational world.³⁸ Historically, History education has been used as a tool of the nation-state with a focus on the dissemination of an official version of the past, with a focus on nation-building, respect for the established order and compliance of *good* citizens.³⁹ However, in the context of the twenty-first century, students are living in an era extending beyond the traditional geographical borders of the nation-state. Therefore, the complexity of nationalism and the ways that nationalist discourses reassert themselves in an increasingly diverse society⁴⁰ should be acknowledged as still being a strong force in the shaping of collective cultural identities. Describing the current political context in America, Giroux explained,

within this climate, education has to be seen as more than a credential or pathway to a job, and pedagogy more than a methodology or teaching to the test. One of the challenges facing the current generation of educators and students is the need to reclaim the role that education has historically played in developing political literacies and civic capabilities, both of which are essential prerequisites for democracy.⁴¹

While Giroux is specifically referring to the US, this argument is also relevant in numerous international contexts, such as the rise of populist nationalistic political movements in France, the UK, and the recent resurgent support for

³⁶ Alan Reid, "The influence of Curriculum Pasts on Curriculum Futures," in *Australia's Curriculum Dilemmas*, eds. Lyn Yates, Cherry Collins and Kate O'Connor (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2012), 45–65.

³⁷ Bob Lingard, "The Australian Curriculum: A critical interrogation of why, what and where to?" *Curriculum Perspectives* 38, no. 1 (2018): 55–65.

³⁸ Henry A. Giroux, "The Politics of National Identity and the Pedagogy of Multiculturalism in the USA," in *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*, ed. D. Bennett (London: Routledge, 1998), 179.

³⁹ Christian Laville, "Historical consciousness and history education: What to expect from the first for the second," in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 166–7; Phillipa Parsons, "School History as a Space to Foster Ideas of Critical, Post-National Citizenship," *The Social Educator* 36, no. 1 (2018): 30.

⁴⁰ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 8.

⁴¹ Henry A. Giroux, *America at War with Itself* (San Francisco: City Lights Publishers, 2017), 232.

conservative agendas and minor right-wing parties in Australia. As a result, there have been controversies internationally surrounding a focus on nationalism at the expense of global partnerships, such as the Brexit vote in 2016, where UK citizens voted to leave the European Union (EU). In order to promote a more pluralist form of democracy, arguably more reflective of diverse Western societies,⁴² citizens need the ability to engage with others whose views are sometimes very different from their own, to work together toward a common good.

The structure of official curriculum and policy has implications for pedagogical decisions as well as teacher autonomy in the History classroom. Despite operating under a national curriculum document, Australian States and Territories are responsible for the adaptation and implementation of the curriculum in schools, as well as the ways that curriculum is implemented through subject area syllabuses. The *Australian Curriculum: History* is situated within the Humanities and Social Sciences (HASS) Key Learning Area (KLA), within the three-dimensional design of the Australian Curriculum, where three Cross-curriculum Priorities and seven General Capabilities are expected to be incorporated across all learning areas.⁴³

The nature of the curriculum design presents challenges for school curriculum planning to incorporate all of the required aspects, while still meeting the needs of their students in specific learning contexts. In secondary school, the HASS curriculum is organized by subjects, including the mandated subject of history; as well as Geography, Economics and Business, and Civics and Citizenship, although it is up to each state jurisdiction to decide whether the latter subject is taught discreetly, or incorporated into other subjects. Tudbull asserts that there are a number of challenges faced in the implementations of the Australian Curriculum, arguing that a significant issue is the way that “the nature of the adaptation and implementation differs according to jurisdiction.”⁴⁴ Moreover, Collins and Yates found that differences in approaches between states in Australia, as well as what they prioritize in education, are still apparent. The authors argue that these differences are a result of the ongoing history of each State’s (and, Territory’s) culture, rather than an alignment to with a particular political party or view at any one time.⁴⁵ As a result of the complex nature of the Australian Curriculum, including jurisdictional adaptation and implementation, questions are raised as to whether there is, indeed, a national

⁴² Keith C. Barton, “History, Humanistic Education, and Participatory Democracy,” in *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship Education in Canada*, eds. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 56.

⁴³ Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA), “Structure | The Australian Curriculum,” Accessed March 4, 2019, <https://www.australiancurriculum.edu.au/f-10-curriculum/structure/>

⁴⁴ Tudbull, “The Humanities and Social Sciences,” 89.

⁴⁵ Cherry Collins and Lyn Yates, “Confronting Equity, Retention and Student diversity,” in *Australia’s Curriculum Dilemmas: State cultures and the big issues*, eds. Lyn Yates, Cherry Collins and Kate O’Connor (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2012), 107–126.

curriculum currently in practice.⁴⁶ While the structure and organization of official curriculum undoubtedly has consequences for pedagogical decisions made by History teachers; at the same time, politically motivated uses of history, and the promotion of collective memories connected to a sense of national identity as a nation-building device, can create further challenges as teachers build from students' preconceived understandings of historical events.

National Histories in the Twenty-First Century: The Anzac Legend

Traditionally, History education tended to focus on nationalistic narratives, celebrating nations' efforts in war as well as imperialism. However, following World War I (WWI) and the establishment of international organizations such as the League of Nations, there was a shift in the aims of History education toward history for social cohesion and cultural diplomacy in, for example, the Swedish education context.⁴⁷ However, in Australia, WWI held particular local significance for building a collective identity in the newly federated nation. One of the core components of nation-building is developing and nurturing a national collective memory; thus, the dissemination of a national narrative is a highly political decision.⁴⁸

The significance of the Anzac Legend as a defining feature of official collective memory is evident in the prominence afforded to Anzac Day, a high profile national public holiday commemorating the landing of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (or Anzac), at a cove on the Gallipoli peninsula in Turkey on April 25, 1915, fighting with the allies (including the British) against the Ottoman Empire. Demonstrating the political capital it can attract a century after the battle, successive Australian governments allocated more funding to the commemoration of WWI and the Gallipoli campaign than all other nations combined during the centennial celebration years of 2014–2018.⁴⁹

As a defining feature of national historical narratives, the Gallipoli campaign is sometimes viewed as the *birth of the nation* fighting for the first time following the federation of the colonies in 1901. Notably, the prominence of the Anzac Day in the national calendar is interesting (though not unique) in that it commemorates a defeat, rather than a victory. Rather, the celebratory tone of Anzac Day⁵⁰ events is drawn, in part, from the creation of the "Anzac Legend,"

⁴⁶Tudbull, "The Humanities and Social Sciences," 89.

