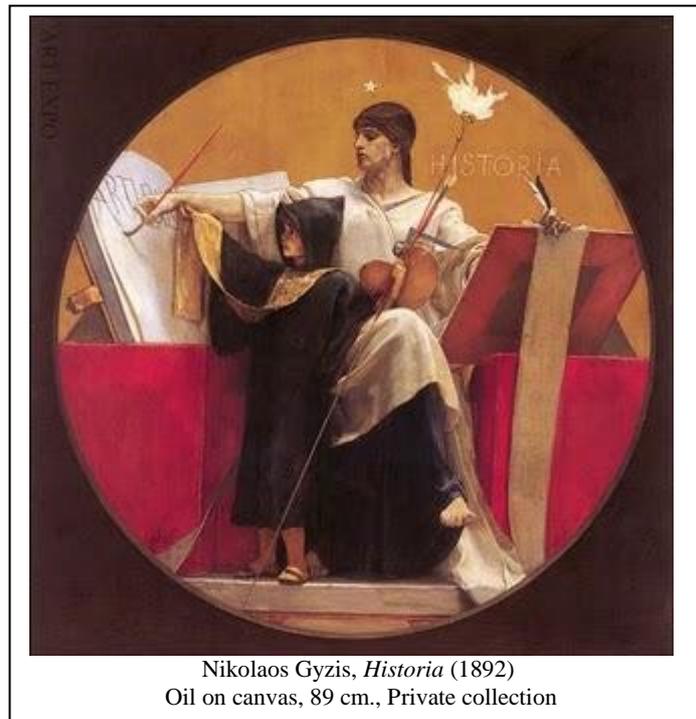


‘What effect does school history have on Greek nationality pupils in relation to their ideas about their own nation and ‘significant other’ nations and their people?’

Chrysoula Tamisoglou
Scholar of Greek Scholarships Foundation



Nikolaos Gyzis, *Historia* (1892)
Oil on canvas, 89 cm., Private collection

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

University of East Anglia
Faculty of Social Sciences
School of Education and Lifelong Learning

First Submission: February, 2011
Final Submission: June, 2011

©

"This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with the author and that no quotation from the thesis, nor any information derived therefrom, may be published without the author's prior, written consent."

Abstract

Many theorists who have tried to define the nature of 'the nation' and its origins relate the construction of a nation to its past, underlining the significant contribution of history and history education. They emphasize the priority a nation gives to the construction of national identity. This national identity involves the transmission of a set of characteristics to the younger generation; characteristics which distinguish a nation (or ethnic group) from the 'other' nations/ ethnic groups, and, at the same time, provides a sense of belonging to a particular nation.

This study focuses on the Greek context. It tries to identify the 'nature' and purpose of history education and how these align with the particular national context. Also, it tries to examine whether and to what extent school history contributes to the way Greek pupils (aged 12 and 15) form their ideas about, attitudes to and perceptions of their own nation and 'other' nations which are discussed and presented in the context of school history. For this purpose, this study examines firstly the history curriculum and the textbooks in order to identify which image of the 'other' and the national self both try to cultivate. Secondly, it examines pupils' ideas about the national self and the 'other' and whether and to what extent school history contributes to the formation of these ideas. It investigates the existence of other factors which may influence pupils' attitudes inside or outside school experience. The study concludes that school history along with the media play an important role in the way pupils conceive their national identity and the 'other'. It also underlines that school history and the media constitutes part of an expanded educational policy that the nation employs in order to cultivate national consciousness.

Contents

Preface.....	8
Part 1	
Chapter 1: Introduction/Theoretical Framework.....	14
1.1. Theoretical aspects of the concept of ‘nation’.....	14
1.2. Theoretical aspects of ‘national identity’.....	19
1.3. The role of the past.....	24
1.3.1. The development of history and history education.....	24
1.3.1.1. Medieval times.....	24
1.3.1.2. The 18 th century.....	25
1.3.1.3. Traditional/ ‘old’ history.....	26
1.3.1.4. ‘New’ history.....	31
1.4. The rationale of this study.....	39
1.4.1. General issues.....	39
1.4.2. The national context.....	40
1.4.3. The background and focus of this study.....	42
Chapter 2: Studying the history curriculum	46
2.1. Introduction.....	46
2.2. A historical review of history curricula.....	48
2.2.1. History curricula for primary schools (19 th -20 th century).....	48
2.2.2. History curricula for secondary schools (19 th -20 th century).....	61
2.3. Comparative and critical review of previous history curricula.....	73
2.4. The ‘new’ curriculum: Brief presentation.....	79
2.5. The current history curriculum: Brief presentation.....	82
2.6. Analysis of the history curriculum.....	85
2.7. Methodology of the analysis.....	87
2.8. Presentation of the findings.....	97
2.8.1. The history curriculum of the 6 th grade.....	97
2.8.2. The history curriculum of the 3 rd grade.....	104
2.10. Contextual and critical review of the findings.....	113
Chapter 3: Studying the history textbooks.....	123
3.1. Introduction.....	123
3.2. A historical review of history textbooks in Greece (19 th -20 th century).....	125
3.2.1. ‘The policy of ‘antagonism’’ (18830-1882).....	125
3.2.2. ‘Regulative state interventionism policy’ (1882-1917).....	126
3.2.3. Continual reversing of the previous policies (1917-1935).....	129
3.2.4. ‘Policy of state monopoly and single textbook’ (1935-1997).....	131
3.3. The current history textbooks.....	141
3.3.1. The political context of their production.....	141
3.3.2. The ‘battle over the history textbook of the 6 th grade.....	144
3.3.3. Brief presentation of the history textbooks.....	153
3.4. Analysis of the history textbooks.....	157
3.5. Methodology of the analysis.....	158
3.5.1. Methodology of the textual data analysis.....	158
3.5.2. Methodology of visual data analysis.....	168
3.6. Presentation of the findings.....	178
3.6.1. Textbook of the 6 th grade.....	178
3.6.1.1. Textual data.....	178
3.6.1.2. Written sources.....	197
3.6.1.3. Visual data.....	199

3.6.2. Textbook of the 3 rd grade.....	213
3.6.2.1. Textual data.....	213
3.6.2.2. Written sources.....	232
3.6.2.3. Visual data.....	235
3.7. Contextual and critical review of the findings.....	251

Part 2

Introduction.....	255
--------------------------	------------

Chapter 4: Investigating history teachers' views.....	262
--	------------

4.1. Introduction.....	262
4.2. The research design.....	264
4.3. Presentation of the findings.....	266
4.3.1. The usefulness of history teaching.....	266
4.3.2. Their history teaching reality.....	270
4.3.3. The 'other' in their history teaching reality.....	273
4.3.4. Teachers' suggestions.....	277
4.4. Contextual and critical review of the findings.....	280

Chapter 5: Investigating pupils' perceptions.....	284
--	------------

5.1. Introduction.....	284
5.2. Methodological approaches of the research.....	286
5.2.1. The research design.....	286
5.2.2. The data analysis.....	291
5.3. Presentation of the findings.....	294
5.3.1. The usefulness of history teaching.....	294
5.3.2. Their history teaching reality.....	297
5.3.3. General knowledge about their country and the people in the world.....	302
5.3.4. Pupils' perceptions of the national self and the 'other'.....	306
5.3.5. Sources of knowledge about the 'other'.....	333
5.3.6. History as out of school experience.....	337
5.4. Contextual and critical review of the findings.....	339

Chapter 6: Conclusions.....	344
------------------------------------	------------

6.1. Introduction.....	344
6.2. The theoretical discourse about nations' construction and this study.....	345
6.3. Educational policy, history education and this study.....	349
6.4. School history, the 'other' and this study.....	355

Appendix 1.....	362
-----------------	-----

Appendix 2.....	376
-----------------	-----

Appendix 3.....	383
-----------------	-----

Appendix 4.....	385
-----------------	-----

Bibliography.....	388
-------------------	-----

List of Diagrams /Figures/Tables

- Diagram 1. The development of the aim of school history in history curricula for primary schools
- Diagram 2. Other nations presented in history curricula for primary schools
- Diagram 3. The development of the aim of school history in history curricula for secondary education
- Diagram 4. Other nations presented in history curricula for secondary education
- Diagram 5. Typical primary school pupils' images of other nations
- Diagram 6. Typical junior-high school pupils' images of other nations
- Diagram 7. Minority primary school pupils' images of other nations
- Diagram 8. Minority junior-high school pupils' images of other nations
- Figure 1. The structure of history curriculum
- Figure 2. Actional representations
- Figure 3. Conceptual representations
- Figure 4. The dimensions of visual space
- Table 1. Historical periods taught at primary school
- Table 2. Historical periods taught at junior- high school
- Table 3. Categories of the analysis
- Table 4. Structure of categories
- Table 5. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (3rd grade)
- Table 6. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (6th grade)
- Table 7. Text extracts distribution of history curriculum of 6th grade
- Table 8. Text extracts distribution in category 3
- Table 9. Text extracts distribution in category 2
- Table 10. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.1
- Table 11. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.3
- Table 12. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.5
- Table 13. Text extracts distribution in category 6
- Table 14. Text extracts distribution of history curriculum of 3rd grade
- Table 15. Text extracts distribution in category 3
- Table 16. Text extracts distribution in category 2
- Table 17. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.1
- Table 18. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.2
- Table 19. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.3
- Table 20. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.4
- Table 21. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.5
- Table 22. Text extracts distribution in category 4
- Table 23. Text extracts distribution in category 5
- Table 24. Text extracts distribution in category 6
- Table 25. Distribution of foreigner and repatriated students in (Greek) public Schools in school year 2008-09
- Table 26. Distribution of pages to the parts included in 6th grade history textbook
- Table 27. Distribution of pages to the parts included in 3rd grade history textbook
- Table 28. Categories to textbook analysis
- Table 29. Structure of categories
- Table 30. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (6th grade)
- Table 31. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (3rd grade)
- Table 32. Calculation of inter-coder agreement for the 'direction' of references (6th grade)

Table 33. Calculation of inter-coder agreement for the ‘direction’ of references (3rd grade)

Table 34. Paragraphs distribution of history textbook of 6th grade

Table 35. Paragraphs distribution in category 3

Table 36. Distribution of paragraphs in category 2

Table 37. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.1

Table 38. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.2

Table 39. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.3

Table 40. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.4

Table 41. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.5

Table 42. Distribution of paragraphs in category 4

Table 43. Distribution of paragraphs in category 5

Table 44. Distribution of paragraphs in category 6

Table 45. Distribution of paragraphs in category 7

Table 46. Continents presented in history textbooks of 6th grade

Table 47. Nation-states presented in history textbook of 6th grade

Table 48. Nation-states presented in history textbook of 6th grade

Table 49. Kinds of references to nation-states (history textbooks of 6th grade)

Table 50. Direction of references (history textbooks of 6th grade)

Table 51. Kind of events referred in written sources of textbook of 6th grade

Table 52. Nationalities presented in textbook of 6th grade illustration

Table 53. Greek nation: Sort and size of illustration (textbook of 6th grade)

Table 54. Greek nation: sort of representations (textbook of 6th grade)

Table 55. Other nationalities: Sort and size of illustration (textbook of 6th grade)

Table 56. Other nationalities: Sort of visual representation (textbook of 6th grade)

Table 57. Distribution of paragraphs of history textbook of 3rd grade

Table 58. Presentation of continents in textbook of 3rd grade

Table 59. Distribution of paragraphs in category 3

Table 60. Distribution of paragraphs in category 2

Table 61. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.1

Table 62. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.2

Table 63. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.3

Table 64. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.4

Table 65. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.5

Table 66. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.6

Table 67. Distribution of paragraphs in category 4

Table 68. Distribution of paragraphs in category 5

Table 69. Distribution of paragraphs in category 6

Table 70. Distribution of paragraphs in the subcategories of category 5

Table 71. Distribution of paragraphs in category 7

Table 72. Nation-states presented in history textbook of 3rd grade

Table 73. Kinds of references to nation-states

Table 74. Direction of references to each nation-state

Table 75. Kind of events referred in written sources of textbook of 3rd grade

Table 76. Nationalities presented in illustration (textbook of 3rd grade)

Table 77. Greek nation: sort and size of illustration (textbook of 3rd grade)

Table 78. Greek nation: Sort of representations (textbook of 3rd grade)

Table 79. Other nationalities: Sort of illustration (textbook of 3rd grade)

Table 80. Other nationalities: sort of presentations (textbook of 3rd grade)

Table 81. Calculation of inter-coder agreement

List of illustration

- Picture 1. Sample of pages with decorative images (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 2. Sample of page presented Greek religious leaders and fighters (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 3. Comparison between an image of every day life scene and military event (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 4. Caricatures used for the presentation of Italians (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 5. Images used for the presentation of Cypriots (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 6. Sample of map with vague subtitling (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 7. Sample of map which has not been updated (textbook of 6th grade)
- Picture 8. Sample of image classified as 'undefined' (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 9. Sample of illustration presented political event (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 10. Sample of illustration presented scenes of every day life (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 11. Sample of illustration presented the portrait of a Greek politician (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 12. Photographs which show the political leader of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 13. Painting which presents the establishment of democracy in Turkey (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 14. The photo which presents Albanians (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 15. The picture presents African children to attend lesson taught by white teacher (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 16. Picture of Somali children (textbook of 3rd grade)
- Picture 17. The front covers of history textbooks
- Image 1. Sample sketch
- Image 2. Sample of female Greek figures dressed in modern way and male figures dressed in ordinary clothes
- Image 3. Sample of Greek human figures dressed in traditional costumes
- Image 4. Sample of Greek human figures depicted carrying or having on their clothes the Greek flag
- Image 6. Sample of Greek figure which shows a man who is lazy and disobeys the laws
- Image 7. Sample of Greek figures holding money
- Image 8. Drawing which exemplifies common things between a British and a Greek figure
- Image 9. Sample of Greek human figures presented as ancient Greeks
- Image 10. Sample of the Africans' drawings made by ordinary primary and junior-high school pupils
- Image 11. Sample of Albanian persons drawn by pupils of typical schools of both levels
- Image 12. Sample of Bulgarian persons depicted by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 13. Sample of Americans people depicted by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 14. Sample of Turkish people drawn by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 15. Sample of British people drawn by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 16. Sample of French people drawn by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 17. Sample of German people drawn by pupils of both school levels

- Image 18. Sample of Cypriot people drawn by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 19. Sample of Russian people drawn by pupils of both typical school levels
- Image 20. Sample of 'nation drawings' (Austria & Poland) characterized as neutral by the coders
- Image 21. Sample of nations depicted in traditional costumes
- Image 22. Sample of Chinese and Japanese persons depicted with slant eyes
- Image 23. Sample of Spanish persons depicted bullfighting
- Image 24. Sample of Chinese persons thinking of or next to electronic devices
- Image 25. Sample of African persons drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 26. Sample of Albanian and Bulgarian people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 27. Sample of Russian persons drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 28. Sample of American persons drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 29. Sample of English, French and German people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 30. Sample of Turkish people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels
- Image 31. Sample of 'nation drawings' judged as neutral by coders
- Image 32. Sample of Chinese and Japanese persons depicted with slant eyes and electronic devices
- Image 33. Sample of figure depicted in traditional costumes
- Image 34. Sample of pupils' misconceptions about some nations

Preface

In recent years, the question of how history should be taught in schools has assumed considerable importance in many countries around the world. The focus on history and history education derives from a number of parameters which are related to the global social-economic scene, as well as to each country's political and social settings. On the one hand, globalization, the development of several kinds of communication/cooperation between nations and individuals and the economic unification, on the other hand, the political and social particularities of each nation and the need for the construction and preservation of each nation's identity led to the past- in the form of history and history education- to be employed in order to serve a variety of objectives and intentions. In particular, history education- the way the past is narrated and presented to the younger generation through school history- is beset by continual and not easily resolved debates about what and how the past should be taught to the nation's children. Some of the participants of these debates (either historians or politicians or educators) support the teaching of a unified national story which conveys factual information and extols national heroes and personalities and others favour history teaching which promotes multiple perspectives and interpretation of historical events, and which pays attention to the 'skeletons' and mistakes of the national past, and the role of ordinary and anonymous people.

Further, relevant literature indicates, on the one hand, the way the past is taught at schools has an affect on how we understand ourselves, our society and the world and, at the same time, how we understand other people, other societies and other nations and ethnic groups. On the other hand, the way we perceive our national self and the 'other' reflects the history we were taught at schools. Nevertheless, is history as a school subject the only parameter which influences the way we perceive ourselves and the 'other'? Living in the era of globalization, the younger generation has many alternatives to learn about the past and the 'other' from a variety of sources (such as the internet, or television) which can sometimes be contradictory to the version of history that is taught in schools. Taking all these factors into consideration, this work tries to investigate, as a first step, what influence school history has on pupils' perceptions of their national self and the 'other' and also, which are the other agents, if any, that contribute to pupils' perceptions.

The focus of this particular study is on history education in the Greek context. Realizing that the term history education can be understood and examined multi-dimensionally, it is necessary at this early stage to define how this term is examined in this work. History education is conceived as a notion which has two edges: its official aspects ('official side') and its everyday practice. More particularly, this study examines, on the one hand, the 'nature' and the 'status' of history teaching as they are indicated and implemented by the official narratives (history curricula and history textbooks) and, on the other hand, whether and how the official narratives are applied in the classroom context, taking into consideration the views of history teachers and pupils. This double-edged examination takes place in the context of compulsory history education since it is the minimum and the obligatory level of education that the younger Greek generation should complete.

The investigation of the 'nature' and the 'status' of history education considers : a) the role that is designed by the state for school history to play in Greek society in general, and in compulsory education in particular, in pupils' education as citizens-to-be of the particular country and of the global society and as individual personalities b) the significance and the usefulness of the subject according to teachers' and pupils' views c) school history's contribution to the construction of national and cultural identity which is seen from both official and pupils' views and d) the way the (national) past is designed and/or is intended to be taught by the official guidelines and the way it is ordinarily taught in classrooms, indicating related issues and suggestions.

The study examines whether and to what extent school history influences pupils' ideas about the 'national self' and the 'other'. More particularly, it investigates how the 'national self' is portrayed by the 'official side' (history curricula and textbooks) and what image (positive, negative, neutral) it attempts to convey about the national self, and also, what constitutes the 'other'; meaning which other nations and people are presented by the official side, and what is the image of the 'other' that is conveyed by the history curriculum and textbooks, and in which contexts the 'other' is integrated in and related to the national self. From the point of view of the recipients of the official design, it aims to draw insights into how pupils perceive the national self and what constitutes for them the 'other'; to what extent school history and/or

other agents (such as family, the media, their travel experience) influence the formation of pupils' particular ideas about the national self and the 'other', what is the image that pupils have about the 'other' and how school history and other agents have contributed to this particular image. Moreover, it tries to link and compare these two 'components' that constitute history education, and to indicate issues, problems and to make suggestions.

The rationale for undertaking of this particular topic derives from both my personal experiences and professional background. As a teacher at primary school, I often witnessed incidents which reflected pupils' xenophobic feelings and attitudes and the developing of a sense of the national self which excludes and/or degrades the 'other'. As a history teacher trainer, I realize that history teachers face many difficulties in their teaching reality in general and particularly when their teaching involves the 'other', no matter what its nationality is. I also acknowledge that history teachers' difficulties derive, at least to some extent, from the general educational policy and the officially designed policies relating to history education. Additionally, having been brought up into and with two ethnical/cultural backgrounds, during my basic education, I often experienced uncomfortable situations which had to do with 'the other' rather than the dominant ethnic/cultural background. All these experiences, and the very high profile debate/controversy which took place recently (2007-08) in Greece relating to what should be taught in school history in terms of the national self and the 'other', gave me the motivation to investigate this particular theme in depth.

The way I approach this topic is based on theoretical views about educational policy and issues in general expressed by experts on these fields. More particularly, this study adopts Ball's and his colleagues' theoretical construct of the policy making in education. Ball and his colleagues (1992) support the idea that educational policy formulation does not only involve the state which determines policy discourses and key concepts (context of influence), but also, the texts which represent policies (context of text production) and those who practice a policy (context of practice) and imply them in a way that is influenced by their own 'histories' and 'ideologies'. Based on these aspects, this study tries to investigate school history from these three contexts: the official side, the policy texts and the context of practice. However, the examination of these contexts is made also taking into consideration the 'historical

perspectives' proposed by Aldrich. According to Aldrich (2006), the examination of an educational issue should involve what has gone before; what was said, written and happened in the past in relation to the issue. The historical perspectives of an issue help us to set in context current educational issues. Thus, this study tries to trace back the development of history as discipline, history education and school history in Greece in order to provide, as far as possible, a 'fully sighted' understanding of the issues on which this work focuses. The influence of these two theoretical frameworks on the methodological approach of the study is developed further in subsequent chapters.

Based on the above, this study is divided into two parts. The first part examines the official views of history as they are depicted by history curricula and textbooks. This part begins with an introductory chapter which presents the theoretical framework of this study. In this chapter, the notion of nation and the theories that have been developed in terms of the formulation of a nation are presented. Nation constitutes a fundamental notion since its construction, legislation and preservation is based on the past and history. Also, how history, in terms of historiography and history education, developed through the centuries and the tendencies that appeared in these areas are discussed. Narrowing the focus of the study on the Greek context, it examines how historiography and history as a discipline have developed in Greece. Chapter 2 refers to the current history curriculum, which is part of the expanded curriculum which was introduced in 2003 and which is still in use. The chapter includes a brief review of the previous (history) curricula that have been developed and implemented since the establishment of the Greek state (1830) in order to depict the 'nature' of history education during the previous centuries and to underline which are the new features that the history curriculum of the 21st century imposes to this particular school subject, and how these influence history education. This brief review presents separately the developments of history curricula for primary and for secondary schools. This separation penetrates the whole study because, in Greek educational settings, the primary and secondary levels of education are 'autonomous' educational units and different educational policies are applied to each level, although, both are included in compulsory education. Nevertheless, comparative conclusions are drawn and suggestions made in the discussion at the end of each chapter. In the same chapter, after a brief presentation of the expanded curriculum as a whole aiming to

incorporate history curriculum into the general educational design, the focus is on the history curricula of the last grade (6th) of primary school and the last (3rd) of junior-high school (Gymnasium) (6th grade- 12 year old and 3rd grade- 15 year old) since, in these grades, history teaching focuses on modern and contemporary times in which exist many references to other nations/people. For the same reason, textbooks, teachers and pupils of these particular grades constitute the subjects of my study. Chapter 3 deals with the two history textbooks that are used in these particular grades (in Greece, the single textbook policy is adopted) and tries to identify how the national self and the 'other' are depicted in them. The chapter begins with a brief presentation of the educational policies relating to textbooks that were applied in the Greek context during the previous centuries (19th -20th) and the policy under which the textbooks under examination are written. This review aims to illustrate and compare the ways that textbooks were/are produced and to highlight the role of the state in textbook production. Attention is also given to 'history war(s)' that have occurred in Greece, in order for insights to be drawn into the place that history has in Greek society. Next, the contexts of the two history textbooks are examined; the text narratives, the primary and secondary sources and the illustrations included in both textbooks are analyzed, compared and discussed.

Part 2 describes and presents the findings of my empirical research conducted in primary and secondary schools of Northern Greece. The selection of this particular part of Greece was made because this part is the only part of Greece which is adjacent to other (Balkan) countries. Among the objectives of the study is to explore whether this adjacency influences pupils' perceptions of the 'other'. So, the examination of schools that are located in this part contributes to this aim. Chapter 4 reports the findings of the research conducted with history teachers who teach at the selected grades of the selected schools. The main aims of the research with history teachers were to explore their ideas about school history (purpose, usefulness and so on), and how their ideas influence the pupils they teach, especially in relation to other nations and their people. The latter is examined in parallel with pupils' views. Chapter 5 presents the research that was conducted with pupils and reports its findings. The pupils that engaged in this study attended the particular grades that history curricula and textbooks are analyzed in order for comparisons to be made and meaningful conclusions to be drawn. Comparisons were also made either between pupils' age,

gender and ethnic backgrounds and the location of schools. In all chapters, there is an explanation of the methodological approaches that were followed at every step of the research. Finally, Chapter 6 compares the findings of the examination of both ‘official’ history, as evidenced in curriculum and policy documents and textbooks, and the reality of history teaching as it occurs in ordinary ‘day to day’ practice in classrooms. It tries to incorporate the findings into an expanded context which involves the theories of nations, the developments in the discipline of history education and history in general, the educational policies and reforms and to suggest issues for further investigation.

Part 1

Chapter 1: Introduction/Theoretical Framework

1.1 Theoretical aspects of the concept of ‘nation’

What do we mean by ‘nation’? What is the ‘nature’ of nation? What are the ‘origins’ of nation? Is it a modern phenomenon or can its origins be traced back to older times? Is a nation limited in specific borders or might it be conceptualized beyond them? What is the relationship between the nation and the state? How does nation contribute to the construction of national identity? What is the link that connects nation and history? How are nation as a general concept and people connected? These are some of the key questions which many theorists from different backgrounds have tried to address in a variety of ways and from different starting points, stating consequently a variety of theoretical aspects about ‘nation’. A fundamental issue that distinguishes paradigms or explanations of the nature of nation is whether nation is product of modernity or constitutes a phenomenon which emerged in parallel with the construction of human society at its very early stages (Özkırılım 2000).

Early paradigms explaining the nature of nations are based on *primordial* ideas which are an ideal-typical category of interpretative understanding of social action. The meaning or characteristic of the social relation of primordality centres on the significance attributed to facts of birth. Birth forms life-giving, life-determining and life-ordering connections (primordial attachments) to particular persons and is under the influence of a delimited area of land (Grosby 2001). Thus, according to primordial theorists, nation in general is seen as the natural and primordial division of humanity and the key for its explanation lies in kinship and the genetic bases of human existence. In the context of the primordialist conceptualization of nation, different versions of primordial theory were formed. The first kind can be characterized as naturalist because it identifies nation as an element of nature or part of a divine plan. This version of primordial theory presents nation as a natural organism, subject to the laws of nature which exists beneath the debris of history (Smith 1999). The socio-biological version (van den Berghe 1995) argues that nation is formed from human beings’ desire to identify themselves with kin and kin and is inherently natural. Nation and ethnic community are extensions of kinship units (expanded families) and

therefore can be defined by the biological paradigm or genetic aspects. Also, van de Berghe states that kinship is based on nepotistic drives embedded in human beings' nature and for this reason 'blood-relationship' defines the bonds between people who share the same genetic features and identify themselves as part of the same nation/ethnic community (kin) and those who do not (not-kin). The cultural primordial theory, expressed mainly by Geertz (1973), founds ethnic community on the belief of the 'overpowering' and 'ineffable quality' of primordial attachments (*given by birth*) that arise from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, following particular social practices in a particular territory. '*Ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action toward primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location*' (Geertz 1973: 168). Primordial theory in general does not locate the emergence of nation/ethnic communities in time; they are 'outside time', in the sphere of the natural order (Grosby 2001).

Other theoretical aspects which integrate 'nation' in time limits claim that nation is a modern construction that mainly emerged in the course of the last two centuries (modern theories). These theories see nation as a modern phenomenon without roots in the past, and are based on different aspects of nation formation. Özkırılım (2000) and Smith (1999) distinguish and name the modern theories according to the emphasis they place on specific factors which contributed to the formation of nation.

More particular, socio-economic theories pay attention to economic factors which lead to the formation of nation. Coming from a 'neo-Marxist' background, Nairn (1977) and Hechter (1975) support the idea that nation is a product of the development of capitalism and of differences in regional resources. The exploitation of regional sources by imperialistic and colonialist political and economic powers and not by '*the periphery*' led to a nationalist reaction in terms of self-management of the resources and periphery, a movement that was promoted mostly by peripheral intelligentsias (Davidson 1999).

Politics and the issue of power constitutes another parameter theorists have taken into consideration in order to define the birth of nation. Hobsbawn (1983) argues that the nation is a very recent newcomer in human history, apparently no older than the

eighteenth century. It is a product of the industrial revolution and an ‘artificial construct’ or invention in a historically unique way, by political elites in order to legitimize their power in a century of revolution and democratization. The role of political elites is also stressed by Brass, a political scientist. He claims that the study of elite competition and manipulation is the key to understanding of nationalism admitting, also, that elites are constrained by mass cultures and institutions (Smith & Hutchinson 1994). Breuille also supports the idea of politics as the main cause of nation formation. However, he argues that initially attention should be paid to the term of nationalism which applies only to political movements and treats nation as a ‘function’ of nationalism. Nationalism must be seen as an exclusive modern and political movement and it is a spurious historicist solution to the conflict which began to emerge between the absolutist state and various sub-elites (such as middle-level bureaucrats, traders, professionals and intellectuals) who seek power through control of modern states. So, ‘nation’ bridged the gulf between state and society by presenting sub-elites as the only unit in which the power of state derives its political existence (Breuille 1999).

Kedourie (1960) also devotes his attention firstly to nationalism, and afterwards defines nation. He points out that nationalism is an ideology that only emerged at the beginning of 19th century, partly as a result of the French Revolution and partly under the influence of the Enlightenment. Based on Kant’s philosophical ideas about morality, man’s freedom and understanding of ‘nature’ and Fichte’s theory of self determination for the individual, he argues that nationalism is a doctrine which

‘divides humanity into separate and distinct nations and such nations must constitute sovereign states and the members of a nation reach freedom and fulfilment by cultivating the peculiar identity of their nation and by sinking their own persons in the greater whole of the nation (Kedourie 1960: 67).

Through his ideas, another ‘branch’ of the modern theories emerged, which declares culture as the main agent contributing to the construction of nation. Gellner (2006) expanded and transformed his colleague’s ideas and states that nationalism and nation are phenomena of modernity identifying them as products of the transition from agrarian societies to industrialized ones. The Industrial revolution forced small local agrarian groups to move to bigger communities (cities) bringing with them their local

traditions and cultures. In these cities, the need for high specialization in terms of profession as well as the necessity for communication between groups of different cultural backgrounds led to the formation of a homogeneous and unified culture. This unified culture created nation and nationalism. On the other hand, Anderson (1991:6) defines nation as '*an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign*'. He continues that nation is community because it is always conceived as 'a deep, horizontal comradeship', which is imagined as limited because it has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations, and as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. So, nation is a modern construction and is grounded in the cultural practices of modern societies. Cultural practices are, in their own turn, derived from the interaction between the development of capitalism and print technology based on a single vernacular language. He underlines also the significant role the media (newspapers and novels in particular) played in the construction of national consciousness presenting nation as a cohesive continuous community sharing a common past.

Nation is seen from a very different point of view by Armstrong, Smith and Hutchinson and their ideas are embedded in historical ethno-symbolic theories of nation. These theories, especially formulated by Smith (1999), criticize the other approaches (primordialist, perennialist and modernist) because they pay close attention to different aspects of nation but fail to take under consideration the 'human' element and its role to the construction of nation. Smith (2001b:83) sees '*the process of nation-formation as of interpretation of pro-existing cultural motifs and of reconstruction of earlier ethnic ties and sentiments*'. The pro-existing cultural motifs and the ethnic ties and sentiments are the myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritages that have been rediscovered and reinterpreted to a popular living past by modern nationalist intelligentsias. This living past also is passed from generation to generation '*as nation becomes more inclusive and as its members cope with new challenges*' (Smith 2001b: 9). Thus, for the intellectuals of this view nation is not a modern construction but they trace its origins back to pre-modern ethnic communities.

Apart from these paradigms, other theories have been developed which try to explain nation in terms of race, feminism and gender (Özkırılım 2000). Interesting also is the

view of Billig (1995) who introduces the notion of *banal nationalism* in the field. Billig uses the word 'banal' not in the sense of unimportant but of ordinary and tries to draw attention to the ways nation reproduces itself through numerous unconscious reminders (for example flags, coins, banknotes, patriotic colours, national anthems, national parades and celebrations, monuments and so on) which surround our everyday life and contribute in a way for nation to be seen as natural and given. He also stresses the important role the media play in this reproduction in the sense that nation is referred to on a daily basis and also becomes invisible to its citizens through their familiarity with all these reminders transmitted by mass communications.

However, from whatever aspect nation formation is seen and described, it could be said that there are two common denominators in these theories. The first one concerns the way nation is legislated and preserves its existence 'inspiring' its citizens to be an active part of it and, at the same time, the way citizens sense and confirm their existence in a particular nation. In other words, it concerns national identity. The other denominator concerns the past. The past constitutes the base on which a nation is founded in order to confirm itself and to cultivate its members' national identity. Next, the first agent is discussed and follows the discussion about the role of the past and the forms of the past which contribute to the construction of national identity.

1.2 Theoretical aspects of ‘national identity’

Primordial theorists think that national identity is cultivated on the base of primordial attachments. These attachments include assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom and it is through these that individuals come to identify themselves as belonging to a particular community, state or nation (Geertz 1973). Also, these attachments make a bond from generation to generation with an experience of deeply rooted, intimate and eternal belonging and, with historical memories, are crucial in shaping and mobilising groups (Grosby 1994). In the same vein, as it stated above, van den Berge (1995) defines national identity as a sense of belonging as well as a sense of similarity and commonality with kin/common ancestry. On the other hand, he declares that when civil politics is deficient or weak, primordial attachments are employed to devolve political power. So, primordial attachments are used as a way to enforce political power as well as to strengthen the sense of belonging.

Since different aspects are employed for the explanation of nation by the modern paradigm, the way national identity is thought to be formulated varies from theorist to theorist. Hobsbawm (1983) believes that both nation construction and national identity entail the invention of ‘national’ traditions which ensure a sense of continuity with a historical past. These invented traditions could be novel creations or formalized adaptations of existing practises such as flags, other emblems of the nation, costumes, anthems, national music and so on. All these practices are normally imposed by rules and conventions, are of ritual or symbolic in nature, and seek to promote certain values and norms of behaviour and actions as well as their repetition in order to imply continuity with the past. So, they are deliberately designed or ‘invented’ to sustain an illusion of historical continuity in order to meet nationalistic ends. He continues that history has been employed to meet these nationalistic aims. This kind of history consists of a selection of versions of the past which portrays, institutionalizes, codifies and legitimates the desirable past aiming to reinforce a sense of national cohesion.

Kedourie (1960), on the other hand, supports the idea that national identity presupposes homogeneity which is considered desirable by political powers and those

in power. Homogeneity involves the cultivation of common concerns (such as language, race, culture, religion) to the people of a nation. These common concerns are related to the self-determination of a nation. It is a 'method' of teaching the right determination of a nation. Thus, according to Kedourie, education must have a central position in a nation. The purpose of education is not to transmit knowledge, traditional wisdom and the ways devised by a society for attending to common concerns; its purpose is wholly political, to bend the 'will' of the younger generation to the 'will' of nation.

The significant role of education in the construction of national identity is also stressed by his colleague Gellner but on the base of culture. Gellner (2006) argues that the transformation of society from an agrarian to an industrialized one led to the need for a homogeneous and unified culture. This kind of culture could be accomplished through a mass public education system introduced by the government of the nation.

Anderson (1991) goes further and declares that as nations are 'imagined communities', and are artificially constructed, they try to cultivate homogenous national consciousness on common cultural roots. In order for these imagined common cultural origins to be diffused to all people, capitalist society make use of mass literacy and communications (such as newspapers, novels) in order to enable people to conceive of themselves as bound together across space and time:

'...things like newspapers which come out day by day, absolutely predictable, with more news, more information about where we live and how we live. We have all intense awareness about where we live and how we live. We have all intense awareness that there are millions of other people reading the same newspaper at exactly the same time, we have no idea who they are but we are quite sure that they exist and that in some way through reading a common newspaper we belong together. That is the most important thing' (Anderson 1991: 35).

In the same context, Anderson emphasizes the role of book printing in society and the significance of education which, through the circulation of books, contributes to the maintenance of the 'imagined community' stressing aspects of its history which promote its cohesive character.

Smith (1991) defines precisely the fundamental elements of national identity. These are:

1. *an historical territory or homeland*
2. *common myth and historical memories*
3. *a common, mass public culture*
4. *common legal rights and duties for all members*
5. *a common economy with territorial mobility for members*

He continues defining the notion of nation as:

'a named human population sharing an historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members' (Smith 1991:14).