⁴⁷Henrik Åström Elmersjö, "History beyond borders: Peace education, history textbook revision, and the internationalization of history teaching in the twentieth century," *Historical Encounters: A journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (2014): 62–74.

⁴⁸Peter Glassberg, "Public History and the study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 7–23.

⁴⁹Carolyn Holbrook, "Are We Brainwashing Our Children? The Place of Anzac in Australian History," *Agora* 51, no. 4 (2016): 22.

⁵⁰Heather Sharp, "Representing Australia's Involvement in the First World War: Discrepancies between public discourses and school History textbooks from 1916–1936," *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 6, no. 1 (2014): 1–23.

denoting the perceived typical qualities of the Australian soldier. It should be noted that there have been notable shifts in the historiography of the Gallipoli narrative over time. For instance, Lake notes a discernible shift in the way that the Gallipoli campaign has been remembered in the national narrative, from studies interested in the political aspects of Australian involvement, to a more sentimental and emotionally charged view of wartime experience.⁵¹ One identifiable catalyst for that shift was the deliberate political move away from a perceived ‘Black Armband History,’ influenced by the rise of feminist and critical histories in the 1970s, a critical examination of the Frontier Wars and treatment of the Indigenous peoples of Australia. Former Prime Minister, John Howard, was particularly keen to move away from questions of Aboriginal dispossession and frontier massacres, to a more celebratory narrative of national development, in which the Anzacs would feature prominently.⁵² Since the 1990s, there has been significant funding allocated to the dissemination of a wealth of teaching resources, websites, and curriculum materials, as well as public memorials and institutions dedicated to the commemoration of Australia’s military history.⁵³ Such promotion of the Anzac narrative has received bipartisan support in Australia through successive governments on both sides of politics,⁵⁴ mobilizing this particular historical narrative as a tool for national cohesion and collective identity.⁵⁵ It should also be noted that over time memories broaden to incorporate the sometimes contradictory views of different groups.⁵⁶ Characteristics promoted through the Anzac Legend have changed to be more inclusive of groups, who may traditionally be considered the ‘Other,’ such as the inclusion of the changing role of women, and the experience of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander soldiers who fought for Australia during WWI.⁵⁷

Connected to political motivations in promoting the Anzac narrative as collective memory is Booth’s notion of *duty*,⁵⁸ or the obligation within a community to remember or commemorate the lives of those who came before,

⁵¹ Joy Damousi, “Why do we get so emotional about Anzac?” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 100–101.

⁵² Marilyn Lake, “How Do Schoolchildren Learn About the Spirit of Anzac?” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 139–141.

⁵³ Lake, “How Do Schoolchildren Learn About the Spirit of Anzac?” 139.

⁵⁴ Holbrook, “Are We Brainwashing Our Children?” 22.

⁵⁵ Sharp and Innes, “Australian high school students on commemorating the Gallipoli campaign,” 34.

⁵⁶ Erika Apfelbaum, “Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory,” in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, eds. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University, 2010), 86.

⁵⁷ Heather Sharp, “Historical Representation of Gallipoli in the Australian Curriculum,” *Agora* 49, no. 2 (2014): 17.

⁵⁸ James W. Booth, “The Work of Memory: Time, Identity and Justice,” *Social Research* 75, no. 1: (Spring 2008): 247–8.

signifying an ongoing collective identity. In Australia, this sense of duty is evident in the sentimental reverence of Anzac soldiers, steeped in themes of victimhood and sacrifice.⁵⁹ These themes were evident in the aforementioned recent study of Australian high school students' perceptions of commemoration of the Gallipoli campaign. In particular, students in year 8 (one year before the study of Australia's involvement in WWI in year 9) adhered to narratives of sacrifice, and a sense of moral obligation for remembrance. As one student suggested:

[...] people fought for our country and the brave people who fought day and night. People/soldiers died for us to be a better country and a safer one too. It would be disrespectful for us not to remember the dead and the survivors.⁶⁰

The student's use of language such as *our* and *us* is reflective of the sense of collective identity associated with Anzac mythology, as well as the ongoing duty to remember such a sacrifice.

It should be noted that this study also found that there was a clear pedagogical impact of the teaching of the Gallipoli topic within the year 9 content as student responses from year 9 and above typically conveyed the complexities of Gallipoli remembrance in Australia,⁶¹ evidencing the influence of formal instruction of history and more sophisticated conceptual knowledge about this period. However, despite this finding, a significant number of students "clearly articulated their understandings either as complexities of public memory and memorialization, their own personal struggle with remembrance of Gallipoli, or a combination of the two."⁶² Such complexities, and indeed at times contradictions, within student responses are reflective of the pervasive nationalistic sentimentality surrounding Anzac Day commemoration in the public sphere. In this way, this research asks how a form of historical literacy, positioned with the aim to develop historical consciousness, can aid students in considering the varying and often contradictory historical representations, as well as a critical awareness of the political uses of history to promote a particular ideology.

Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century

Official Australian Curriculum documents explicitly identify three components of citizenship: "Civil (rights and responsibilities); Political (participation and representation); and, Social (social values, identity and community involvement)."⁶³ The inclusion of the social aspect of citizenship seemingly

⁵⁹ Damousi, "Why do we get so emotional about Anzac?," 100–2.

⁶⁰ Research participant, as cited in: Innes and Sharp, "World War I commemoration and student historical consciousness," 198–9.

⁶¹ Innes and Sharp, "World War I commemoration and student historical consciousness," 198.

⁶² Sharp and Innes, "Australian high school students on commemorating the Gallipoli Campaign," 41.