These elements of national identity confirm a nation because they function at several levels (political, territorial, and economical). They also affect individuals because they secure the socialization of the members of the nation as 'nationals' and 'citizens'. The role of socialization, Smith adds, is achieved through compulsory, standardized, mass public education through which state authorities aim to inculcate national devotion and a distinctive, homogeneous culture. Significant also is the use of particular symbols and traditions such as flags, anthems, ceremonies by nation, because their use reminds the nation members of a common heritage and cultural kinship.

Billig states that (1995:7) *'the problems start when one expects to find the 'identity' within the body of the mind of the individual'*. For him, national identity embraces 'daily' reminders of political discourses and cultural products which are not 'consciously waved with fervent passion' but 'are hanging unnoticed' in our every day practice. Also,

having national identity involves being situated physically, legally, socially as well as emotionally: typically, it means being situated within a homeland which is itself situated within the world of nations. And only, if people believe that they have national identities, will such homelands, and the world of national homelands, be reproduced (Billig 1995: 8).

Simply, Billig tries to reveal all nationalist symbols, practices and actions that slip from our attention and are secretly embedded in our every day life in order that, on the one hand, the nation be confirmed and on the other hand, individuals be linked with the nation. His work is mainly focused on media and newspapers. Nevertheless, he mentions that many of these hidden reminders can be traced back to the national

past and are reproduced in schools through school practice, for example ceremonies, celebrations and so on.

The brief discussion about how theorists define national identity indicates the complexity of the notion. It also indicates that national identity presupposes 'sameness' (Smith 1991:75) meaning that people delineate their national consciousness based on and sharing the same features which could be beliefs, customs, ceremonies, obligations, rights, symbols and so on. Whatever the nature of these features is, they are used to unite and link individuals with each other and with 'the nation'. However, they are also employed to signify 'discrepancy' as well, in the sense that people with a specific national identity and who share the same features distinguish their selves from the 'others' who do not have the same features but different, other. Thus, the notion of 'other' plays a significant role to the construction of national identity (Colley 1992).

Kedourie stresses 'the excellence of diversity' in the context of human development and argues that *'not only that every culture, every individuality, has a unique incomparable value but also that there is a duty laid upon us to cultivate our own peculiar qualities and not mix or merge them with others'* (Kedourie 1960:51). Additionally, there is not only a 'we', an in-group in the foundations of the nation and nationalism but a 'they', an out-group, namely other nations from which 'we' should be distinguished and remained separate. Geller (2006) also underlines the contribution of the 'other' (namely the groups that, in the context for the industrialized society had a different, 'under-privileged' culture) in the formulation of national identity. The awareness of a shared nationhood can be found not in the cultural specificity and/ or intrinsic uniqueness of the nation but rather in its providing for an identity constructed with a specific 'other'. On the same path, Smith (1991) supports the idea that each nation has to assert itself in contrast, and often in opposition, to other national communities.

The political scientist Connor (1978), who emphasizes the psychological bond (the common descent) that binds fellow nationals together and is called 'a sense of belonging' by him, introduces the belief that national identity involves a distinction in the view of the world. More particularly, he declares that 'the sense of belonging'

implies not only knowing who 'we' are but who the 'others' are: '*a group of people become first aware of what they **are not** ethnically before actually realizing what they are* (Connor 1978:388, emphasis in the original).

Deutsch (1966), defining 'nation', supports the idea that members of a national community are characterized by their ability to communicate to each other, something that is not so easy for people of other national communities. Thus, members of a nation share more among themselves than with foreigners meaning groups from outside of a national community. Triandafyllidou (1998) goes further and employs the notion of 'significant other' to define a kind of the 'other', in the sense of nation or state or ethnic group, which menaces or it is thought as it might menace the entity of a specific nation. Significant other can be found either in the borders of a national community or outside it. So, national identity could be conceived as a double-edged relationship. One edge involves a certain degree of sameness and commonality between the individuals of a nation and the other edge implies difference between individuals of other nations or groups which share difference features.

1.3 The role of the past

Considering either the theoretical perceptions of nation and of national identity construction, the second common denominator can be detected: the past. In these theoretical conceptions, the past is presented through various forms: as kinship, as common culture, continuous imagined past, ethnic heritages, myth, memories, reminders, symbols and so on. In whatever aspect, the past constitutes the foundation of national identity and of a nation as well. For this reason, the discipline of history and history education were employed in order to sustain the different interpretations of the past, especially in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. They were also used to ‘produce’ national histories because ‘...*nation had to have a history - the longer and the prouder the better* (Berger 2007a:1). The creation of national histories, however, was made under different circumstances and supported a variety of objectives in the four corners of the world. Also, the ‘mission’ that history as a discipline had to carry out, influenced this scientific area and its development. At this point, there will be a brief examination of the way the discipline of history and historiography was employed, in the western world as elsewhere, in relation to the development of national histories.

1.3.1 The development of history and history education

1.3.1.1 Medieval times

During medieval times which were deeply religious, history and the development of humanity were seen through a religious view point. History was very closely related to theology and ‘*it was a mirror through which someone could read God’s will*’ (Spiegel 2006:82). History provided evidence for God’s concern about his creation and human development was presented as an uninterrupted and unwavering course towards to the Last Judgement. History involved moral teaching and aimed to urge individuals to imitate good and avoid evil. In other words, history was not a presentation of ‘what was done’, what really happened, rather it employed past events as examples that should be studied in order to be linked with the present and to God. This link was made intending moral values to be uncovered and stressed, which

would direct or influence humans' life (Spiegel 2006). Thus, history involved the presentation of events and scenes of the past which were not related to each other on the base of a chronological order and/or causality but on the base of moral themes and principles which were to be emphasized. However, in that particular time, we can find the first grain of national histories. Based on the belief of that time that the king/emperor was the representative of God in earth, medieval historians presented the king's/emperor's attempts to formulate a spatial entity creating a pool of common memories, values and myths which had a theological orientation (Black & MacRaid 2007).

1.3.1.2 The 18th century

The 18th century was marked with differentiation in the way history is seen. In this century, history began to be thought of as an academic subject. This happened due to the influence of the Enlightenment and its stress on individualism and reason (Wright 2006). The focus on individuals and their ability to affect their own lives, the cult of secular reason and the emergence of rationalism led history to abandon its religious foundations and to be based on the observation of the material world (Green & Troup 1999). The major works of French and English intellectuals such as Voltaire, Hume, Robertson and Gibbon exemplify these developments in the area of history. These writers and their work represent 'philosophical' or 'universal' history. The 'philosophical history' (a term which was introduced by Voltaire) tried to provide 'useful truths' for the events of the past and was based on the assumption of a common human nature (Mah 2006). Thus, under the influence of Enlightenment universalism, historical accounts of that time attempted to demonstrate universal human principles and characteristics, even in cases where these histories referred to specific nations, and subsumed all cultures into a single historical typology or a single continuous historical development (Berger 2007a). These works moved history from the sphere of God to the sphere of society and stressed political accounts and notions essential for the understanding of the past. They also presented the past and its events in a clear narrative form based on the study of sources (Wright 2006).

However, in the last decades of this century, the universal aspects that penetrated historical accounts were marginalized and national aspects of history emerged especially after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, and also as a reaction to French historical accounts which tried to glorify French civilization and established it as an example that other nations should imitate (Frederick 1992). This switch from the universal to the national that has become to be known as ‘historicism’ concerns *‘the notion that historical subjects should be studied, not in relation to transhistorical standards, but according to their own social and cultural terms’* (Mah 2006:143) and was mainly noticed in German historical thought. The work of the German intellectual Herder was of great influence to this direction. Herder did not espouse the universal principles of human development. Quite the contrary, he argued that each culture, society and nation possesses the same individuality as a person and to understand a nation or a culture requires an approach that fully recognizes its unique character and development (Mah 2006). Although, Herder did not stress history as a distinctive element for the determination of a nation but its literature and language, he gave voice to all those national/ethnic groups of Central, East Central and Eastern Europe to demand their independent existence (Berger 2007a). He also influenced and inspired historians all over Europe to search and employ arguments in favour of national peculiarities and specificities gradually establishing forms of national histories (Nisbet 1999).

1.3.1.3 Traditional/ ‘old’ history

National history writing was formed in the 19th century and continued to be influential until the first half of 20th century. Herder’s ideas on national history rapidly spread in Europe in the 19th century and historians was called to find and to develop -in some cases even to invent (Hobsbawn & Ranger 1983)- an arsenal of arguments and evidence in order to establish and narrate histories that highlighted national distinctive characteristics. Thus, historians became pedagogues of nation (for instance, Iorga in Romania, Papanigopoulos in Greece, Narbutas in Lithuania) (Berger 2007a), and/or nation-builders (such as Novakovic in Serbia) (Deletant et al. 1988). The national histories and their authors were inspired by the movement of Romanticism which emphasized the historical powerful culture of each nation and the role of individuals

as active determiners of history (Heath & Boreham 2005). Under this influence, national histories tried to enclose as many virtues as possible for a nation, based mostly on cultural, linguistic and/or religious features of each national past which indicated 'golden ages', 'lost homelands' and 'national revivals'(Dosse 1993). The features ensured the continuity and unity of nation and, at the same time, they legitimated its existence. For the continuity and unity of a nation to be cultivated, a pantheon of national heroes was employed emphasising the significance of the individual. These national heroes came from different backgrounds; they were political such as Churchill and Wallace, military such as Wasa, de Gaulle, religious leaders such as Luther, intellectuals such as Shakespeare, Moliere or Dante but all of them 'fought' in their own way for the establishment of their nation and its maintenance (Segal 2000). However, the development of national history and the emphasis on the virtues of a nation presupposed the comparison of a nation with other nations and their historical courses as well as the recognition of each nation's superiority over other national formations, based on distinguished characteristics and peculiarities (Berger 2007a). Thus, in Germany, the work of Kohlraush identified the particularity of the German nation in its attitude to religion. In Italy, Gioberti argued that the pioneering in European civilization belongs to Italy because Italy constituted the cradle of the Catholic cult. In France, Guizot demonstrated the central role of France in the development of European civilization due to French intellectual pursuits and language (Cajani 2006), in England the work of Macaulay which emphasized the significance of its nation because of its political institutions, and in the United States, Bancroft's studies which exemplify the liberal and democratic spirit of the nation (Baker 2006). Also, national histories developed in the form of narratives stressing political and military accounts and elites and privileged individuals: all of them contributed to the emergence, preservation and development of a particular nation (Iggers 2000). These elements of national histories were influenced by the thought of a German historian, Ranke who was hailed as 'the father of historical science' and contributed to the establishment of history as an academic subject and discipline (Iggers 2006). Ranke, who was influenced by the positivism of Comte, established professional standards for historical writing and training. These standards involved rejection of sources previously used by historians such as personal memoirs and accounts written years after an event took place and the insertion of 'primary', original sources which were produced at the time the event happened (Evans 2000).

He also argued that historians should understand the past on its own terms, not merely interpret it introducing a hermeneutical approach to history meaning that the past should not be judged by the historian's own criteria. The past should be seen not under the inquiries the present imposes but under the scope of its own time, taking into account the political and religious context of the time (Iggers 1997). Thus, he wrote volumes of chronological narrative focusing upon the political and diplomatic history of Europe based on documents. His scientific and empirical way of approaching history spread rapidly across the western world and enabled history to 'gain prestige' as a discipline and be seen as an academic subject at universities throughout Europe and North America - beginning from Germany (Iggers 2006). As Green & Troup (1999:3) argue, the core tenets of scientific, empirical history might be codified as:

- *the rigorous examination and knowledge of historical evidence, verified by references;*
- *impartial research, devoid of a priori beliefs and prejudices;*
- *and an inductive method of reasoning, from the particular to the general.'*

This way of approaching history, based on the belief that the past exists independently of its researcher and that it is observable and verifiable, and that the historian is able to present the past objectively and accurately, supposes that historical truth rests upon its correspondence with the facts (Green & Troup 1999). Additionally, this kind of history, especially its establishment of discipline, meant that on the one hand, special attention be paid to official documents and archives be established, and on the other hand, history be seen as an important subject the younger generation should be taught (Berghahn & Schissler 1987).

History as a school subject was introduced mainly in secondary schools of the western world based on the main principles of 'historicism' and its aim was very closely related to nationalistic thought (Wilschut 2009). For example, in Germany, school history aimed at the creation of patriotic spirit, the cultivation of love and devotion for the home country and its rulers and the readiness of sacrifice for the nation. In the same geographic context, periods of growth and glory were discussed more than periods of decline and crimes (Wilschut 2009). In England, by the end of century in question, history was used in schools to

promote patriotism, the good example of noble deeds and the special role of Britain as a powerful empire (Marsden 1989). The same path was followed by legislators in the Netherlands about history education. The national spirit was the main driving force behind the mandatory subject of history but the traditional humanistic and enlightened aims also remained important (Toebe 1987). History textbooks developed in parallel with these ideas about the purpose of history teaching. For instance, in the United States, in the early years of the century there were cries for an ‘authentically’ American version of history which would be narrated in corresponding history textbooks and in England, history textbooks were published which promoted the so-called ‘kings-wars-and-laws’ style of history textbooks (Marsden 2001).

In general, the perceptions of history, its status and role that developed in the 19th century influenced the educational community not only in the particular century but also in the centuries to come. The paradigm of history formed in that time has come to be characterized in more recent years as ‘traditional/old history’ as opposed to ‘new’ history which emerged in the middle of the 20th century. Burke (1991: 3-6) distinguishes ‘old’ from ‘new’ history in seven key points:

1. According to the traditional paradigm, history is essentially concerned with politics: *‘History is past politics: politics is present history’*. The ‘new’ history is based on the philosophical foundational idea of cultural relativism, particularly on the idea that reality is socially and culturally constituted. Thus, ‘new’ history has come to be concerned with virtually every human activity in the sense that *‘everything has a history’* expanding the topics with history deals.
2. ‘Traditional’ history presents history as essentially a narrative of events. ‘New’ history, although it does not entirely dismiss the narrative form, is more focused on the structure and the analysis of the structure of historical events and their interpretation.
3. ‘Traditional’ history offers a view of the past from above, in the sense that it has always concentrated on the great deeds of great men, statesmen, generals or occasionally churchmen. ‘New’ history also presents a view of the past from below, the view of ordinary people and their experience allowing by this way, many ‘voices’ to be heard.

4. Documents and official records are the bases on which 'traditional' history relies. However, these bases for the development of history limited it in the official point of view. 'New' history, since it is concerned with a greater variety of human activities, expands the available evidence history could rely on and includes a variety of materials such as statistical, visual evidence and oral history which, in their turn, contribute to the view of history from below.
5. The way historical events are presented by 'traditional' history limits the questions a historian can ask; (s)he focuses mostly on the role of important individuals and ignores the multilevel approaches and interpretations from which a historical event could be seen. 'New' history 'breaks' this limitation and accounts for a variety of questions which can be asked by a historian.
6. The 'traditional' paradigm supports the idea that history is objective, privileging the historian's objectivity and balance. On the contrary, 'new' history, relying on cultural relativism which demonstrates that reality is a network of conventions, schemata and stereotypes, espouses the belief that a historical event can be defined by 'different, varied and opposing voices' (heteroglossia) emphasizing the subjectivity of history and historians.
7. Finally, 'traditional' history emphasizes the uniqueness of its subject and the way its subject can be approached. 'New' history expands the way historical events can be approached and proposes intellectual interplay through inter- and multi- disciplinary tack (Black & Mac Raild 2007).

At this point, I would like to underline another feature of the implementation of 'traditional' history which will be relevant to the objectives of this study. The development of national narratives and the emphasis on the superiority and particularity of each nation that 'traditional' history introduced resulted in the discrimination and opposition between nations and out-groups (other nations) as well as between in-groups (ethnic groups into a nation) (Marsden 2001, Low-Beer 2003, Berger 2007b). This discrimination was detected in history textbooks mainly in the second half of 20th century when textbook research emerged examining the context of (history) textbook in order to detect biases and prejudices about 'the other' (e.g. Pingel 2000, Council of Europe 2000). The

‘new’ paradigm of history that emerged as well as the circumstances the world faced in 20th century (like World Wars, universalism) led history to be seen as a discipline which could unite the world instead of dividing it (Barton & Levstik 2004).

1.3.1.4 ‘New’ History

Nevertheless, in the 19th century, different views of history and history education emerged and developed as opposed to its nationalist view. For example, in Britain, the work of Green ‘*Short history of English people*’ (1874), as its title illustrated, tried to focus on social history rather than on political and military history (Black & MacRaild 2007). The study ‘*The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*’ (1860) by the Swiss scholar Burckhardt was concentrated on cultural history (Burke 1991) and in North America, the work of Turner ‘*The importance of the frontier in America History*’ (1893) shifted its attention away from political history towards a much broader conception of the culture and the character of the American people (Bentley 1997). In the 20th century, these new perspectives were broadly developed and spread in the western world establishing what in 1960s-1970s became known as ‘new history’ (Sylvester 1994).

The term ‘new history’ was used for the first time by Robinson in his book with the same title. In this book, he invited historians to deal with all aspects of human development (Robinson 2009). Yet, the conceptualization of ‘new history’ was made by a revolutionary movement developed in France in the 1920s. This movement known as ‘Annales School’ begun with the publishing of a journal, *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale* (as it was first called) edited by two French historians Bloch and Febvre as a result of their strong reaction against the 19th century historiographical tradition. Both Bloch and Febvre and their followers promoted the idea of ‘total history’ arguing that all aspects of society should be part of historical reality (Green & Troup 1999) expanding the focus of history from political and diplomatic topics on every aspect of human development especially social and cultural history (Dosse 2000). They also suggested that boundaries between human sciences should be broken down and historians should cooperate with other

disciplines (such as geography, sociology, anthropology) where possible in order to understand the past. They disapproved of narrative histories and introduced new methods, approaches and sources from other disciplines indicating that events are 'particular', not 'essential', features of the past and their analysis was the key of understanding the past (Iggers 2005). Two decades later, the work of Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde Méditerranéen à l' époque de Philippe II*, added new dimensions to history introducing a multi-layered historical chronology (the three *durées*) and initiating a focus on quantitative history. He also emphasized the role of environmental and economic features in the historical course of human beings breaking away from traditional and military history and opening up new horizons for the discipline in question (Bell 2006).