⁶³ ACARA, *The Shape of the Australian Curriculum, Civics and Citizenship*, March 4, 2019, http://docs.acara.edu.au/resources/Shape_of_the_Australian_Curriculum__Civics_and_

acknowledges that citizenship education should also consider the characteristics or modes of thinking required to make considered decisions necessary for individuals to partake in a participatory citizenship. Barton argues that a major aspect of citizenship education in schooling is to help young people prepare for the kind of decision making that will be required of them in the future.⁶⁴ Furthermore, by studying history, students have the opportunity to develop historical understandings that may inform a sense of agency. Historical agency is a complex concept; however, through an understanding of this idea, students can begin to develop the cognitive processes of the History discipline, or, start thinking like historians. Through engagement with a diversity of perspectives and understandings about actions in the past, students can develop a more informed sense of morality in making judgments in the future. Moreover, citizens need to be able to make judgments about the accountability of particular individuals when their actions may have a detrimental effect on others in society. It is important that students develop the ability to evaluate the consequences (intended and unintended) of human choices. It can be argued that through the study of history, students can gain experience through engagement with and evaluation of choices made in different contexts of the past. In the following section, an overview of the importance of developing a sense of historical consciousness is provided, with the aim of preparing students for active and informed citizenship in the twenty-first century.

HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND CITIZENSHIP

Aspects of the German *Didaktik* tradition may be adapted to History education in the Australian context, with a focus on the formation of historical consciousness. As identified by Wineburg, historical thinking is an “unnatural act,”⁶⁵ also described as a hermeneutical dilemma,⁶⁶ requiring an individual to somehow remain connected to a historical situation insofar that historical understanding is possible, while not engaging in an ahistorical interpretation, or *presentism*, where moral judgments consistent with one’s own time are imposed on past actions in uncritical ways.⁶⁷ In consideration of the complex nature of historical thinking, Retz identifies Jörn Rüsen’s ‘disciplinary matrix’ as “the most systematic attempt yet to elucidate the relations through which

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⁶⁴Keith C. Barton, “Agency, Choice and Historical Action: How History Teaching Can Help Students Think About Democratic Decision Making.” *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 7, no. 2 (2012): 131–42.

⁶⁵Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁶⁶Tyson Retz, “At the Interface: Academic History, School History and the Philosophy of History,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 48, no. 4 (2016): 513–4.

⁶⁷Retz, “At the Interface,” 513–4; Deborah Henderson, “The Nature of Values and Why They Matter in the Teaching and Learning of History,” in *Historical Thinking for History Teachers: A New Approach to Engaging Students and Developing Historical Consciousness*, eds. Tim Allender, Anna Clark and Robert J Parkes (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2019), 111–3.

the various elements of practical life and the history discipline intersect to organize historical knowledge into a cognitive process.”⁶⁸

Rüsen’s focus on historical consciousness, aimed to, “propose an analogous theory of development concerning the narrative competence of historical consciousness, so crucial for relating values to actuality or morality to activity by a narrative act: the telling of a story about past events.”⁶⁹ In this way, the use of this framework for History education seeks to look beyond a traditional disciplinary approach with a focus on objectivity. It acknowledges the complexity of the mental processes involved in historical evaluation, in particular the web of narratives utilized by an individual to make sense of themselves as historical figures, as well as past, present and future events.⁷⁰ Rather, this disciplinary matrix describes a cyclical relationship between the academic discipline of history, and history as encountered in one’s practical life, as these influence a sense of historical consciousness. As argued by Lee:

It is clear that second-order, procedural or disciplinary concepts provide an essential conceptual apparatus which students must acquire if they are to understand history. They are neither boltons to historical knowledge nor substitutes for it. They make historical knowledge possible.⁷¹

Historical consciousness is influenced by a number of factors, and important not only to considering how we conceive of the past in relation to ourselves, but also as a way to understand the present with a view of the future, to strive for an understanding of the *uses* of the past.⁷² It is in this vein that History education should aim to provide students with a sense of the temporal nature of a period of time, and a greater sense of understanding and awareness of themselves as temporal, historical figures.⁷³ In this way, Rüsen’s particular conception of historical consciousness is significant to this study due to the focus on *development*, as the author draws parallels with his typology of historical consciousness with such influential developmental theories as those of Piaget and Kohlberg.⁷⁴

Importantly, in the consideration of the development of historical consciousness, Rüsen asserts that historical consciousness is a vital prerequisite for

⁶⁸ Retz, “At the Interface,” 513–4.

⁶⁹ Jörn Rüsen, “Historical consciousness: Narrative structure, moral function, and ontogenetic development,” in *Theorizing historical consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 70.

⁷⁰ Ammert et al., “Bridging Historical and Moral Consciousness,” 3.

⁷¹ Lee, “History Education and Historical Literacy,” 69.

⁷² Anna Clark and Carla Peck, “Introduction: Historical consciousness: Theory and practice,” in *Contemplating historical consciousness: Notes from the Field*, eds. A. Clark and C. Peck (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), 2.

⁷³ Jörn Rüsen, “The Development of Narrative Competence in Historical Learning—An Ontogenetic Hypothesis Concerning Moral Consciousness,” *History and Memory* 1, no. 2 (1989): 35–59.

⁷⁴ As cited in, Rüsen, “Historical Consciousness,” 63–85.

the mediation required between values and action-oriented actuality, operating as a “specific orientational mode in actual life situations in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality in order to grasp present actuality.”⁷⁵ In other words, historical consciousness is an important competence for moral reasoning and action. However, despite Rüsen’s clear articulation of the important relationship between historical consciousness and moral values, recent research concerned with the theoretical linking of the study of moral and historical consciousness, identified this as a concerning omission from subsequent historical consciousness research, particularly in consideration of the relevance of such a concept to contemporary social and political concerns.⁷⁶

As historical consciousness involves mental processes, it is not possible to directly study such a phenomenon, although we can study individual expressions of perception as people engage in historical or moral reasoning.⁷⁷ In a similar vein, Rüsen argues, “the linguistic form within which historical consciousness realises its function of orientation is that of the narrative,”⁷⁸ suggesting that through narration, it becomes possible to characterize the competence of historical consciousness through *narrative competence*. Thus highlighting the importance of narrative competence for moral consciousness through the consideration of the context of a concrete situation in which our moral values may be challenged, and an action may require legitimation through historical reasoning.⁷⁹ Rüsen’s typology of historical consciousness combines three elements of narrative competence: experience, interpretation, and orientation, and the four stages in their development.⁸⁰ Arguably, this theory is a significant consideration in the acknowledgment of social relations and moral values, as well as action to be taken based on both moral and historical reasoning. In History education there is a need for explicit focus on teaching the skills of moral reasoning, and the analysis of values in historical contexts to avoid imposing moral judgments on past actions in uncritical ways, therefore providing opportunities for students to reflect on their own value positions and decision making in their own lives.⁸¹

More recently, Seixas has worked to build on Rüsen’s original conceptualization by incorporating into this theory the growing academic field of memory studies, arguing Rüsen’s early theorizing of the concept did little to acknowledge the power of individual and collective memory in shaping devel-

⁷⁵ Rüsen, “Historical Consciousness,” 66.

⁷⁶ Ammert et al., “Bridging Historical and Moral Consciousness,” 3.

⁷⁷ Niklas Ammert, “Patterns of Reasoning: A Tentative Model to Analyse Historical and Moral Consciousness among 9th Grade Students,” *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 4, no. 1 (2017): 26.

⁷⁸ Rüsen, “Historical consciousness,” 69.

⁷⁹ Rüsen, “Historical consciousness,” 64, 69–70.

⁸⁰ Rüsen, “Historical consciousness,” 63–85; Rüsen, “The Development of Narrative Competence in Historical Learning,” 35–59.

⁸¹ Henderson, “The Nature of Values and Why They Matter,” 106–7.

opment and schemes of understanding.⁸² In the current History education context, this may be particularly significant as students work through the inter-related narratives that they draw on (from both in, and out of school contexts) to understand a particular historical event. As an illustration, in the aforementioned Gallipoli commemoration study with Australian high school students, Rüsen's typology of historical consciousness was used as an analytical framework for student responses concerning how they perceive Gallipoli commemoration. While the above iterations of Rüsen's disciplinary matrix⁸³ reveal the influence of various modes of history in historical consciousness from both the academic and practical life, what is seemingly not considered is how students grapple with the complexities of competing narratives, particularly when such narratives have informed the individual or collective sense of identity. High school students in Australia clearly wrestled between the frequent uses of the Anzac Legend as a political tool to promote a national identity, and the disciplinary tools of interpretation.⁸⁴

Taking these findings into consideration, historical literacy for citizenship in a pluralist, multicultural society such as Australia should encourage historical *orientation*, not only personally, but also of the collective. Writing in the German education context, Körber attests:

History teaching needs to address the plurality and multiplicity of handlings of the past, and of orientations drawn from history, it must enable students to recognize the interests of specific groups in history, their questions, their political agenda, but it must enable them to arrive at conclusions and judgements individually and independently, too.⁸⁵

In this way, historical competency models, such as the German FUER model,⁸⁶ hold the potential to inform more structural understandings of historical consciousness, particularly in light of the focus on measurable outcomes and competencies in the Australian curriculum context. The FUER model outlines four historical competencies; the first three (inquiring, methodological,

⁸² Peter Seixas, "A History/Memory Matrix for History Education." *Public History Weekly* 4, no. 6 (2015).

⁸³ Rüsen, "Historical Consciousness," 53–85; Rüsen, "The Development of Narrative Competence," 35–59; Peter Lee, "Walking Backwards into Tomorrow' Historical Consciousness and Understanding History," *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 4, no. 1 (2004); Arthur Chapman, " 'But It Might Just Be Their Political Views': Using Jörn Rüsen's 'Disciplinary Matrix' to Develop Understanding of Historical Representation," *Caderno de Pesquisa: Pensamento Educacional* 9, no. 21 (2014): 67–85.

⁸⁴ Melanie Innes and Heather Sharp, "World War I Commemoration and Student Historical Consciousness: A Study of High-School Students' Views," *History Education Research Journal* 15, no. 2 (2018): 193–205.

⁸⁵ Körber, "German History Didactics," 162.

⁸⁶ Körber, "German History Didactics," 149–151; Andreas Körber and Johannes Meyer-Hamme, "Historical Thinking, Competencies, and their Measurement," in *New Directions in Assessing Historical Thinking*, eds. Kadriye Ercikan and Peter Seixas (New York: Routledge, 2015) 93.

and orientation) reflect the cyclical nature of historical thinking, as represented in Rüsen's disciplinary matrix.⁸⁷ Specifically, the methodological aspects of both narrative de-construction, and (re)construction, hold important implications for historical literacy, as students may develop their ability to deconstruct the orientations and narratives of others within their society with opportunities to analyze and reflect on the social and cultural conditions leading to such orientations.⁸⁸ While the final competency refers to a 'subject matter' competence, it is important to note that this does not refer to content knowledge, but rather conceptual and procedural knowledge *about* history including, but not limited to, historical periods, epistemological concepts, as well as second-order historical thinking concepts.⁸⁹ Such a model provides opportunities to develop educational goals, and gain empirical insights into students' current historical competencies. Through the development of historical thinking competencies, and moral and historical consciousness, students can engage with the concept of *historical agency*. An explicit understanding of agency can form the basis for informed decision making as an important aspect of democratic citizenship. If historical consciousness is an important aim of History education, students can start to not only consider the nature of history, but also consider their own identity and sense of agency in the context of their current social conditions, as well as how their decisions should be informed by critical thinking about the potential consequences of political decisions on various groups within society.⁹⁰

Barton's argument provides a similar conception to that of Wineburg's,⁹¹ in that the practice of thinking like a historian encourages a type of critical thinking that poses questions in order to generate new knowledge.⁹² Practice in processes such as these is necessary for students to be able to navigate the new information they are presented with in their everyday lives, particularly in an age of uncertainty in relation to the authority and credibility of online sources.⁹³ Students will need to be able to recognize inconsistencies and flaws in uses of historical interpretations for political purposes, as well as considering the reliability of historical interpretations in new media. Nonetheless, the unifying power of collective memory can present a distinct challenge to applying analytical thinking to a memory that is also tied to identity. The consideration of the complexities of national collective memory and official history narratives, and how these may influence the identity formation of the individual, is of key importance to research interested in the development of historical literacy for active and informed citizenship in our increasingly globalized and interconnected social context.

⁸⁷ Körber and Meyer-Hamme, "Historical Thinking, Competencies, and their Measurement," 93.

⁸⁸ Körber, "German History Didactics," 158–9.

⁸⁹ Körber and Meyer-Hamme, "Historical Thinking, Competencies, and their Measurement," 94.

⁹⁰ Barton, "Agency, Choice and Historical Action," 131–142.

⁹¹ Barton, "History, Humanistic Education, and Participatory Democracy," 57.

⁹² Sam Wineburg, "Why Historical Thinking Is Not About History," *History News* 71, no. 2 (2016): 13–16.