The work of these intellectuals was influential for the years to come. The experience of the World Wars as well as the 'new era' the humankind entered after 1945 (in the terms of the development of a international economic system, the co-operation of the European states, the emergence of mass communication and consumerism as well as the issues of poverty, progress, industrialisation and modernisation that were raised), contributed to a trend for history to be seen through the 'lens' of 'new history' and not through the nationalistic one. Nevertheless, the way 'new history' developed in the western world is different from country to country underlining at the same time different aspects and dimensions of the past. For example, in France, the work of Le Goff and his colleagues *La Nouvelle Histoire* (1978) introduce the term 'new history' combining anthropology and history and focusing on culture and cultural interpretations of historical experience (Bentley 2006). Thus, a fourth level of historical experience was added to Braudel's three *durées: mentalités* which was a broad term and covered everything from religious beliefs to popular entertainment to traditional forms of high culture emphasizing in general the distinctive role of culture in the interpretation of the past (Bell 2006). In England, the past was considered under the influence of Marx's ideas. Historians such as Hobsbawm and Thomson turned the focus from history 'from above' to history 'from below' and dealt with ordinary people. They also introduced and focused on the term 'class-struggle' and defined the past through the struggle of classes in the productive process (Kaye 1995).

From the 1960s and after, 'new history' in general broadened the way history as a discipline was thought in several dimensions. The expansion of the issues that history covered - not only political and military but 'total history' - led to the emergence of a variety of 'histories'. Thus, in the late decades of 20th century, gender, post-colonial history and local history as well as microhistory and ethnohistory developed based on the view that everything that is related with human beings and their society plays a significant role in the construction of the past (Green & Troup 1999). In the same vein, emphasis was given to ordinary people and individuals forming 'history from below' (Burke 1991). Also, new methodologies were used by historians such as quantitative history and oral history and new materials entered the scene of historical research such as visual documents (Dosse 1993). Additionally, 'new history' allowed 'osmosis' between social disciplines so that new scientific branches appeared such as psychohistory and historical sociology (Iggers 2005). However, the significant contribution of the 'new history' to attach the past is, what Iggers (2005: 4) argues, *'the democratization of history'*. The democratization of history not only in the sense of an inclusion of broader segments of the population and an extension of historical perspective from politics to society (everyday life and everyday experience) but mainly in the sense of multi-perceptivity and critical reading of historical events and of the subjectivity of historians (Dosse 1993). 'New history' introduced the belief that the past should not only be known but be understood and interpreted. Historical events can be explained and analysed based on different and/or contradictory perspectives claiming, at the same time, that there is not a 'unique' truth related to the past but several perspectives from which events of the past could be seen. The perspective from which a historian chooses to examine a historical event depends on the questions (s)he imposes on the past which, in their own turn, are determined by the present in which the historian lives (Iggers 2005). Carr gives a very illuminating parallelism of how historical facts are seen by a historian:

'The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use- these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation' (Carr 2001:18).

The relationship between the past and the present was also a significant contribution to the movement in question. The study of the past was thought as the key to interpret the present since the questions historians impose derived from the present and from their backgrounds and tended to identify how the past contributed to the formation of the present and, further, how the present, in its own turn, could contribute to the formation of the future (Hobsbawn 1997). This also presupposes that the narratives of historians should not be considered as ‘authentic’ and the past as one-dimensional but the product of historians and the way the past is presented is a matter of their critical reading and approach of the past (relativistic history) (Robinson 2009). This, in its own turn, sheds light on and emphasizes the way historians approach the past, for example, how they choose their sources and use them (Hoffer 2008). Thus, all these factors contributed towards history being thought of as a discipline which can always be re-considered and supplemented as well as adjusted to the demands each era imposes (Dosse 1993, Iggers 2005) or as Carr (2001:24) states ‘*an unending dialogue between the present and the past*’.

Also, the multi-perspectivity and the focus on the ordinary people which the new approach to history entailed, as well as the emergence of a variety of ‘histories’ led to the past not to be seen through the limitations imposed by national borders. Human development was seen on a global basis and away from boundaries of any kind, conveying a holistic view of the world and its evolution. At the same time, national states were not thought of as the only important units of historical analysis but they were important in order for historians to understand the world beyond national communities (Bentley 2006). As MacNeill (1990) argues individual societies are not the only site of historical development and historical process takes place between and among societies as well as within individual societies. Thus, in this century, the emergence of world history of a different kind (such as mass migrations, cross-cultural trade) was noticed. Thus, as Bentley (2006: 411) underlines:

‘this recent scholarship in world history has not only contributed to the understanding of the world as a whole, but also has constructed contexts for the better understanding of individual regions and their relationships with the larger world’.

These developments in the field of history influenced history education and teaching and the role that history as school subject was called to play in education. The new

perception about history, as described above, suggested an alternative way in which history should be taught, redefined the aims of history teaching and advanced the position history had in school programmes. Additionally, this new perception of history and history teaching was espoused by the developments that took place in the international scene. More particularly, the experience of the two World Wars and the results of extreme nationalism, the new era of globalization, the rapid evolution of technology and communications, the implementation of the European integration, the increased migration and the multiculturalism that emerged in many societies raised new questions about the role of education and history in particular and imposed new roles for both. Also, the development of new theories about the role of education, the new horizons, that research in relation to children's understanding of the past (e.g. Booth 1984, Holt 1990, Seixas 1993, Lee et al. 2000, 2001, Stow & Haydn 2000) and to nations and national groups (e.g. Doyle et al. 1998, Barrett 2007) opened, led to the proposition of alternative foundations for history education.

History education and teaching, although it continued to focus on historical knowledge, at the same time, introduced the idea that attention should be paid to the skills, competences and attitudes that pupils should develop through history teaching. Thus, history as a school subject was called to introduce pupils to the way historians work in order to 'uncover' the past. This introduction, also, presupposed that pupils should be critical of the materials of the past they examine aiming to develop skills and competences needed in order for pupils to think historically and critically at the same time. The development of historical critical thinking would enable pupils not only to deal with the particular subject in school context but apply these skills to other subjects and out of school experience as well (Husbands 1996). By doing so, pupils will become critical thinking personalities, which is what is aimed by many educational systems (Stearns 1998). Also, pupils developing critical thinking skills and competences (such as dialogue, debate over controversial issues) would be prepared to introduce themselves as active citizens in democratic societies and/or as Barton & Levstik (2004) argues '*for the common good*' in the future. Thus, history education was closely related to the teaching of citizenship (Heater & Oliver 1994, Haydn 1999, Davies 2000). In the same vein, given the fact that many societies gradually become multicultural, history education, through this new perspective, could provide a pluralist approach for pupils. This pluralist approach, in the sense of

taking the perspective of ‘other’ in whatever dimension and thinking of the ‘other’ as equal, could promote better understanding, coherence, tolerance and respect between societies and nation-states discarding superiority, inequality, biases and stereotypes among societies and their people (Stradling 2003). In this way, history education could be addressed as a ‘core subject’ which could educate the younger generation to be critical thinking individuals who could contribute actively in a democratic society which respects and recognizes the rights of the ‘other’ and promote understanding and cooperation between individuals and people at an international level (Slater 1995). Thus, history and history education are related to the present since history as a school subject becomes not matter of ‘learn about the past’ but ‘learn to think about the present through the study of the past’ (Howard 1991). Additionally, this ‘new’ role of history education and history teaching breaks way from the promotion of nationalistic feelings and national pride, the learning of historical events and narrations. It suggests pupils’ active involvement in the process of history learning and goes beyond national borders, aiming to create democratic citizens for a global society without, however, ignoring the importance of national identity. Phillips (2004: 47-48) depicts briefly and thoroughly this role. For him, history education should seek to:

- *produce citizens who have properly informed perception of their own identity, as well as those of others*
- *actively promote an inclusive, as opposed to an exclusive, view of community, society and nation*
- *cultivate a depth vision amongst pupils which address some universal values such as tolerance, social justice and honesty*
- *envisage a view of the world which looks outwards, not inwards*
- *develop an attitude of mind which has confidence to celebrate the familiar and the less familiar*
- *encourage pupils to recognise and celebrate a multiplicity of potential identities*

In the context of European integration and especially after the fall of the Berlin wall (1989), this ‘new’ role of history education and history teaching was promoted by several organizations. The Council of Europe, EUROCLIO, EUSTORY are some of these organizations, which try to promote the new perspective of history and relate theory and everyday history teaching, holding series of seminars, conferences and relevant producing publications emphasizing in parallel the significant role history education plays in the construction of pupils’ identity and for the future of Europe.

Also, the European Union has stressed the crucial role of history education and produced several recommendations and suggestions about how history should be taught in national contexts under the scope of multi-perspectivity and the elimination of biases and prejudices for the ‘other’ (e.g. Recommendation 1283/1996¹).

At this point, the questions which arise are how and to what extent the ‘new’ paradigm of history has been integrated in the history education of different countries and what objectives history is called to serve in different socio-political contexts? What are the responses of political circles and circles of power to ‘new’ history in terms of the previous use of history to promote national identity, consciousness and pride? Whether and how does this new movement influence history education and particular curricula and teaching materials? From the second half of 19th century and onwards, as discussed above, history and consequently history education was employed as a political tool in order for nation-states to legitimate their existence and promote national consciousness and pride to the younger generation. Despite the emergence of the ‘new’ paradigm in the field of history, the traditional paradigm continued to influence the educational systems of many countries (e.g. Ferro 2003, MacMillan 2009). However, this alternative way of approaching history caused a series of debates over history and its use. These debates were mainly over whether history as a school subject would be employed to serve national objectives or would be seen in an expanded, global educational context, focusing on skills and competences (e.g. Nash et al. 2000, Haydn 2003). Also, it led to some changes in the context of history curricula, history didactics and teaching materials. These changes involved, firstly, a growing emphasis on the development of pupils’ abilities and skills to evaluate historical processes and facts as, for example, happened in England in 2007 where six key concepts and three key processes were seen as central to the history curriculum (Smart 2009). Secondly, there were changes swifts in the examination of different kind of sources and in work with interpretations and concepts as alternative methodological ways of approaching the past (von Borries 2001). Also, history teaching materials were written taking into consideration different perspectives such as the history textbook edited for primary and secondary

¹The particular Recommendation is available on <http://assembly.coe.int//mainf.asp?link=http://assembly.coe.int/documents/adoptedtext/ta96/erec1283.htm#1>

schools of the Upper Rhine valley and combining French-Germans-Swiss perspectives under the scope of borderless Europe (Dupeyron 2009). Nevertheless, the review of the current 'status' of history teaching in Europe attempted by van der Leeuw-Roord (2009: 161) shows that history education continues to be

'a mono-perspective narrative with many important men, few women, no minority communities, much politics, lack of ordinary people, some elite culture, not too much emphasis on colonial history and, in fact, excluding most parts of the world'.

Thus, in general, it seems that 'new' history and its principles have not been generally integrated and implemented in history education in many (European) countries (van der Leeuw-Rood 2009). Nation and the formation of national identity continue to be crucial and they are significant notions which have a great effect on (history) education despite the fact that the younger generation is brought up in a global society and, it could be argued, should be prepared to live in this kind of society. National identity seems to be the most important among the other identities (such as family, occupational, cultural identity) that a young person will be called to cultivate. The past and consequently history either as discipline or school subject, continues to be part of politics, and are manipulated by political powers and employed to serve mostly national and patriotic objectives (Ferro 2003, Tosh 2006).

1.4 The rationale for this study

1.4.1 General issues

Taking into account the theoretical perspectives of nation, the bonds between the nation's construction and the past and the role of history and history education that have been employed through centuries, some general issues arise in relation to the current social circumstances. How is the emphasis on national matters and identity aligned with globalization and international matters? Could globalization be conceived as a 'threat'; in that it belittles the particularities and specialities of each nation and imposes a homogeneous way of living and thinking which leads to the fading of various existing cultures? If this is the case, national history and history education should protest against this homogenization in order to conserve the variety of historical backgrounds and cultures. On the other hand, the emphasis on national narratives might lead to nationalistic phenomena with serious consequences for the future. Could a balance between national and inter-national narratives be achieved? Further, in what ways are understanding, tolerance and cooperation among nation-states and into multicultural societies (principles that penetrate curricula in many countries) cultivated?

Some argue that a person should originally know well who (s)he is, where (s)he is coming from, which is his/her national and ethnical background in order to understand other national and ethnic contexts. Others claim that the emphasis on national matters limits understanding and cooperation among cultures and ethnic backgrounds since it provides a sense of superiority for a specific nation and its culture, it imposes a one-dimensional understanding of the past and cultivates the feeling that civilization consists of fragmented, unconnected pieces. Applying these views to contemporary life, a child at school experiences the world through national aspects which are hardly expanded to other nations and cultures. But, the same child, mainly in his/her out of school life, communicates though the web with children of other countries and shares with them moments of their childhood and/or is informed by what is going on in the world by the media and the internet. Doing so, (s)he develops an expanded understanding of the world which, however, contradicts the

school experience. Does this situation indicate that school aims to convey the national perspectives and other perspectives are left to be conveyed by out of school mediators such as television, newspapers and the internet? At another level, this international and unlimited communication might puzzle and frustrate the younger generation since this communication would not provide them with the unambiguous identity which some people claim they need. Moreover, young people live in a fluid cosmopolitan reality and need to take role models and moral standards which can easily be offered by national personalities of the past. Also, the danger of misleading lurks in the reality we live in and in conjunction with the easy access to information and pupils' young age. Thus, pupils should learn the 'real story' about their own national/ethnic origins in order to be critical towards other versions of the past. These national/ethnic origins contribute to the construction of a nation/ethnicity and, at the same time, unite people who live in a specific national context, as well. But, how will children be able to evaluate and examine critically all the information they have access to, when, at school, they are taught to study information mono-dimensionally and they are not exposed to the idea that there are often different interpretation of the past? In this context, how does the younger generation perceive the 'other' of any kind and how does education contribute to this perception? From one point of view, education should initially prepare pupils to meet the demands of the national future and gradually expand them to other contexts since pupils live in a particular national context and should have a particular national identity. History and history education can serve these demands since the national past can be used in order for the present to be understood and for the future to be planned. From another point of view, education should prepare children to think and act as democratic citizens of the world, meaning that they should learn to think critically regardless of the national context. These are some of the general issues this study touches upon and tries to identify, although in a particular national context.

1.4.2 The national context

This particular study focuses on Greece and tries to examine the nature and purpose of history, especially history education in this particular national context. The establishment of Modern Greek state in 1830 contributed to the development of the

Modern Greek historiography. The latter, under the influence of nationalistic movements developed in Western Europe at that time, espoused the theory of the historical continuity of Hellenism from classical times through the formation of the Modern Greek state. The emphasis on uninterrupted continuity of Hellenism served the official political ideology which tried to legitimate its existence based on its ancient origins (Kitroeff 1989). An example of this kind of historiography was Papanigopoulos' voluminous work, *History of the Greek nation*, (Παπαρηγόπουλος 1853), published between 1850 and 1874, which constituted the 'official' version of national history for almost a century. Ranke's way of examining and studying the past influenced this particular study. This particular epoch-making work influenced school history and resulted in the editing of history textbooks which promoted the unquestionable existence of the nation since antiquity and the maintenance of national consciousness (Carras 2004). In the second half of the 20th century, this 'official' version of national history was questioned and the past and particularly the national past began to be seen through a different lens and perspectives especially under the influences of the new approaches of history developing in Western Europe. However, as Liakos (2004:351) argues, that these new ways of approaching the past have

'been developed mostly outside universities and history departments by independent scholars and scholars educated and associated with universities or research centres abroad, principally in Western Europe and the USA. For this reason the development of Modern Greek Historiography has not simply been a domestic issue and its scholarship not confined to academia'.

Kitroeff (1989) tries to explain this out of the country development of historiography arguing that the political and social circumstances (such as Greece's military defeat in Minor Asia in 1922, the World Wars, the civil war and the dictatorships) the country went through from the beginning of the century until the establishment of democracy (1974), espoused the maintenance of the conservative perceptions in the Greek historiography. These conservative perceptions and the traditional paradigm of history teaching penetrated history education intensively until the end of 1980s, as will be discussed in the relevant chapter.

Nevertheless, scholars who worked and published their work out of the country opened new horizons in the Greek historiography (Makrakis & Diamntouros 1982). For example, Stavrianos in his work *The Balkans since 1453* (New York 1958)

embedded Greek nationalism in a comparative political context, influenced by the US-based approach to the past through political theory. Svoronos (*Histoire de la Grèce moderne*, Paris 1953), Tsoukalas (Dependence and Reproduction: the Social Role of Educational Mechanisms in Greece (1830-1922), Sorbonne doctoral thesis, Athens 1977), who studied in France, introduced social dimensions to the national past in the terms of Marxist theory. In the same vein, Mouzelis (*Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment*, London 1978) and Yannopoulos ('Greek society on the Eve of independence' in Clogg, R. (ed.) *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, London 1981) adopted 'a Marxist-structuralist/core and periphery interpretation of Greek history' (Kitroeff 1989: 272). The transition to the era of democracy (1975 and onwards), the political stability of the country, the recognition of the communist party, the repatriation of scholars and the accession of Greece to the European Union signified a number of considerable changes in the Greek historiography and the absorption of different perspectives in historiography (Liakos 2004). Indicative of the field changes were the publishing of the multi-volume collective work, *History of the Greek nation* (Athens, 15 vols), which aimed to substitute the work of Papanikolaou as the official and standard historical narrative and approach the past through different domains and views, the emergence of a series of historical journals such as, *Ta Istorika* (1983), *Istor* (1990), *Historiein* (1999), which intended to present new historical works in conjunction with the mainstream historical studies and the funding of historical research by state banks and national foundations. These alterations indicate that Greek historiography tried to incorporate new trends of the field into the traditional ones in terms of the perspectives of the study of the past, methodological approaches and aspects of the past. Nevertheless, how were these new trends integrated into the official historical narratives and more particularly, how did they influence history education and history teaching?