⁹³ Wineburg, "Why Historical Thinking Is Not About History," 13–16.

This idea is explored further in the proceeding sections, considering how the incorporation of sociocultural theory may aid teachers or researchers in recognizing the narratives students draw upon in making sense of the past.

SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACHES TO HISTORY

The proposed framework for thinking about historical literacy in the twenty-first century also draws on sociocultural theory in teaching history. Arguing for a sociocultural approach to History education, Barton and Levstik suggest, “because knowledge results from interactions between people and their environment, we will be able to make sense of how students have developed their ideas only if we understand the settings in which they have encountered the past.”⁹⁴ As such, the variability of the sociocultural context in which historical thinking takes place should be considered. Specifically, acknowledging the dynamic nature of belief systems in specific contexts.⁹⁵ For example, what an individual says or thinks about an issue in a particular setting may vary greatly in another setting. In particular, Wertsch’s notion of *mediated action* is of interest to historical literacy for citizenship, to understand the power of context in human action.⁹⁶ Wertsch argues that human action is the result of individual mental processes, drawing on narratives of understanding and the essential relationship to the setting or context (historical, cultural, institutional, and increasingly *third spaces*⁹⁷) where action takes place. Therefore, *mediated* action refers to the individual, and the cultural tools and language (or mediational means) that they employ to carry out that action. Such a consideration draws attention to the situated nature of students’ actions and interactions with historical representations. If educators are able to develop an understanding of the practical settings in which students encounter the past, it may be possible to consider how students have developed their ideas about a historical situation, rather than just an overview of their background knowledge.

Additionally, Wertsch places an importance on the narrative tools, as provided by an individual’s sociocultural setting, which may be drawn upon to make meaning of a particular situation.⁹⁸ There is an important distinction between two types of narrative tools that should be considered in discussion about historical consciousness and collective memory, as argued by Wertsch:

- Specific narratives—plot with key events that form the narrative. These are the types of narrative found in History textbook representations. As an example, in the Australian context narrative of WWI, the Gallipoli campaign would be an event that must be included in any official narrative of WWI with episodic dimensions.

⁹⁴ Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 18.

⁹⁵ Wertsch, “Is it Possible to Teach Beliefs,” 45.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40; Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, 6–18.

⁹⁷ Potter and McDougall, *Digital Media, Culture & Education*, 37–59.

⁹⁸ James V. Wertsch, “Texts of memory and texts of history,” *L2 Journal* 4, no. 1 (2012): 10–11.

- Schematic narrative templates—belonging to particular narrative traditions and are “not readily available for conscious reflection”⁹⁹ These may be drawn from a particular narrative template, such as that of the resilience of the Anzac soldiers in the face of disaster. While such a template is not unique to Australia, this narrative has an important role in collective remembering in this society.

The distinction between these two narrative tools may be evident in considering whether a historical narrative is employed as a cultural tool for formal history, interested in an objective account based on analysis of available evidence; or, a collective memory that may also be tied to identity, or a single perspective. Due to the latter’s ties to collective identities, such as the nation, it becomes almost blasphemous to critique these narratives, often perceived as an attack on the identity in question.¹⁰⁰ This is strongly evident in the Australian context where the Anzac narrative is frequently mobilized as a political tool for national cohesion and national-building. The emotional elements of Anzac reverence often culminate in any apparent criticism of Anzac mythology being publicly branded as *un-Australian*, or considered an attack on Australian values.¹⁰¹ Indeed, as Wertsch reflected:

When collective memory and a mnemonic community’s identity is at stake, we tend to assume an account of the past is true because *it must* be true, and acknowledging that it is not would jeopardize who we are.¹⁰²

When political uses of narratives as identity projects become emotionally charged, this can be a challenge of collective memory in promoting historical literacy that aids in democratic citizenship where students need to make decisions about information that they encounter. Narrative templates and connections to identity, or the Other, can present a problem to a more objective form of historical thinking—If it’s about “them and then”¹⁰³ there will be less emotional connection made to the event. As discussed previously, the Anzac narrative is a largely sentimentalized topic in the greater public sphere, so much so that attempts to critique or analyze this narrative are often perceived as disloyalty, or an attack on Australian values.¹⁰⁴ As Clark found in her 2008 study of

⁹⁹James V. Wertsch, “Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates,” in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. P. Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 56.

¹⁰⁰Wertsch, “Texts of memory,” 12.

¹⁰¹Anna Clark, *Private Lives, Public History* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2016); Joy Damousi, “Why Do We Get so Emotional About Anzac?” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 94–109.

¹⁰²Wertsch, “Texts of memory,” 12.

¹⁰³Wertsch, 11.

¹⁰⁴Marilyn Lake, “Introduction: What Have You Done for Your Country,” in *What’s Wrong with Anzac? The Militarisation of Australian History*, eds. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 1–23; Damousi, “Why Do We Get so Emotional about Anzac?” 94–109.

Australian students', teachers', and officials' thoughts on Australian history in the wake of the History Wars, young Australians indeed feel a connection to the Anzac story, yet they also expressed concern at the sense of uncritical pride cultivated in our national past.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Sharp noted that Australian students clearly felt that there was a need to acknowledge the perspectives of those other than the Anzacs in Gallipoli commemoration.¹⁰⁶ While such findings may be heartening, student responses also reflected the deep complexities associated with remembrance of the Gallipoli campaign in the public sphere. While many students acknowledged the emphasis on the Anzac experience in historical representations of Gallipoli, they also displayed a clear personal connection to the Anzac story, simultaneously evoking themes of Anzac mythology intermixed with historical facts. Through an emphasis on the contextual nature of historical interpretation, History education can help to equip students with knowledge, not only of disciplinary concepts, but the reflective tools to consider their own positions in relation to evocations of history to justify a particular position or ideology.

CONCLUSION: LITERACIES IN AN ERA OF DEMOCRATIC UNCERTAINTY

A common understanding, or framework, for historical literacy should be situated within the broader notion of historical consciousness, while also considering the sociocultural aspects of human action. In this era of media manipulation, *fake news* and *alternative facts*, Parkes suggests that teaching a purely disciplinary approach to history does not take into account the need for historical consciousness, or more specifically, the need to become aware of our own prejudgments when encountering and evaluating a narrative to move toward new conceptions of literacy pedagogy in History education.¹⁰⁷

This chapter has considered the need for reflection of the concept of historical literacy in Australian History education, to situate this concept within the broader aim of historical consciousness, while also acknowledging the importance of the sociocultural context in human action and interpretation.¹⁰⁸ In this way, the work of German scholars, Körber and Rösen, in German history *Didaktik*s may be a point of reflection for the Australian context, as a globalized, pluralist society, to consider the aims and purposes of History teaching. Through explicit reflection on the ways that people make meaning in their everyday lives, History educators can begin to consider how students work with historical representations they encounter outside of the academic context.

¹⁰⁵ Anna Clark, *History's Children: History Wars in the Classroom* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press Ltd., 2008), 62.

¹⁰⁶ Sharp, "After the Ideological Battles," 246–247.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Parkes, "Historical Consciousness, Fake News and the Other," *Public History Weekly* 5, no. 19 (2017): para 7.

¹⁰⁸ Lee, "History education and historical literacy," 63–72.

As the use of language is contextualized within a specific social context, it is important that History education provide opportunities for students to think critically about the spaces they engage with and the cultural tools available to them in determining action.¹⁰⁹ It is conceded that more research is needed in to the ways that students use or interpret historical representations, depending on the specific context in which it was encountered. However, through a common understanding of historical literacies underlying pedagogical approaches, students may potentially develop dynamic literacy skills, imperative for citizenship in the twenty-first century.

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PART VI

Conclusion



Conclusion: History Education, Nexus

Christopher W. Berg and Theodore M. Christou

“The true starting point of history,” Dewey argued in the midst of the First World War, “is always some present situation with its problems.”¹ John Dewey, as he was wont to do, draws our attention to two positions on a spectrum of possibility—history as a means and as an end—demonstrating that neither is sufficient: “We may reject knowledge of the past as the *end* of education and thereby only emphasize its importance as a *means*.”² The space in between is defined in context, according to need. Dewey reveals either/or thinking, or the construction of dichotomies, as problematic. Dewey asked: “How shall the young become acquainted with the past in such a way that the acquaintance is a potent agent in appreciation of a living present?”³

In the postlogue of *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, Peter Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg were optimistic about the outlook for history education in North America and beyond. But there was work to be done: “Crucial to a commitment to thought-

¹ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 189.

² John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1938/1997), 23.

³ Ibid.

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ful, research-based history education, analytically conceived, are three needs. First is the need for ongoing communication between educational researchers and history teachers, to the benefit of both groups,” the authors observed. “Second, the need for pedagogical experiment is obvious. ... Finally, and relatedly, we need classroom flexibility, including serious relief from overwhelming textbook coverage and memorization drills.”⁴ Roughly 20 years later, was this optimism merited? How far have we come?

Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg identified several needs for social studies and history education. The first need was a long-standing rift between academic and school history. While attempts at bridging this divide had been made, the Teaching American History grant program in the United States, for example, they were short-lived. Large-scale initiatives like the Teaching American History grant program are expensive, require long-term commitment, and are slow to yield immediate results. In an age where educational aims and goals are driven by politics, election cycles influence educational trends with enormous force. Repairing the rift requires a grassroots approach where interested parties in academia and in the schools come together in common cause to address the problems facing their profession corporately. The authors recognized the potential international dialogue and exchange could effect in promoting the cross-pollination of history education and evidence of this trend is growing in the number of international, open-access journals and edited collections and handbooks with international representation and/or readership.

This Handbook embodies that scholarly spirit in brokering connections and establishing networks to facilitate the transfer of historical insight and knowledge. Vella’s singular contribution on Maltese education is a prime example of a milieu that many in the wider world might be unaware of.⁵ Some contributions might be novel to a North American audience, for instance, including Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse’s detailed examination of past and present history curriculums in Belgium, David Limond’s entertaining essay on the transition from traditional to historical thinking curricula in the Republic of Ireland, and Joseph Smith’s rigorous exploration of Scotland’s *Curriculum for Excellence* and its implications for teachers and students alike might not receive the attention they deserve since these dialogues are periphery to the hubs of mainstream historical thinking research.⁶ Knowledge of these conversations, of how historical thinking and its related apparatus are imagined and applied, is an important step in building a more complete understanding of historical thinking as a construct while providing opportunity for scholars to engage in meaningful dialogues that might otherwise have never materialized.

The second need noted by Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg was “the need for pedagogical experiment.”⁷ The kind of experimenting the authors envisioned

⁴Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York, NY: New York University Press), 474–75.

⁵See Yosanne Vella’s chapter in this Handbook.

⁶See Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse’s, David Limond’s, and Joseph Smith’s chapters in this Handbook.

⁷Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 474.

is a pedagogy that has universal applications. In other words, a pedagogy that could be used in primary, secondary, and post-secondary settings with comparable results. For Stearns and his colleagues, this shift to pedagogies that are adaptable and flexible in orientation is an “increasingly obvious” next step if history is going to realize its full potential.⁸

Many of the contributions in this collection examine history teaching and learning at different school levels ranging from primary school through teacher education programs. Rob Siebörger’s study, for example, examined how certain curricular interventions might resonate better than others with South African school children as they engaged with their own historical past.⁹ These modalities are not limited to primary school, however, as games and simulations and completing family histories are appropriate activities for secondary and post-secondary school settings as well.

Frameworks for understanding history, such as Peter Seixas¹⁰ and Stéphane Lévesque’s,¹¹ can and are used to stimulate historical thinking in an organized and structured way. Melanie Innes’ historical literacy framework, by extension, has the potential to be used in a variety of school settings because of its goal to cultivate democratic values through citizenship and increasing historical consciousness.¹² These frameworks are appropriate for a historical education at all school levels because they promote historical understanding and multiple perspectives.¹³ These concepts are not the sole preserve of college classrooms, as once thought, but the domain of all history classrooms, as Chris Lorenz rightly concluded.¹⁴

Lastly, the third need for social studies and history educators identified by Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg was “classroom flexibility, including serious relief from overwhelming textbook coverage and memorization drills.”¹⁵ Many of the educational histories in this collection traced the evolution of curricula

⁸ Ibid., 475.

⁹ See Rob Siebörger’s chapter in this Handbook.

¹⁰ Peter Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big 6 Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto, Canada: Nelson Education, 2013).