1.4.3 The background and focus of this study

The presentation of the theoretical perspectives on nation and national identity, as examined previously, identifies the significant role of history education in the younger generation's perceptions of the national self and the close links between national self and the 'other'. The trends developed in the field of history and history education, as

discussed above, strengthen the role of school history as a significant agent which each nation takes into consideration and uses as a means in order for a nation to integrate and cultivate a sense of loyalty to younger generation. The different views on what should be taught at schools expressed by the traditional and the new paradigm of history teaching signify that the 'other' is a significant notion to which school history should pay attention, especially in the era of globalization in which the younger generation lives. In terms of the development of the Greek historiography, the incorporation of the traditional and the 'new' history which is attempted imposes a number of issues concerning how this incorporation is achieved and influences school history and how the 'other' is perceived and presented in the context of this integration. Based on these considerations, this particular study investigates how history and history education is perceived by policy makers and designers and by its recipients: history teachers and pupils. It also tries to draw insights into how policy makers and designers perceive the 'other' and how their perceptions are reflected in the official texts. Further, the study explores whether, to what extent and how history teaching influences pupils' ideas about 'the other' and whether, to what extent and how other parameters contribute to the formation of pupils' ideas, attitudes and perceptions. As will become apparent, this work does not examine educational policy about history and history education one-dimensionally, meaning that it does not only focus on the official policy. This study pays particular attention to the recipients of the educational policy (teachers and especially pupils) bringing Ball's and his colleagues' ideas to bear on the analysis of and approach to education policy. According to Ball and his team (Bowe et al. 1992) the examination of an educational policy should not be considered as a linear process in which the state has the dominant role, meaning that the state and those who are in charge define and determine the key elements of a policy and force the particular policy for implementation (state-centre approach to policy analysis). These theorists propose a cyclical approach of an educational policy: whilst they do not reject the significant role of the state and the interested groups which struggle over the construction of a policy (content of influence), they also consider a) the important role of the texts which represent policy (content of text production) and suggest that the text should be read in relation to time and the site of production and b) the practitioners who receive policy texts and are called to implement them according to their own perceptions (ideologies, values, beliefs) in everyday conditions (context of practice). Thus, they emphasize that the examination

of an educational policy should be seen as a cyclical process in which these three contexts interact with and influence each other. This study examines and mainly links these contexts aiming to depict the ‘whole picture’ of the educational policy about history and history education in the Greek context.

Additionally, the way I approach the particular theme is also influenced by Aldrich’s view on approaching any question, problem and issue in relation to education. Aldrich (1997) proposes that in order to gain insights into an educational issue, we should take into consideration the ‘historical perspectives’ of the issue; the development of the issue in the past. Knowing what has gone before, we could be more ‘fully sighted’ in our understanding of educational issues and problems. We could learn from the past, evaluate and build on it; the historical perspectives of an educational issue help us to set current educational issues in context. Based on that, this study does not only focus on the current policy texts (curricula and textbooks) in order to examine how the ‘other’ is conceived. It approaches these narratives considering their ‘historical perspectives’ meaning how policy texts developed in the last centuries. Thus, the current official texts are set in a historical context which, as is discussed later, helps us to draw meanings insights.

In response to the above discussed theoretical perspectives, I firstly decided to focus on the ‘content of influence’. I studied and analysed the current Greek history curriculum using the method of content analysis taking into consideration its ‘historical perspectives’ meaning the way history curricula developed during the last two centuries (see Chapter 2). Next, the ‘content of text production’ was the core of my analysis. I studied the policies under which history textbooks were produced aiming to identify the historical perspectives of (history) textbook production and I analysed the history textbooks which are in use in the Greek educational system at the moment using the same method (see Chapter 3). Finally, I examined the ‘content of practice’. I visited eight schools in North Greece and examined teachers’ and pupils’ ideas about school history and the ‘other’ (see Chapter 4 & 5) using one-to-one and focus group interviews. At each stage of my work, I tried to indicate links and influences among the contents of investigation.

I also considered relevant and previous research and tried to advance their findings as well as to contribute further to the field. Relevant research has focused mostly on the official national side (history curricula and textbooks) (e.g. Κουλούρη 1988, Φραγκουδάκη & Δραγώνα 1997, Αβδελά 1998, Καραγιώργου- Κούρτζη 2004, Αντρέου & Κασβίκης 2007). Also, previous research has tried to compare the national official narratives with corresponding official narratives of countries which are thought of as ‘traditional enemies’ (e.g. Antoniou & Sosyal 2005) or investigate the image of the ‘other’ in a specific context such as the Balkans or the Mediterranean ‘other’ (e.g. Xochellis & Toloudi 1998, Φλουρής & Ιμβριντέλη 2009). This study expands the focus on the ‘other’; it does not only concern itself about how ‘traditional enemies’ and ‘significant others’ are discussed in the official narratives but deals with the sense of the ‘other’ through a broader view which entails any ‘other’ regardless of geographical borders. Additionally, concerning the history textbook examination, the particular work does not only focus on the textual narratives as previous studies have (e.g. Άχλης 1983, Φραγκουδάκη 1997, Φλουρής & Ιμβριντέλη 2005) but tries to examine and relate all the elements (textual and visual) included in textbooks, therefore the study addresses the elements of textbooks as a whole, with all their components examined. Moreover, although the Greek compulsory education involves two separate schools levels (primary and junior-high school), the analysis that takes place tries to relate and compare history learning at both levels and to present a complete picture of history education within compulsory education. Previous research is interested either in school history at primary school (e.g. Ιμβριντέλη 2002, Μπούντα 2006) or at junior-high school (e.g. Νούτσος 1988, Μαυροσκούφης 1997, Κόκκινος 2002) conveying by this way a ‘part of the story’. Another interesting feature of this study is that it pays particular attention to compulsory education pupils’ views on school history and especially on their ideas about the ‘national self’ and how they conceive the ‘other’ not only in the sense of the ‘traditional enemy’ but in a broader sense. As far as I am aware, the research that involves pupils’ views on school history in the Greek context is limited and entails mostly junior-high and high school pupils (e.g. Μαυροσκούφης 1999, Κόκκινος et al. 2002, Dragonas et al. 2005). This study, examining compulsory education pupils’ ideas about school history and the ‘other’, also attempts to gain insights into whether and how pupils’ views are developed during the years of compulsory education. Finally, although teachers’ ideas about school history have been studied previously (e.g. Ξωχέλλης 1987,

Φραγκουδάκη & Δραγώνα 1997, Γουστέρης 1998, Θώδης et al. 2008), I was not able to locate research which relates teachers' views to pupils' views and perceptions. This study tries to investigate whether there is any connection between what teachers think about school history and how pupils consider it. However, the findings of previous research are taken into consideration and are discussed in the relevant chapters of this work.

Chapter 2: Studying the history curriculum

2.1. Introduction

The subject of history in Greece has its own historical course since the foundation of the Greek State in 1830. It has been continuously included in all school programmes at all levels, and constitutes an autonomous subject which has its own educational materials and has a significant position in school learning and the teaching process in schools (Πεπούση 2004). During the 19th and 20th century, several history curricula¹ (for primary and secondary level education) have been introduced and amended, underlining purposes, goals, objectives, methodologies of school history and its teaching, as well as proposing a well defined teaching context of the subject. The most recent is the history curriculum which was introduced at the beginning of the 21st century, in 2003.

This study is based primarily on the most recent history curriculum of compulsory education of 2003. However, this chapter begins with a brief review of all history curricula for compulsory education of the previous centuries (19th and 20th). This review is thought necessary because it draws insights into the previous role of school history into the Greek educational system and society and the contribution of school history to the construction of national identity. In addition, this particular reappraisal provides a useful base for comparisons between previous history curricula and the 21st century history curriculum in order for differences and/or convergences to be investigated. A brief presentation of the new curriculum, to which part of it constitutes the recent history curriculum, follows. The next session deals with the presentation and analysis of the history curriculum. The issues that are discussed both in the previous history curricula and the recent one are: which theories, principles and tendencies of history education underpin each history curriculum; what links could be found between the history curricula and the developments of history education which emerged in Europe and around the world; whether the general goal, the objectives and the methodological suggestions of each history curriculum include and promote a

¹ We must take into consideration that during the 19th and part of 20th century we could not refer to curriculum of the form and the dimensions that the notion has in our days. For this study, the use of the notion “curriculum” includes official regulations, guidelines, publishing, decrees, modifications and programmes related to school history and they had recently been replaced by the term ‘curriculum’ as we use it nowadays.

holistic view of the world; whether the history of other nations and their people is presented in each history curriculum; if yes, to what extent and what aspects of other nations' history are presented; how other nations' histories are related to Greek national history and what is the identity of these nations and how do they contribute to the construction of Greek students' national identity and images of other nations and their people?

In each century, separate curricula were written for primary level and secondary level schools. For this reason, the examination is divided into two parts. The first part investigates the history curricula introduced to primary schools and the second the ones to secondary schools². The examination is based on a) the main goal which is the same for all grades of a school level b) the specific objectives c) the list of contents and d) the teaching guidelines of each history curriculum³ of each period. Finally, comparative analyses of history curricula of each century and each school level are presented, in order that conclusions concerning the issues discussed above and the historical course of school history in Greece to be drawn.

² During the previous centuries, the types of schools and the grades that constituted the Greek compulsory education varied. In order for an analogy to be kept, the grades that have been examined are the ones which are thought as compulsory nowadays, meaning 6 grades of primary school and the first 3 grades of secondary school.

³ Every history curriculum does not include all these elements. In each case, the available and presented elements are examined.

2.2. A historical review of history curricula

2.2.1 History curricula for primary schools (19th-20th centuries)

Monarchy was the first political system of the new established Greek state. The first king of Greece was the Bavarian prince Otto who arrived in the state in 1833 was accompanied by three Bavarian regents who would rule the state until the day of Otto's adulthood in 1835. Because of their Bavarian background, they organized Greek education according to the German paradigm. In 1834, the Greek monarchy compiled the first law about primary schools (Νόμος περί δημοτικών Σχολείων cited in Βενθύλος 1884: 1-18) which referred to the organizing of basic education. Mauer was one of the three Regents and responsible for matters relating to education, the Church and justice and the author of this law. Mauer was educated in France and passionate about Ancient Greek civilisation and a supporter of Romanticism. In his law for primary education, he tried to import and apply the French Guizot law and elements taken from the German legislation in the newly established Greek educational system (Mylonas 2008). This particular law was in effect until 1881.

The teaching model which was introduced by that legislation at primary school level was the 'Monitor System' of Lancaster. This system was introduced because of the poor economic situation of the new state, the large number of students and the small number of professional educators (Χαϊδάς 1997). The introduction of the Lancasterian system in the Greek educational system was accompanied by the publishing of a book. This book could be said to have, in the current sense, the validity of a curriculum. The book was written by Κοκκώνης (Kokkonis) who translated the Sarazin's book with the title '*Manuel des écoles élémentaires ou expose de la méthode d'enseignement mutuel*' and edited the '*Εγχειρίδιον ή Οδηγός Αλληλοδιδασκτικής Μεθόδου*' (Κοκκώνης 1850) which was revised and reprinted four times (last edition in 1864) (Κοκκώνης 1864). In this guide book, there were several guidelines for each subject taught at primary levels schools, including school history.

In this book, two forms of history were presented. The first form was related to religious matters and the Christian catechesis and the second form was about secular history. Secular history was the product of the Modern Greek Enlightenment influenced by the French Enlightenment. The existence of both kinds of history in this book could be explained as an influence from the trend developed in other western countries such as in France (Curtis 2000) and in the USA (Marienstras 1994).

At this time, Christian catechesis was placed first while secular history had the seventh place in the order of school subject importance. For this reason, secular history was considered as ‘supporting’ or as Πεπούση (2004) called it an ‘optional’ subject. The goal of secular history was the moral education of students (Κοκκώνης 1850, 1864). The teaching syllabus was initially focused on the Greek nation (meaning mostly ancient Greece), highlighting significant and public benefit actions of glorious Greek men and knowledge of Roman and Byzantine times. After the examination of these particular periods, students should learn about ‘general history’ and specifically, about famous pre-Greek ancient nations (Κοκκώνης 1850). In Kokkonis’ book, ‘famous’ nations were not identified by name.

In 1862 the Greek king was exiled. Nevertheless, the German model of education continued to influence Greek education for three reasons: a) the place of Otton was taken by the Danish king Glixbourg, who had a German background b) many Greek people were sent to study in Germany in order to apply their obtained knowledge to Greek education after coming back (Πυργιωτάκης 1992) and c) the well-disposed German policy towards Greece (Κωφός 2001).

Between the years 1834-1880, Greek primary education was gradually thought of as inefficient. The legislation of 1834 was not tailored to the needs of the Greek society since, *‘it [...] has just been freed and lacked a social and economic system’* (Ευαγγελόπουλος 1987: 60). The foundation and the maintenance of primary schools were given to municipalities which had not enough money to establish schools and pay teachers. The majority of teachers employed were uneducated. In order to save money, municipalities employed people with only

the most rudimentary knowledge to teach at primary schools. Also, priests were employed as teachers and Church control of schools was proposed (Δημαράς 1986). In addition to these difficulties, poor infrastructure and lack of educational materials could be added as challenges (Μπουζάκης 2002a).

Ineffective teaching method was also thought to be among the reasons for the inefficient situation of primary education. In order that the Lancasterian system to be replaced, as well as attempting the improvement of primary education, three Greek educationalists (Παπαμάρκου, Μωραΐτης and Οικονόμου) were sent to Germany to study the modern pedagogical approaches of that time. Those educators were students of Herbart and when they returned to Greece, they introduced Herbart's didactic method.

On 3rd September 1880, a new Royal Decree was introduced (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1880 *Περί μεθόδου διδασκαλίας εν τοις δημοτικοίς σχολείοις* cited in Βενθύλος 1884: 107-109) and it was about the teaching method at primary schools. According to this Decree, the mutual teaching method and the Lancasterian system were abrogated as inappropriate for the Greek educational system. Their place was taken by Herbart's pedagogical system, and consequently the co-teaching method (an educated teacher teaches students instead of an advanced classmate) was introduced. The adoption of this method placed the teacher in the centre of the teaching process as well as validating the teacher's authority as the only conveyor of valid knowledge (Σαλονικίδης 2006).

At that period, apart from the teaching method, another significant reform took place which was related to Greek historiography and which consequently, influenced school history. In the beginning of the 19th century, the Enlightenment spirit and the formation of nation-states imparted a new meaning to history and history education (Black & MacRaid 2007). The necessity of a national history and the close link between school and the creation of national identity were important issues which led to the redefinition of school history. Thus, school history was called to serve national history and the construction of national identity in many countries (Baycroft 1998, Epstein 2008). This point at issue became imperative after the second half of the 19th century.

Especially in the Balkans, after the demolition of the Ottoman Empire, the nations/ethnic groups, which had been under Ottoman rule, tried to define, identify and establish separate and independent nations/states. The formation of these nations/states was based on a variety of features such as religion, origin, and borders (Todorova 2004). In this atmosphere, Greece as a nation/state, which derived from Ottoman Empire, bid to establish a separate and independent state based on its ancient origins and religion; features which secured the continuity and maintenance of national consciousness (Carras 2004). School was perceived as the hub for the cultivation of the continuity of the nation and the maintenance of national consciousness (Πολίτης 1993).

In this context, there was an attempt to align Greece with the trend towards ‘national history’ elsewhere. The ancient Greek civilization constituted the foundation of national history because of the classicist orientation of Greek education. However, in terms of Greek national historical time, there was a gap between the ancient and modern times since the Greek nation as an entity stopped existing after 146 B.C. (the date the Romans conquered the Greek territory) and emerged again during the Greek War of Independence against the Ottomans in 1821. Roman and Byzantine times were thought of, as period of slavery and barbarity, not worth inclusion within national narratives (Gibbon 1990). In order that the abyss between the ancient and the new Greek world be bridged, and ‘national historical time’ be established in the sense of the continuity of the Greek nation, there were attempts for (e.g. Ζαμπέλιος 1858) Roman and Byzantine times to be seen through a different point of view and to be included into national historical time as part of Greek national history. This view was particularly pronounced in Παπαρηγόπουλος (1853) (Paparigopoulos’) epoch-making work with the title *‘Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους Από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τη σήμερον, Προς διδασκαλία των παιδων’*. In his work, Paparigopoulos tried to adjust the periodisation of general historical time (ancient-middle-new/contemporary times) into a Greek context and he suggested three-aspect national historical time periodisation: ancient times (Ancient Greece), middle times (Roman and Byzantine times) and new/contemporary times (Ottoman times up to contemporary times). This time periodisation secured

the continuity of the Greek nation through centuries as well as it set the notion of time as the base of national narratives (Antoniou & Soyal 2005). His proposed national historical time periodisation was officially accepted in the beginning of the decade of 1880 and constitutes the base on which the syllabus of school history and Greek history, in general, is constructed.

Both reforms resulted in the publishing of another book, in 1881, which could be considered as a curriculum, since it was approved by ministerial circular and in the absence of any other official curriculum documentation (Αβδελά 1998). This book had been written by Πετρίδης (1881) and was titled '*Basic practical guidelines about the teaching of primary school subjects*'.

Concerning school history, in this book, it was obvious that the dichotomy of history was overtaken. History of religious matters and catechesis constituted a separate subject and secular history was presented for the first time as an autonomous, fundamental subject, to be taught at all primary schools. The main aim of school history teaching was '[pupil's] *moral education*' as well as '*the inspiration of national convictions and pride in order the student to become a worthy member of a nation of great achievements*' (Πετρίδης 1881:101). Contrary to what was stated in Kokkonis' book (Κοκκώνης 1850, 1864), there were no references to pre-Greek ancient nations. The peoples, who were presented, were the Persians, Franks, Venetians and Turks. The reference to these peoples was in the context of the period of Greek slavery to these peoples and the Greek struggles against them in order to achieve their independence.

The first official curriculum for primary schools (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1894 cited in Ανδρέου & Τζήκα 1988: 95-96) was introduced in 1894. In this curriculum, school history was included into the subjects called 'pragmatistical/real' subjects. Other subjects of this category were geography, natural history, physics and art. The general aim of history teaching was not stated in this curriculum. It simply declared the teaching syllabus of each grade. The study of this syllabus showed that it was on the same path with the previous one apart from the reference to the three Great Powers and their contribution to the fall of the

Ottoman Empire. The most recent part of Greek history revolved mostly around ‘glorious’ Greek men/fighters’ actions.

By the end of the century, and while the Greek educational system was still influenced by the German paradigm, progressive educational movements appeared and influenced Europe such as John Dewey’s educational theories about the ‘New School’ and ‘experimental education’ and Kerschensteiner’s ideas about ‘Activity Schools’ and the child-centred character of the teaching process. These educational movements influenced the liberal policy which developed in Greece at that time. At the turn of the 20th century, when the liberal party under the leadership of Venizelos controlled the country, the government tried to apply these new ideas. The educational policy of the Liberal party tried to re-orientate the focus of education on the present of the Greek nation and the needs that modern society imposed, without however, denying the past. They attempted to confine the influence of classicalism on education and introduce Kerschensteiner’s ideas about ‘Activity Schools’ and the child-centred character of the teaching process (Κάστικας & Θεριανός 2004). These ideas were embedded in a new curriculum (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1913 cited in Ανδρέου & Τζήκα 1988: 114-116) for primary schools which was compiled in 1913. These reforms gave rise to several protests (Δημαράς 1986), but this curriculum could be thought of as among the more successful reform attempts, since it was in effect until 1967 (Ανδρέου 2002).

In relation to history, this particular curriculum did not state the objectives of history teaching and did not bring in innovative features, since many elements of the previous curriculum had not been changed. This could be the reason why it was accepted without any protest (Αβδελά 1998, Ανδρέου 2002). A series of topics which would be taught to each grade was embedded in it. Nevertheless, a new dimension could be detected in it; Europe was presented for the first time. In the syllabus of 6th grade, there was reference to the political situation of Europe from the 15th century and onwards. There were states mentioned ‘*whose history was close related to the Greek history (Venice, Russia, Austria etc.)*’ (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1913 cited in Ανδρέου & Τζήκα 1988:115) in order to be a sort of introduction to the period of the Turkish occupation of the Greek territory.

While new varieties of history emerged and were spread like ‘New History’ (Black & MacRaild 2007) and ‘the Annales’ (Green & Troup 1999) in Europe many years before, they did not seem to have significant influences in the next history curriculum (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 702), because it was compiled and was in force in 1969 during the Greek dictatorship between the years 1967-1974. The main keynotes of the dictatorship were ‘throwback’ to our origins and ‘Hellenic-orthodox education’ (Ανδρέου 1999). These keynotes were directly expressed in school history.

Remaining on the path of traditional history, the main aim of school history was:

‘student to be able [...]to draw lessons from the Greek history; history subject to cultivate patriotism’ (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 702: 1524).

Additionally, in part of the methodological guidelines, it was proposed that

‘the organizing and creation of school life in order to be developed healthy national feelings, collective celebrations of national days, attendance of all pupils at memorial service of victims killed in war, school care about the sprucing up of war memorial’⁴ (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 702: 1527).

Yet, in this curriculum, there was another agent imported into history teaching for the first time. In the sub-objectives stated in it, it was indicated that history teaching should include *‘the development and the cultivation of historical thinking; meaning the students’ capacity to understand the causality of historical events and the historical course in general’*(Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 702: 1524). Although this mention seemed innovative in comparison with what was stated in earlier curricula, there were no further explanations and indications about how historical thinking could be developed and cultivated in pupils and why it is was important for students to understand the causality of historical events. As Αβδελά (1998:24) states, this sub-objective *‘simply serves the main aim, the development of national consciousness’*. In relation to references to other nations in this history curriculum, the range of historical time was expanded and historical events referred to reached the late days of that time period (up to the

⁴ It should be mentioned that this sort of events and celebrations are still part of school life since that time.

foundation of dictatorship on 21st April 1967). The expansion of historical time and events taught at primary schools entailed the expansion of the presentation of other nations and their people. Thus, there were references to the war between Greeks and Bulgarians, and World War I and II. More specifically, the Bulgarians, the Italians and the Germans were presented under the title ‘conquerors’ while the Americans were mentioned for their support to the Greek people after World War II.

In the period following the fall of the Greek dictatorship after 1974, democracy as a political system was established. The new political system and Greece’s full membership of the European Community brought about a series of reforms and redefinitions of the country’s institutions, including education. In 1977, another curriculum (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034) was enacted. In terms of school history and its role, in the objective of this curriculum, apart from the cultivation of patriotism, the aim of ‘*the preparation of students for consciousness and free participation in our people’s life and the expanded ‘League of Nations’’*” (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034:3197) was added.

In comparison with the previous aims of history teaching, the reference to the ‘League of Nations’ could be said to be a new dimension added to the orientation of school history. Nevertheless, the term ‘League of Nations’ was identified as the European countries and their community in which Greece intended to join (Αβδελά 1997). Thus, the newly introduced dimension was not about international perspectives; it was about the European dimension meaning knowledge about the historical, geographical, political context and the common cultural civilization of Europe, as well as, understanding and sensitization concerning the European Community as an organization, the goals and the actions that adopts in order to achieve the European unification (Φραγκουδάκη & Δραγώνα. 1997). In the additional general guidelines stated in this particular curriculum, it is found that ‘*elements and events [should be highlighted] that illustrate the wide glamour and universality of the Greek civilization and its influences on the development and the formation of the genuine civilization’* (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034:3199). So, it could be said that the European dimension was inserted in order to justify and legislate the country’s entrance to the European community as well as to serve

the aim of development of national pride and patriotism which was still at the core of history teaching.

Other interesting points in this particular curriculum were the references to the terms ‘historical thinking’, which was first met in the curriculum of 1969, albeit, without any explanation of it, and ‘historical truth’. However, behind these terms and their use a contradiction could be detected.

On one hand, according to the additional general guidelines, ‘*historical truth is presented to students without undue influences from any other expediency*’. On the other hand,

‘historical thinking involved the genuine historical thinking which would be obtained by students through teacher’s guidance and support’ and ‘teacher would properly lead students to genuine characterization of historical personalities and their actions’ (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034: 3198).

The contradiction lay in the tension between unbiased presentation of historical truth and ‘genuine’ historical thinking. Students were not supposed to be exposed to different representations of historical events and multiple sources in order to form their own ideas, yet, they were supposed to be led to genuine characterization and thinking meaning that there were ‘real’ and ‘false’ representations of historical events. So, students should be supported to learn the ‘real’ history which was the one that promoted and ‘*reassured the historical continuity of Greeks*’ (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034:3199). In terms of the role of school history, it could be declared that, although new tendencies were detected in the curriculum in questions, these were employed aiming to serve ethnocentric purposes. The peoples and the nations that featured were the same as in the previous curriculum.

Ten years later, in 1987, three history curricula (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 197, Προεδρικό διάταγμα 416, Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 431) were introduced; one for the 3rd grade, one for the 4th grade and one for the 5th grade of primary school respectively. The history curriculum for the 6th grade was compiled two years later in 1989 (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 540). By this time, Greece was a member of

the European Community. The aims of school history were multiple and some innovative insertions could be seen. These new dimensions embedded in history teaching reflect influences from new tendencies developed in the discipline of history in the 20th century, as well as from the European Union policy (Μαυροσκούφης 1997).

The basic orientation of history teaching in schools was for students to know about the historical life of the Greek nation and their native country and to develop a feeling of patriotism and the love of democratic ideals. The significance of democracy and peace was stressed for first time as a goal to be achieved by history teaching. Additionally,

‘the approach [of historical events] is based on the rule: patriotism free from intolerance and in harmonious connections with the spirit of fraternization of people (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 540:4644).

Another interesting insertion was the mention about history as a discipline. Among the sub-objectives of school history, there were:

‘[students] to practice the skilled work and the approaches employed by the discipline of history [...] ‘to develop constructive attitude to historical learning (curiosity and interest, subjectivity, wish to expand their historical knowledge) (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 416:1923).

The intention for students to become ‘historians’, in a sense, was innovative in comparison with the previous curricula. Nevertheless, there was no mention about *how* students could learn to act as historians; students were not given the opportunity to collect for themselves historical evidence and to verify its reliability and validity. The evidence had been selected in advance by the authors in accordance to the main aim of school history and presented to students who were supposed to work on them in order to draw conclusions. Moreover, the study of the syllabus of each grade showed that it was too detailed and there was no latitude for students and teachers to act independently (Αβδελά 1998).

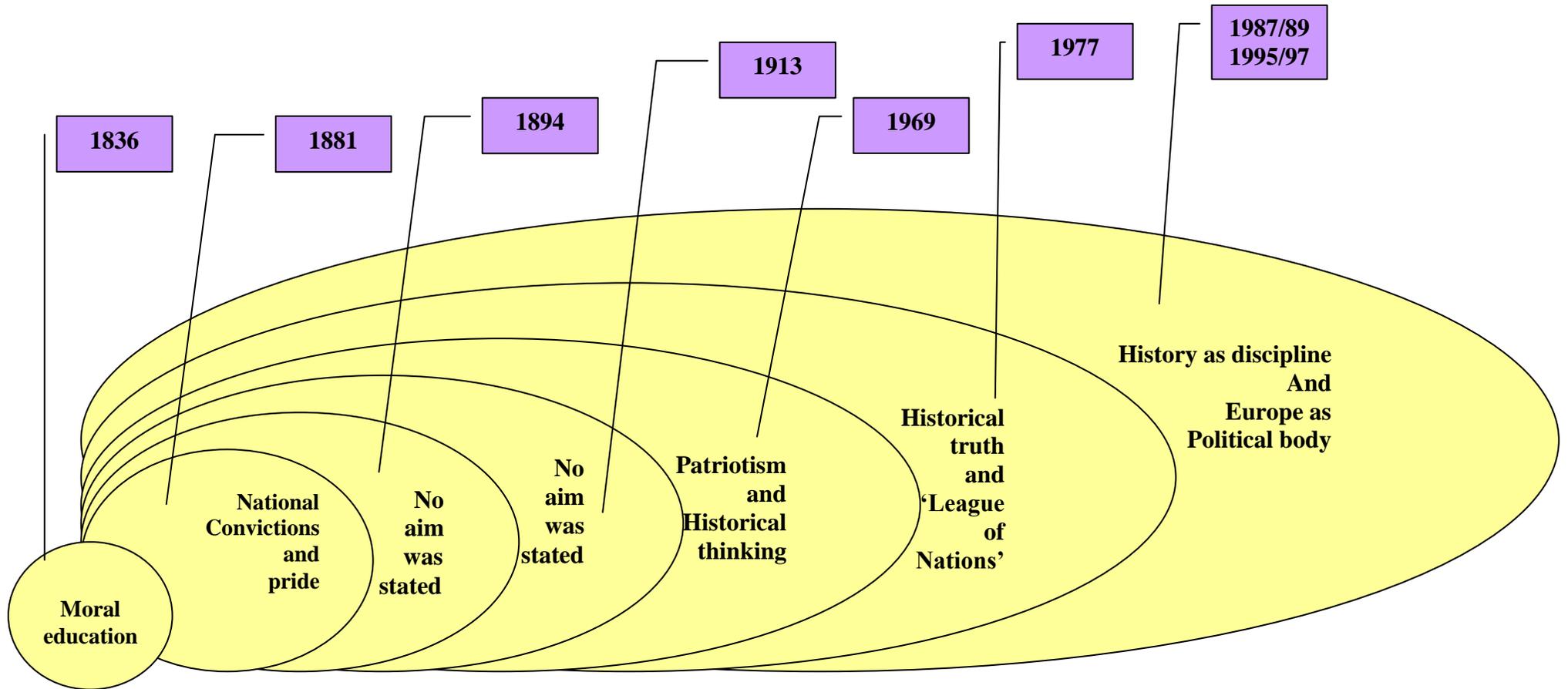
‘Black pages’ of the past were mentioned for the first time. The discussion about the ‘skeletons’ of the past as well as about the creative past actions was introduced in order for students *‘to develop the capacity of conscious and free participation in our people’s life and in the ‘League of Nations’ (Προεδρικό*

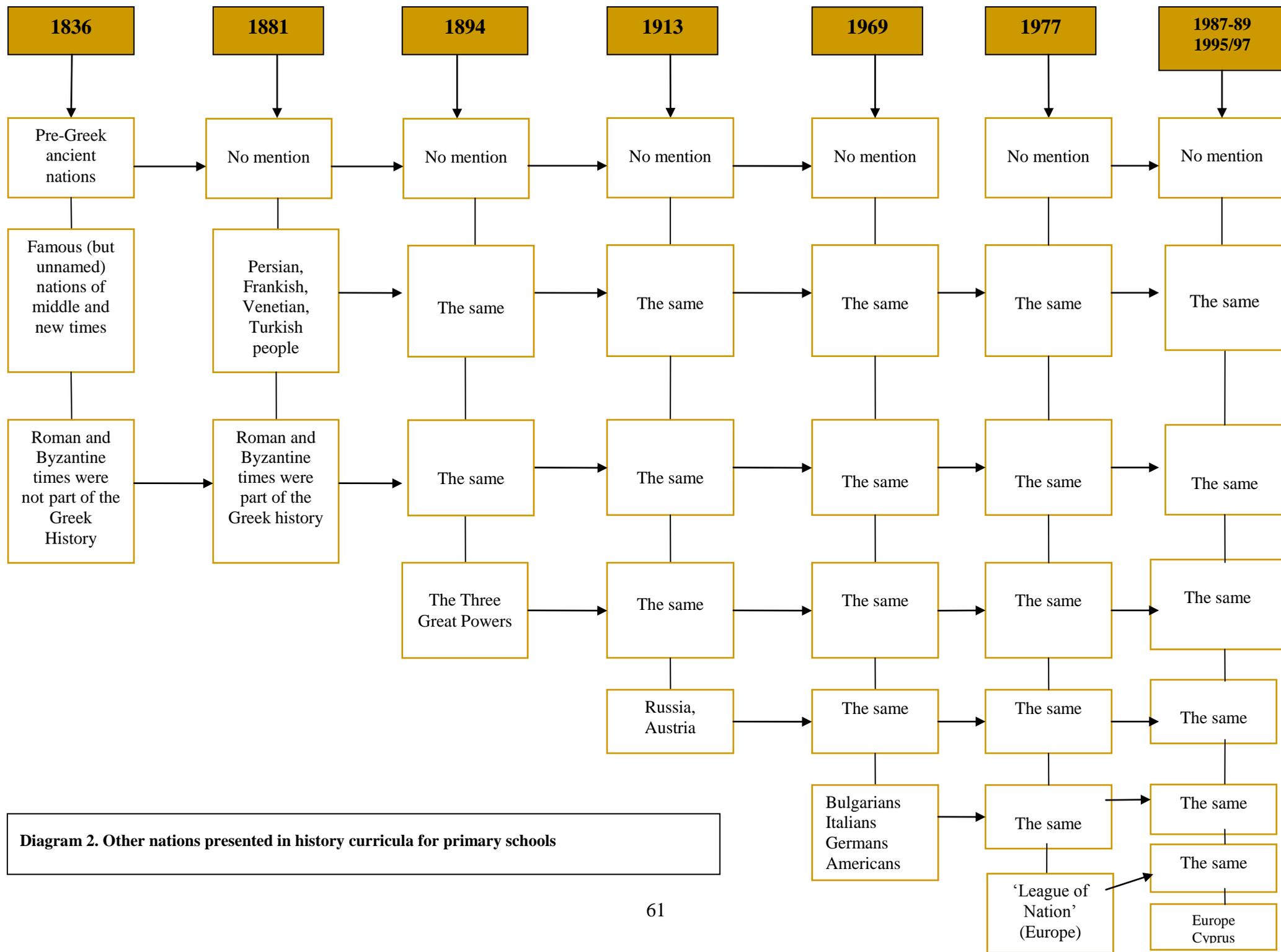
Διάταγμα 416: 1923). The last element was referred to in the previous curriculum as well and stood for the European Community. However, for the first time teaching about world history was to be an explicit aim. In the curricula in question, it was suggested that school history should help students *‘to have an overview of the most significant events of the world history, those which are linked to the Greek history or played an important role in the world development’* (p.1923). In contrast to this statement, the study of the syllabus did not illustrate any references to world history apart from the ones which were linked with Greek history. It was only presented in terms of a unified Europe as a political tendency/reformation, and consequently, a chapter was embedded about European unification with no specific mention of nations and their people which constituted the European Community. Special attention was given to Cyprus, to the Cypriot issue and the struggles of the Greek-Cypriots to gain their freedom. Apart from political and military events, school history narratives mentioned the everyday life of each period. These kinds of references can be thought as a new dimension to school history which is integrated with the influences from the new tendencies developed in the area of history education.

In 1995 and 1997 two new curricula were enacted; one for the 3rd grade (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 409) and the other for the 4th grade of primary school (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 30). In both curricula, there was a repetition of aims and objectives stated in the previous curricula using even the same wording. There was only rearrangement of the order of sub-objectives but this did not effect the orientation of school history because they were not structured in order of importance. There was no alteration of syllabus.

The following diagrams present briefly and figuratively the development of the aim of school history and the references of other nations and their people in the discussed history curricula for primary schools.

Diagram 1. The development of the aim of school history in history curricula for primary schools





2.2.2 History curricula for secondary schools⁵ (19th-20th centuries)

The first legislation for secondary education (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1836 cited in Αντωνίου 1987) was compiled in 1836. The design of secondary education was influenced by the German educational system and the Western European classicism of that period and was based on the study of the ancient Greek civilization and national heritage attempting to define and construct the identity of the Modern Greek state (Σκοπετέα 1988).

In this legislation which has the status of curriculum in terms of current meaning, articles 11 and 77 referred to school history, identifying that a significant position be given to school history. In this curriculum, which was introduced by the three Regents of Greece, particularly Mauer, school history aimed to *‘imprint the most significant events, names and chronologies...’* through pleasant narration and *‘teachers should indicate the places that historical events took place on a map and link history with geography and particular with natural history’* (Αντωνίου 1987: 87).