¹¹ Stéphane Lévesque, “What it Means to Think Historically,” in *New possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark (Vancouver, BC, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 115–138.

¹² See Melanie Innes’ chapter in this Handbook.

¹³ Jeffrey D. Nokes, “Elementary Students’ Roles and Epistemic Stances During Document-Based History Lessons,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 42, no. 3 (2014), 375–413. For further K–12 evidence, see, for example, Abby Reisman, Sarah Schneider Kavanagh, Chauncey Monte-Sano, Brad Fogo, Sarah C. McGrew, Peter Cipparone, and Elizabeth Simmons, “Facilitating Whole Class Discussions in History: A Framework for Preparing Teacher Candidates,” *Journal of Teacher Education* 69, no. 3 (2018), 278–293; Abby Reisman, “Integrating Content and Literacy in Social Studies: Assessing Instructional Materials and Student Work From a Common Core-Aligned Intervention,” *Theory & Research in Social Education* 45 (2017), 517–554.; Chauncey Monte-Sano, “Argumentation in History Classrooms: A Key Path to Understanding the Discipline and Preparing Citizens,” *Theory into Practice* 55 (2016), 311–319.

¹⁴ Chris Lorenz, “Towards a Theoretical Framework for Comparing Historiographies,” in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 39.

¹⁵ Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg, *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History*, 475.

from a variety of international contexts. Each began and moved in different ways but they have all converged in a common, international curricula designed around historical thinking and its related second-order concepts.

The textbook has endured as the de facto curricular instrument favored by history teachers. Irrespective of time or place, history textbooks have continued to be ubiquitous in the classroom. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Hertzberg observed that the professionalization of history as a discipline and a course of study in institutions of higher learning in the United States led to a reimagining of how history in primary and secondary schools should be taught. These learned individuals emphasized a “critical history based on inquiry” and textbooks were merely used as a means to offer an understanding of chronology and as a general desk reference.¹⁶ “For the newly professionalized historians, it was essential not simply to establish history in the schools and colleges but to create new methods of teaching suitable for critical history based on inquiry,” Hertzberg argued, “and for educating boys and girls who would be citizens in a democratic society. The textbook/recitation/memory way of learning was the enemy of such history.”¹⁷

The contributions in this collection represent a diversity of experience and orientations that only an international perspective can afford and the conclusion we can reasonably draw is that the need observed by Stearns and his colleagues at the turn of the last century is present today. Though calls for flexibility in the classroom, such as teacher autonomy, are realized in some contexts, for example, Belgium and the Netherlands, others, such as the United States, are more stringently aligned to standards due to high-stakes testing and might not enjoy professional latitude in the classroom.¹⁸

The problem of content coverage has been debated in North America for decades and textbooks continue to grow heavier with each newly minted edition. The move from traditional history to historical thinking has been a gradual one in most international contexts but one corollary that has yet to be satisfactorily addressed is the future role of the textbook. Kaya Yilmaz’ exploratory study of teacher perspectives of disciplinary and school history in the United States found that respondents were dissatisfied with the textbook¹⁹ and, relatedly, Cécile Sabatier Bullock’s and Shawn Michael Bullock’s study revealed the critical role of the textbook mediating French identity through national history.²⁰ While there are many outspoken critics of textbooks in this collection, there are glimmers of hope of what textbooks could achieve.

¹⁶Hertzberg, “History and Progressivism: A Century of Reform Proposals,” 73.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Gabriel A. Reich, “Imperfect models, imperfect conclusions: An exploratory study of Multiple-Choice Tests and Historical Knowledge,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 37 (2013), 3–16.; Hyeri Hong and Gregory E. Hamot, “The associations of Teacher Professional Characteristics, School Environmental Factors, and state testing policy on Social Studies Educators’ Instructional Authority,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 39 (2015), 225–241.

¹⁹See Kaya Yilmaz’ chapter in this Handbook.

²⁰See Cécile Sabatier Bullock’s and Shawn Michael Bullock’s chapter in this Handbook.

In the case of the Netherlands, Carla van Boxtel and colleagues commented that their textbooks are rich in historical thinking concepts and primary source materials. While they are not without their shortcomings, this is a promising sign that textbooks could be repackaged and repurposed with historical thinking in mind.²¹ As time passes, however, historical content can become dated and interpretations and conclusions can become obsolete or old-fashioned; history textbooks must be judiciously reevaluated as new evidence comes to light, accepted or mistaken interpretations are challenged, and new learning frameworks and theories emerge. *Annales* Historian Fernand Braudel understood the brief shelf life attached to any kind of written history, remarking: “history books age more quickly now than in the past. A moment passes and their vocabulary has become dated, the new ground they broke is familiar territory, and the explanations they offered are challenged.”²²

We must be mindful. Dewey’s pragmatic method calls us to find the just middle between two seeming opposite positions: in this case, it is the space between (a) ways of thinking about the past, and (b) narratives that we use to think about the past. As Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob caution in the penultimate chapter of this Handbook: “Even when people have no motive to bend history in a particular direction, they have difficulty getting it straight.”²³ Neither a narrative nor the framework used to examine a narrative suffice, and the *via media*, or way through the space in between, depends on the context. History can be represented absolutely, although there is nothing absolute about any one way of teaching about the past.

What value does the study of history hold for twenty-first-century students and an educated public?²⁴ The United States serves as a case study as there have been several “history wars” over the last century and a noticeable decline in declared history majors across public and private institutions of higher education. Enrollment figures have dwindled over recent years and history departments are taking notice. In the November 2017 issue of *Perspectives on History*, a publication of the American Historical Association, Brian Domitrovic described the situation and his respective department’s response: “It’s a great time to be involved in a history department because there is a beautiful prob-

²¹ See, e.g., Mimi Lee, “Promoting historical thinking using the explicit reasoning text,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 37, no. 1 (2013), 33–45; Mark Pearcy, “‘We Have Never Known What Death Was Before’ U.S. History Textbooks and the Civil War,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 38, no. 1 (2014), 45–60.

²² Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II of Spain* (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972), 1, 14–15.

²³ Appleby, Hunt, Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, 307.