The last notice showed the close relationship between history and geography and influence of the tendency of human geography which existed in the 19th century. The same tendency appeared in ‘Νομοσχέδιο 1840, Περί της οργάνωσης της μέσης εκπαίδευσης’ (cited in Κουλούρη 1988: 124-128) which proposed that the content of history teaching should be accompanied by the observation of geographical maps. In this bill, it was also added that history teaching *‘should raise in [pupil’s] heart the feeling of truthfulness, goodness and beauty’* (Κουλούρη 1988: 128) indicating the moral aspects of education which were in focus at that time, as in the primary school curriculum of that time.

The legislation of 1836 constituted the foundation of secondary education until the end of the century. In 1854, the legislation was renewed (‘Εσωτερικός Κανονισμός των Γυμνασίων και Ελληνικών Σχολείων cited in Δημαράς 1986:

⁵ According to the current Greek educational system, secondary education is divided in two levels. The first level is Junior High School (3 years) called Gymnasium and the second is Senior High School (3 years) called Lyceum. Junior High School is included in the Greek compulsory education.

157-160). In the particular bylaw, the centralized character of education and the homogeneity intended by the government were particularly mentioned. There was no revision of the instructions for school history, and the history of ancient Asian nations (unspecified definitions) was suggested as a topic which should be taught.

Since 1870 and onwards, significant evolutions took place in Western Europe and the USA such as educational reform in England, a new model of education in Germany which was based on vocational training and skills, new educational movements as ‘Activity Schools’ and ‘New Education’ in the European area and a new model for university studies in the USA (Νούτσος 1999). In Greece, the impact of those evolutions, especially, the new perspectives of the German education in conjunction with the growth of the state and its economy and the emergence of new social classes led to a debate about the efficiency of the local educational system (Καραφύλλης 2002).

As a result, an expanding compilation of official documents⁶ was introduced indicating, firstly, the unstable political situation of the country⁷ and influences of the new social circumstances mentioned above; secondly, the failure of the intended homogeneity and centralization of education; and thirdly, attempts to improve the existing situation of education. All this legislation aimed to define teaching contexts and provide specific instructions for each subject including school history.

Especially concerning school history, after the establishment of the Greek version of the time periodisation by Paparigopoulos (in 1880) and the defeat of the Greeks in 1897, history as a school subject was orientated to a national context. In some of above mentioned Decrees and Rulings the aims of history teaching were not stated; the distribution of the periods of Greek history at each grade was only mentioned. The teaching guidelines circulated at secondary schools in 1896 were indicators of the context into which school history was

⁶ Seven Royal Decrees and Rulings were edited between the years 1884-1906. For further details see Ανδρέου, Α. & Τζήκα, Χ. (1998)

⁷ The period between the years 1863-1881, 9 elections took place, 33 governments were elected and 46 ministers of education.

taught. According to the Parliamentary Circular 16708 (cited in Αντωνίου 1987: 331),

‘History is a great power which motivates whole states and nations to move ahead. History aim is to introduce the historical development of human spirit to pupils’ mind and lead them to action according to moral laws, and to inspire national consciousness and pride. Knowing about the greatness and the glory of ancestors, the desire of imitation and continuity of a glorious national life is born’.

National heroes were the core of school history as well as the cultivation of patriotic feelings. The proposed approach for history teaching was narration which would end with a moral. Thus, it could be said that moral education and national perspectives were the foundations of history teaching. At that time, national history was mostly taught emphasizing modern times and particularly the Greek War of Independence in 1821 against the Ottomans. Also, significant world historical events were suggested to be taught (without any further specifications) and references to ‘New Europe’, discoveries and inventions and the French Revolution were included. The other presented nations were the same ones as in the primary school curriculum of that time.

The next curriculum for secondary education (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1914 cited in Αντωνίου 1987:606-628), into which school history was included, was compiled by the liberal party. The liberal party tried to re-orientate education to the contemporary demands of that time. However, the history curriculum did not seem to alter notably. There was no specific aim for school history. A differentiation could be detected in the structure of the teaching contexts; it involved the teaching of History of Europe at the 4th grade of Greek school. Hence, it could be said that the ethnocentrism of school history remained, in conjunction with the appearance of the European dimension.

In 1929, the structure of secondary education was changed. The Gymnasium and the Greek school were replaced by a type of school which had six grades. This kind of school was again called Gymnasium and it unified the two previous school types of secondary education. In 1931, a curriculum for the ‘new’ Gymnasium (Διάταγμα 1932) was compiled by the liberal party which again controlled the country. The most innovative feature of that curriculum was the

embodiment of civil education in history teaching. For the first time, students of the last grade were taught in detail about political systems in general, particular political systems like the Soviet state and Fascism as well as the history of the 'Modern Greece' constitutions and the privileges of democracy. There was also mention of Europe in the context of the previous curriculum and the 'League of Nations'. A particular section involved Greece and other nations, focusing on trade and other treaties and particular attention was paid to the history of civilizations. Nevertheless, the national character of school history was not significantly diluted and remained at the core of history teaching while a balance between national and European history was attempted. Due to this, the presentation of other nations was very closely linked with Greek history and, at the same time, involved peoples like the British and French in the context of Europe.

The same innovative features appeared and were notable in the next curriculum published in 1935 (Διάταγμα 1935). In this decree, three purposes of school history were identified. Firstly, history teaching aimed to cultivate historical thinking. Historical thinking was defined as students' ability to realize the concatenation of the levels which people pass while they develop and evolve as well as the causal interaction between human life's and nature. Secondly, school history intended to cultivate understanding of the historical development of the Greek's and the other nations and civilizations and thirdly, it aimed for students to comprehend the contribution of the Greeks and other people to the development of civilization. By these aims, history was thought as a linear, gradual and continual development of humanity towards high levels of civilization. In order for this development to be realized, the Curriculum a) proposed the study of Greek and the other nations' history b) underlined that the study of the neighbouring Balkan countries' history was needed⁸ c) introduced the use of primary sources and d) suggested the study of civil and private life of the Greeks, but only in pre-historical times. It was also stated that attention should be paid to the contribution *'of foreign nations and past times, neither*

⁸ At that time there were political movements aiming to cultivate close collaboration among the countries of the Balkans (see, Jankovic, B.M. (1988) *The Balkans in International Relations* Basingstoke & London: St. Martin's Press)

deflate nor overestimate them' (Διάταγμα 1935: 2624). All these statements were accompanied by phrases such as 'particularly the Greek history, the Greek civilization, the Greek nation' indicating that the main focus of history teaching should be on national history. There were no differentiations in relation to the other nations.

Taking into consideration the curricula of 1931 and 1935, a new role for history teaching is notable. School history was not limited to a national context, although, it was still the main focus. There was an attempt for the past to be seen through a 'holistic lens' and beyond the local context and the Greek nation which appeared unified to be a part of the humanity to which it contributed the most. Additionally, for the first time, there was an effort to re-orientate the focus of history from ancient classical history to the present, using the past as mediator meaning that the past was employed in order for the present to be comprehended.

The innovating attempts of the curricula discussed above were abrogated by the dictatorship of 1939. The curriculum issued on 9th November 1939 (Διάταγμα 1933 cited in Αντωνίου 1987: 123-127) was just focused on Greek history. The aim of school history was not declared but the study of the teaching contexts reflects a reversion to traditional history and to ethnocentric aspects. There were references to Europe (but not to specific nations) and its history in the context of a) the significant historical role Greece and Greek civilization played in the formation of Europe and its civilization and b) of the significant mission Greece and its people had until that time. In regard to other nations presented in this curriculum, pre-ancient Greek civilizations which had close links with the ancient Greek world were briefly referred to as Phoenician, Persian and, from modern times, the Turks.

After the intervention of World War II and the Greek Civil War, the Greek state tried to recover from the wars. Education was not among the first priorities of the state. Nevertheless, other countries in Europe like France and Germany supported Greece especially in the area of education (Πεσματζόγλου 1994). But as Κυπριανός (2004:266) argues '*intensive and more catalytic was American*'.

As a result, the Greek educational design gradually abandoned the German paradigm and adopted the American one which was based on Shultz's theory on 'Human Capital', which regarded education as an investment and promoted vocational and technical education (Ποργιωτάκης 2001).

In this context, the next curriculum for secondary education (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 672) which emerged in 1961 questioned timidly for the first time the previous classical and traditional character of education and tried to re-orientate education to the social needs of the present (Νούτσος 1988). This cautious and slow attempt could be also seen in school history. According to the particular part in which history teaching was mentioned,

'the aim of school history is to support students to form their ideas about the world and the human being, to know about their country, how it developed through the centuries and to be aware of their obligations to their country' (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 672: 1499).

A more powerful motive of teaching history was the development of knowledge, reasoning, devotion and active participation in the *'the historical heritage of our [the Greek] people [...] because the nation constitutes the most important conveyor of the realization of historical relevance'* (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 672: 1499). Whilst the manifold aspects of human life, the complexity of historical agents and the chronological and causal concatenation of historical events were underlined as significant points of history teaching, all these aspects seemed to 'genuflect' to national narratives. In terms of other nations presented in this curriculum, there were no significant alterations. The historical events referred to in history syllabus were expanded and World Wars were included as well as the war between the Greeks and Bulgarians. Bulgarians, Italians, Germans and Americans were discussed in relation to each country's contribution to the wars.

In Europe in the 1960s, new tendencies about history were developed and the traditional model of history teaching was under dispute. The influences of those movements on school history were more obvious in the next Greek curriculum which was carried into effect in 1966 (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1966). In it, it was stated that *'the subject [of school history] should cultivate imagination and discernment firstly, and not just to enrich memory'* (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1966:

345). The teaching of the struggles through which man achieved to ‘conquer’ a significant position in nature and the development of his social and spiritual world, as well as the connection between the past and the present were also included in school history objectives. Taking into consideration these objectives and studying the syllabus which followed them, a contradiction could be detected. These objectives were applied to the first two grades of Gymnasium into which the syllabus was limited to Byzantine times while modern times were not taught about. For the third grade, the stated aim was completely identical to the aim declared in 1935 and the syllabus referred to the Ottoman Empire and the Greek War of Independence. Thus, if the cultivation of imagination and discernment and the link between the past and the present are thought of as innovative features of this curriculum, they were not applied because of the examination of limited historical periods. On the other hand, these historical periods which were in focus served mostly national purposes and reflected the continuity of the Greek nation.

The dictatorship of 21st April 1967, which took power with the support of the USA, compiled its own curriculum (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 723). The educational policy of the dictatorship intended to control every aspect of schooling and promote the ideological principles of the regime (Ανδρέου 1999). In this context, school history was mainly employed to serve nationalist and ethnocentric objectives despite some innovative elements. More particularly, the aims of school history were multiple, and the development of historical thinking, critical and experiencing elaboration of the provided knowledge, the teaching of the other nations’ history, the challenging of intolerance and the cultivation of understanding of other nations’ psychological and spiritual idiosyncrasy were included in its aspects. By these sub-objectives, the impact of the ‘new’ orientation for history could be detected. Nevertheless, the conclusion was: *‘history should mainly raise students’ morale’* (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 723: 1624). According to additional guidelines, heroes of the nation and their achievements should be taught about; *‘the date of each significant historical event should be stressed in order to be remembered’* (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 723: 1625); the contribution of the ancient Greeks to the civilization would be pointed out; attention should be paid to the Church and its contribution to the building of the

nation and political history should mainly be taught about. Thus, the innovative features mentioned were not applied since the traditional model of history was employed. The examination of the teaching topics, however, shows that other nations presented in them were more expanded than ever before. Ancient East civilizations (Sumerians, Babylonians, Phoenicians, Jews, Persians, Hittites), monarchies established in Europe between 15th and 18th centuries (like Spanish and Russian monarchies), the establishment of the United States and its support to protect the independence and freedom of Greece, new states in Africa and Asia, international agencies like the United Nations, NATO and Cyprus and the Cypriot issue were mentioned. A propos of the discussion about other nations and general history, *'the most important historical events to be selected in order to be taught briefly, explicitly and smoothly'* (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 723:1629) was recommended. Specific instructions for teachers were also included in the curriculum, commenting that teachers should lead students to draw 'right' conclusions applying 'right' critical approaches to historical events.

In 1975 democracy was established in Greece as the official political system and the political situation of the country began to normalize. Additionally, the accession of Greece to the 'Single market' in 1961 and the beginning of procedures for Greece to be admitted into the European Community at that time imposed reforms which influenced education as well. In the context of those reforms, in 1977, another curriculum was compiled for the first two grades of Gymnasium (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 831) and in 1978 for the third grade of it (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 374). As part of the first mentioned curriculum concerning school history, the aim of school history was generally sketched. Students were called to learn that

'a) the Greek and universal civilizations is an achievement of collective attempts, struggles and sacrifices b) human beings owe much to the past and they are responsible for the present and the design of the future c) historical events are linked with causality and searching for motives leads to safe and effective decisions and d) each civilization expresses the 'life theory' of each society at a particular time' (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 831: 2516).

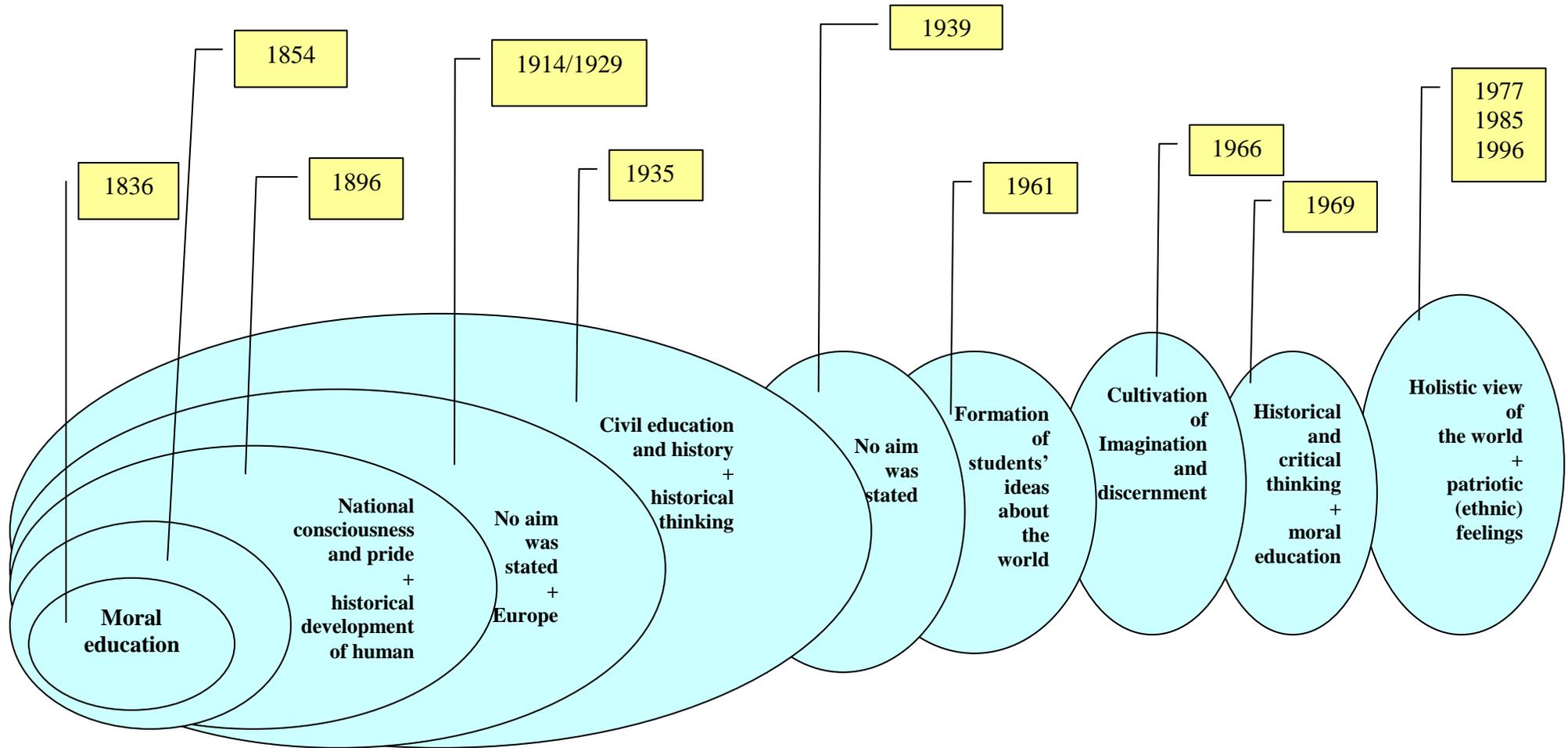
In terms of sub-objectives, the review of and initiation into historical sources, the continuity of the Greek nation and *'the cultivation of pure patriotic feelings'*

(Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 831: 2516) were suggested. In the curriculum mentioned secondly, the aim of history teaching was brief and was focussed on students who would continue to the next stage of secondary education. Thus, school history intended to provide information about current problems and expectations of the modern world, *‘particularly of the European world and more specifically, of Hellenism’* (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 374: 735). It could be said that although both curricula tried to provide a more holistic view of the world, especially of Europe, significant elements of national and ethnocentric views remained. The other nations presented in both curricula were the same as the previous one. The same elements applied in the next curriculum (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 438) compiled in 1985 since the aim and the teaching contexts constituted a copy of the previous curriculum.

The last curriculum of the 20th century (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 117) was edited in 1996. It was about amendments of secondary education curriculum which was already in force and not about a new curriculum. The amendments involved: a) the statement *‘the cultivation of pure patriotic feelings’* stated in the curriculum of 1985 was replaced by *‘the cultivation of ethnic consciousness’* (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 117:1520) b) specific primary sources and visual media to be studied were suggested and c) the list of the topics of each chapter which would be taught at each grade was replaced by a list of objectives - mostly cognitive objectives - that each chapter served. The objectives of each chapter remained and appear in the curriculum of 2003 on which this study focuses.

The following diagrams try to sketch the development of the aim of school history (Diagram 3) and of the presentation of other nations (Diagram 4 part a, b) in the curricula for secondary education.