²⁴ See, for example, Christopher W. Berg, “Why Study History?: An Examination of Undergraduate Students’ Perceptions and Notions about History,” *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 6, no. 1 (2019), 54–71. <http://hej.hermes-history.net>

lem to solve: how to restore history to its rightful, sturdy position among majors at our many institutions of higher learning.”²⁵

History wars are not unique to the United States.²⁶ Debates on “what” history should be taught and “how” it should be taught is a theme present in the contributions in this Handbook. “The study of history can be contentious and controversial, and, in a postmodern age, historical matters are of the greatest importance as they infiltrate every nook and cranny of public and private life.”²⁷ Hertzberg reminds us that “Each generation has its own choices to make, and history should be ‘a guide, not a dictator.’ But in our eagerness to avoid dictation we often ignore guidance that can help us meet the challenges of the future successfully.”²⁸

Conceptualizing educational reform ought to be informed by the past, engaged in the present, and projected into the future. In the 1980s, Teachers College historian of education Hazel Hertzberg saw another technological innovation—the television—as a potential danger leaving students “numb and dumb.”²⁹ Hertzberg was part of the history reform movement of the U.S. educational system in the 1980s. In completing a review of the history/social studies curriculum over the last hundred years, Hertzberg warned present and, possibly, future reformers of the following:

First, beware of reinventions of the wheel. The reform movements engaged the talents of many brilliant educators. But too often they “discovered” things that had been discovered earlier and then forgotten. There is no reason why what has been rediscovered should not be retried, but it would be valuable to know what happened the first time. Wheels reinvented are often wheels spun. Second, reform advocated is not necessarily reform accomplished. . . . No matter how eloquently and cogently articulated, reforms advocated by remote national groups have to deal with the daily realities of the classroom. We do not even know whether national reform precedes or follows classroom experimentation. Failure to recognize these inadequacies in the historical record can be mischievous. It has caused reformers to assume successes and critics to rail at reformers under the shared delusion that a set of reforms has been widely implemented in the schools.³⁰

²⁵ Brian Domitrovic, “Major Renovations: Reviving Undergraduate History at Sam Houston State University,” *Perspectives on History* (2017). See <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/novembre-2017/major-renovations-reviving-undergraduate-history-at-sam-houston-state>

²⁶ See, for example, Penney Clark, Ed., *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).

²⁷ Berg, “Why Study History?”

²⁸ Hazel W. Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform, 1880–1980* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1981), 11.

²⁹ Hazel W. Hertzberg, “History and Progressivism: A Century of Reform Proposals,” in *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education*, ed. Paul Gagnon (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1989), 97.

³⁰ Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform*, 10–11.

At the time Hertzberg passed these judgments, the contemporary situation in England was experiencing a similar lethargy in history education. British historian Geoffrey Partington, writing in 1980, was critical of how history was learned and taught in England:

It is true that history classrooms were too often inactive, placed too much emphasis on rote learning, failed to apply fruitful hypotheses or to derive them from specific situations and neglected the felt needs, interests and experiences of children and young people at different stages of their school lives.³¹

The corrective measures and responses imposed on the curriculum, teachers, and students were not without consequences. “It is also regrettably true, however, that some attempts to overcome these faults have introduced an alternative set of dangers,” Partington concluded, including “mere busyness irrespective of the historical value of an activity, high levels of generality based on inadequate study of any groups or individuals in much depth; and an increasing parochialism of time and place.”³² Partington argued that history had previously been taught for three reasons: to convey a sense of a national past or heritage; to communicate and nurture a strong moral fiber or internal compass; and, lastly, to promote historical-mindedness and understanding of the present.³³ Nearly 40 years later, the debate about history education—how it should be learned and taught—has remained relatively unchanged but the reasons Partington gave are as important now as they were then.

Sam Wineburg has warned of a new “omnipresent educator”³⁴—a “Google-drenched society.”³⁵ The fast-paced environment we live in today, shaped as it is by the forces of globalization and technology, requires more of our students and teachers than in times past. The implications of Dewey’s question are an omnipresent reminder of how important the subject of this Handbook is at the moment. This collection is a spirited appraisal of how history, as a discipline as well as a subject, has responded to postmodern challenges in international contexts.

We hear that the Internet Age has transformed every facet of education from how students engage in meaningful ways with subject matter to what learning theories and frameworks inform curriculum design and lesson planning.³⁶ Yet, we are forever in a present age. The moment is always the one we inhabit. We are forever living in some context and, living, stand at the nexus of past, present, and future. In the words of T.S. Eliot:

³¹ Geoffrey Partington, *The Idea of a Historical Education* (Windsor, UK: NFER Publishing, 1980), 238.

³² *Ibid.*, 238–39.

³³ *Ibid.*, 10–15.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

³⁵ Wineburg, *Why Learn History*, 3.

³⁶ Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone)* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Time present and time past
 Are both perhaps present in time future,
 And time future contained in time past.³⁷

Social studies requires the correlation (to use a term that Dewey favored), or integration, of subjects including history, civics, and geography to make meaning of the present. Correlation is not used here in the quantitative, statistical sense. Rather, it is used as a near-synonym of integration.

Integration of subject matter might entail the use of, for example, mathematics, language, and social studies in one learning situation as opposed to treating these subjects separately. Correlation had a further inference involving a blurring of differences between subjects and contexts. We appeal to Dewey's description of this in the context of learning:

We live in a world where all sides are bound together. All studies grow out of relations in the one great common world. When the child lives in varied but concrete and active relationship to this common world, his studies are naturally unified. It will no longer be a problem to correlate studies. The teacher will not have to resort to all sorts of devices to weave a little arithmetic into the history lesson, and the like.³⁸

While this Handbook concentrates on social studies and history education, Dewey presses us to rethink the boundaries of subject disciplines. Subjects do not exist in reality; they are devices.

Likewise, there is a natural continuity of time. Past, present, and future are all present in any one moment. Living meaningfully in the present—being historically minded—is preparation for meaningful living in the future.³⁹ Once again, we turn to Eliot:

Time past and time future
 What might have been and what has been
 Point to one end, which is always present.⁴⁰

All we have is here and now, the perpetual space that we inhabit. It is a training ground for the future and a singular point in time. It is a nexus of time past, present, and still to come.

³⁷T.S. Eliot, "Burnt Norton," *Four Quartets* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 13.

³⁸John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 107.

³⁹See Ken Osborne, "Historical Mindedness and Historical Thinking," *Canadian Social Studies* 34, no. 2 (2000), 70–71.

⁴⁰Eliot, 14.

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