Diagram 3. The development of the aim of school history in history curricula for secondary education



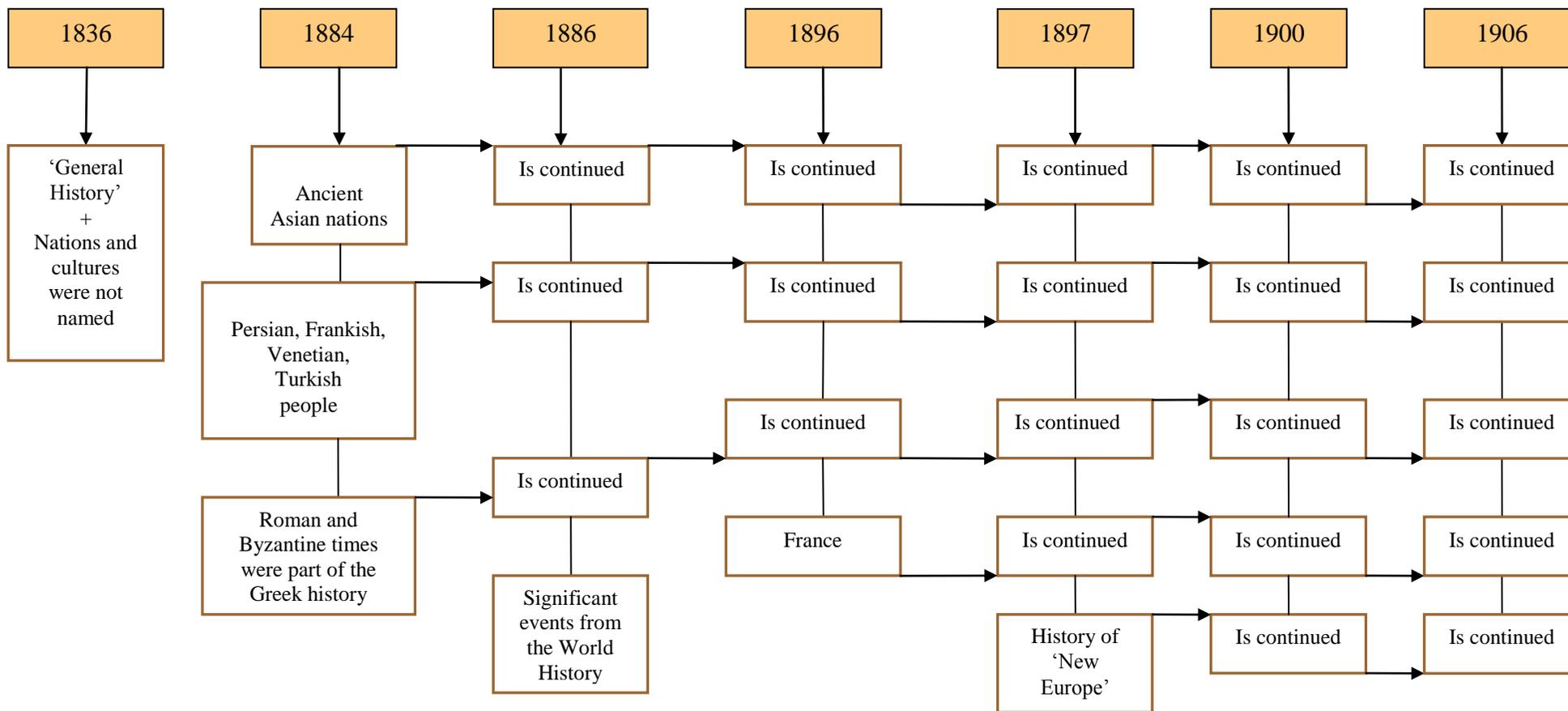


Diagram 4 (Part a) Other nations presented in history curricula for secondary education

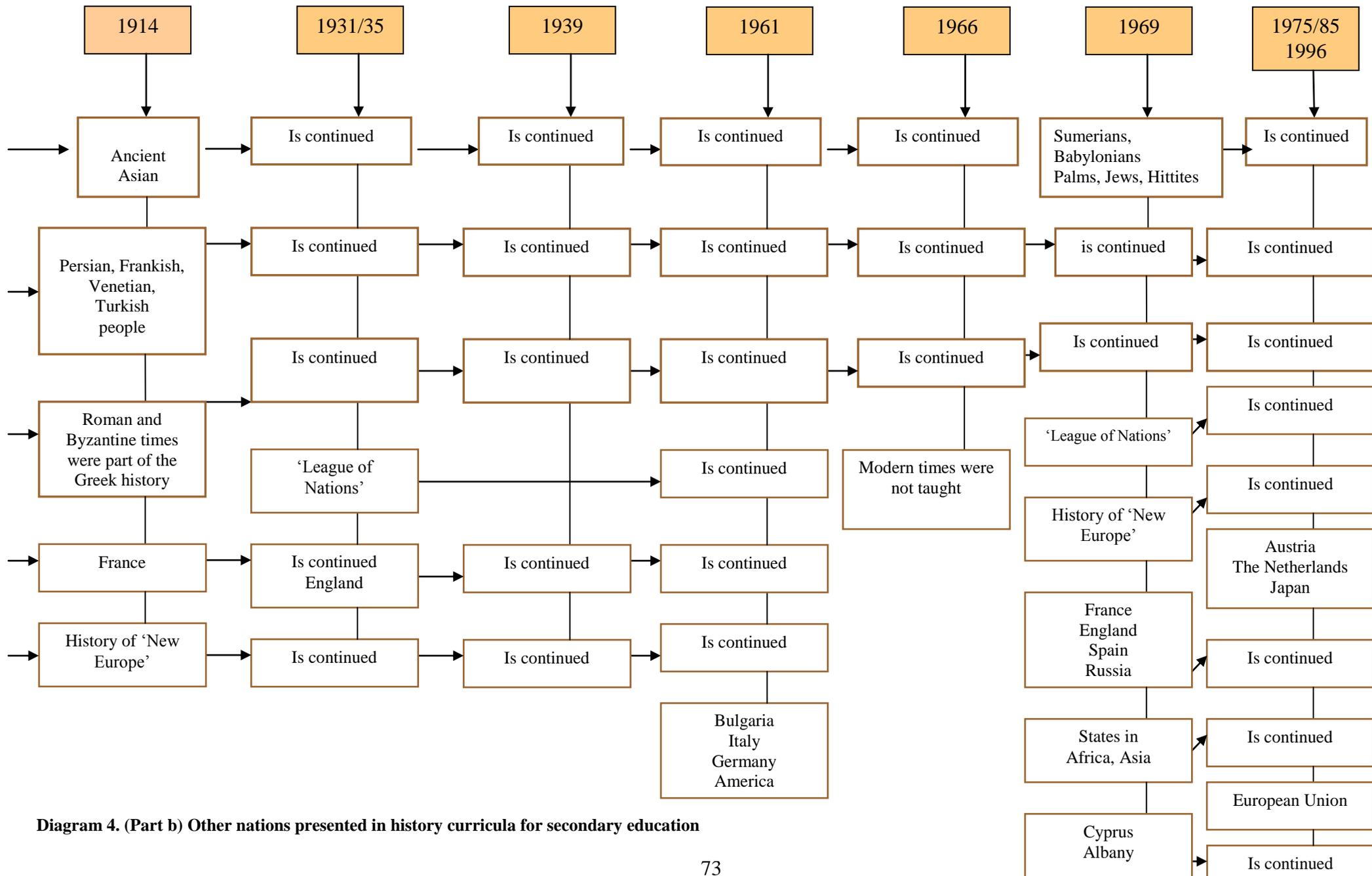


Diagram 4. (Part b) Other nations presented in history curricula for secondary education

2.3. Comparative and critical review of previous history curricula

During the two previous centuries, the Greek educational system was based on and influenced by the educational systems and policies of other countries. The paradigms of the other countries (such as Germany, France and the USA) were attempted to be adjusted in the Greek context, but, in some cases, especially in 19th and in the first half of 20th century, without taking into consideration the particular needs of the local society of each time period. For this reason, the Greek educational system was several times in crisis and under strong criticism which led to successive reforms. However, in all reforms attempted in the Greek educational area, there was a main feature and a common denominator: students to be aware of the nation to which they belong, to be embodied in it and become an active member of it. So, the construction of national identity and consciousness penetrate many aspects of schooling and is very closely related to and directly reflected in the subject of school history and its curricula.

In all the history curricula which have been considered, 'nation' is the main notion on which school history is built. The main and general aim of school history is for students to acknowledge that they belong to a nation which emerged in ancient times. By those times until the present time, the nation wrote down an uninterrupted historical course and contributed significantly and outstandingly to the universal civilization because of its significant and long history and heritage. In order for this aim to be achieved two more notions are employed. Initially, the notion of 'nation' is directly linked with the notion of 'time'. Nation has a linear and significant course through time: it exists since the ancient Greek period and it travelled relatively intact through the Roman and Byzantine times to the modern period. By this way, the continuity, the uninterrupted and unaffected by other nations' presentation of the Greek nation through the centuries is secured. Secondly, the notion of 'origin' is placed next to 'time'. The origin of the nation is the Greek ancient world. The modern nation derives directly from and is squarely linked with the ancient Greek civilization which constitutes the origin of the modern, civilized Europe as well. Thus, this link dignifies the significance and the gloriousness of the nation and at the same

time, it locates Greece within 'high civilisation' Europe, especially Western Europe, and emphasizes the importance of the Greek culture for Europe and for the rest of the world.

Consequently, objectives that should be achieved by history teaching are the development of national pride, national feelings and consciousness. These elements are basic and are reiterated in all history curricula. Thus, in this context, the Greek school history could be characterised as ethnocentric. Another factor that supports this characterisation is the fact that national history dominates the syllabus and it is successively repeated in a more expanded and detailed way at each level.

However, some particular parts of national history are stressed more than others. For instance, close attention is paid to the ancient Greek past since, it confirms the continuity of the nation, the contribution of Greek civilization to the world and legislates Greece in a special place in Europe and in the world while contemporary Greek history is marginalised and the Greek War of Independence in 1821 is the historical event which is mostly emphasized from the modern times.

Another significant point is that the historical course of the nation is presented mostly through political, military and diplomatic aspects and emphasis is given to the wars and conflicts Greeks were involved in in order to gain their freedom. Apart from the ancient Greek civilization which is stressed, no other cultural part of the particular historical course is emphasized. Roman and Byzantine times are included in national history: the first, because of the ancient Greek civilization and the second, because of Christianity. By these, it could be assumed that the modern nation built on this ancient civilization and did not produce a 'new' civilization; it saved and maintained 'pure' the ancient civilization until nowadays. The civilization the modern nation produced seems to be less important than the political and military developments that happened in its territory.

In terms of the presentation of other nations and civilizations, the ethnocentric character of the curricula defines their presentation in a way. World History and the other nations' history in comparison with national narratives are very limited. Historical events of universal interest, although included in the teaching topics, are displayed and are suggested to be taught briefly. Where a particular part of the history of a particular nation is mentioned, this occurs in order that a part of national history be 'legislated' and/or to be aligned with the wider historical context.

Concerning the identity of other nations presented in history curricula, over the years, the references of the history of specific nations are expanded. The nations that are presented are mostly implicated in national history. Pre-ancient Greek civilizations are not referred to until the second half of the 20th century and when they are referred to, they are all included in one chapter and are discussed briefly. Especially, in the curricula for primary education, pre-ancient Greek civilizations are not generally mentioned. The presentation of other nations entails mostly neighbouring nations located in the Balkans which are involved in wars and conflicts with Greece. From this presentation, political and military events are selected to be discussed while cultural and social features of the neighbouring countries are very limited. Additionally, selected historical events from other countries which are mostly located in (Western) Europe are mentioned in order to acknowledge the links between Europe and Greece. Civilizations and people from the other continents are scarcely displayed especially in curricula for primary education. Thus, although, it is several times stated that students should obtain an overview of the world and of human development over the years, in a sense, the main impression that is given to students is that the world that pupils live in has as its centre Greece which a) is surrounded by countries which had imperialistic intentions for Greece b) is located in the 'expanding neighbourhood' of Europe into which it has rightfully a significant position due to the ancient Greek civilization which is 'self-sown', it derived naturally and it was unaffected by previous civilizations and c) simulates mostly with the developed countries which are situated in the 'neighbourhood' of Europe.

Additionally, history curricula for primary schools focused mostly on the cultivation of national consciousness while history curricula for secondary education emphasize more the development of historical thinking. Behind this differentiation, the debate about the cognitive and intellectual abilities of young pupils of specific ages lies. According to repeated curricula, it seems that pupils of the ages of primary education (6-12 years old) do not possess the appropriate abilities to develop historical thinking compared to pupils of secondary education who do have the capacities to develop historical thinking. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, historical thinking is restricted to causality and consequently, it could be said that young pupils of the age of 13-15 develop only the understanding of historical causality which, in the Greek context, was based on pre-selected historical events and evidence pre-selected by the authors of history textbooks.

The model that is employed and underpins the way that history is conveyed to pupils is basically the model of traditional history teaching. Until the first half of the 20th century, history teaching was under the influence of romanticism and traditional history. Thus, history teaching focused on the cognitive transmission of historical knowledge which includes political history and biographies of national heroes, is based on documents which identify the ‘truth’ and the ‘true’ history, employs the approach of narration in order that historical events to be understood and examines historical events in a linear chronological order. Even though it does not seem that this model has been completely discarded, the new perspectives that emerged in the discipline of history and historiography and the different sorts of history surfaced in the 20th century appear to penetrate and influence the history teaching in Greece. So, especially in the second half of the 20th century, the general aim of school history appeared expanded and turns to history from the view of a discipline. The development of historical thinking, the interest in history as discipline and the familiarisation with the different approaches used by the historians constitutes some features of history teaching expansion. From the first examination of the basic and initial aim of school history and the expanded one developed and added lately, it could be assumed that there is a contradiction between the school history which aims to promote national consciousness and the school history which aims students to stand

critically in front of history. Nevertheless, both aspects seem to co-operate harmoniously since the second aspect is employed to serve the first one. More specifically, the development of historical thinking and the critical examination of history entail pre-selected areas, documents, topics and themes which serve the ethnocentric aim of school history. The attempted homogeneity of schools, the well-defined and closed curricula, the state and political control over the school history, the limited autonomy of history teachers and the unique history textbook written and approved according to standards which are set by each political system support the previous statement. Additionally, the development of historical thinking is exclusively related to the understanding of the causality of historical events and it does not involve the way historical knowledge is produced, the significance of the notion 'representation' in the area of history, the multidimensional role of primary and secondary sources and the variety of the approaches employed in history discipline.

Finally, in terms of history curricula, this review demonstrates that the curricula for primary and secondary education which were compiled in previous centuries are closed curricula. The elements that are answered, but not in every curriculum, are: a) aim(s) of history teaching, b) teaching topics and c) guidelines for teachers. It is interesting that the majority of them include aim(s) and focus on teaching topics. Teaching topics are presented as a list indicating what must be taught in the context of the particular subject at each grade without any further explanations and guidelines (except the last curricula for primary schools where each teaching topic is accompanied with specific objectives). Moreover, the required content is so extensive and covers such long chronological periods and so many events, so that there is no correspondence between content and teaching hours. The list of teaching content renders the curriculum inflexible and constraining especially for the teacher. At the same time, the teacher becomes the centre of teaching procedure instead of the pupils since the guidelines which follow the teaching topics in some curricula of both school levels emphasize the significant role of the teacher in the teaching procedure, as well as defining the way that content should be taught by them and not the way pupils will be involved in the teaching process. The instruction that is usually included in curricula of both centuries, even in the most recent ones,

underlining that students should *not* memorize history lessons demonstrates the more common way the subject is taught and signifies the passive role of students. On the other hand, it is an interesting question, which will be explored in this thesis, whether these topics are of particular interest for pupils of each school level.

Taking into consideration the above discussion about the role of school history in the two previous centuries and the reforms attempted by the Cross Curricular Thematic Framework, the next step is to examine the current history curriculum, aiming to explore the role school history is called to play in contemporary Greek society and in students' education and future.

2.4. The ‘new’ curriculum: Brief presentation

The Greek Curriculum for compulsory education, known as Cross Curricular Thematic Framework, has been in effect since March 2003 (Pedagogical Institution 2003). It was the product of a succession of educational reforms which took place in Greece from 1996 to 2002. The grounds of the Greek educational reforms can be traced back to developments in the European Union and to an internal evaluation of the Greek educational system at that time (Πασιάς & Ρουσσάκης 2002). More particularly, in the 1990s, as Greece moved closer to the bosom of the European Community, a series of significant adjudications at institutional, political and economic level (e.g. the Maastricht Treaty 1992, Agenda 2000, European and Economic and Monetary Union 1990-1999, Euro Area 2002) shaped European educational policy (e.g. Green and White Papers 1991-2001, Action Plans of the European Commission on education at the same period). Greece, as a member of the European Community, attempted to include the European educational policy into its educational orientation and plan. In parallel, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development review of the Greek policy for education (OECD 1997) pointed to some failings and tensions in the Greek educational system which could be summarized as following:

- a) structural and functional problems which had been detected at all levels of the Greek educational system
- b) organisational issues of Greek educational foundations in relation to the management, efficiency, effectiveness and evaluation of educational provision
- c) social issues such as access to higher education and equal opportunities for all pupils, the considerable number of pupils who abandon education as soon as it is possible to do so, and high levels of unemployment (OECD 1997)
- d) the effects of a wave of migration during the period 1985-2000 on the educational system, for instance, the resulting cultural diversity of the school population and the need for reinforcement of multicultural principles (Ρουσσάκης 2002)

Within this context, the Greek government of that period attempted to align its educational policy with the European orientation and the impact of a) the information

society, b) internationalisation and c) scientific and technological knowledge aiming to redefine the role of education – especially of school - and enrich its quality (Ματθαίου 2002). Priority was given to the construction of a new curriculum, especially for compulsory education - which would meet all the above requirements. The Greek Ministry of Education entrusted the construction of curriculum to the Pedagogical Institution⁹ (P.I.) and the end product was presented in two volumes in 2003 (Pedagogical Institution 2003).

In the introductory note of the particular curriculum, it is stated (Pedagogical Institution 2003:5) that:

“Educational change in Greece at the present time should focus on the preservation of our national identity and cultural heritage on the one hand, and the development of European citizenship awareness, on the other.”

The proposed educational reforms and especially the new curriculum planned to dissociate its principles from the ones of traditional discipline-centred curricula which were in force until that time, which were thought to promote a rather passive attitude towards learning (Pedagogical Institution 2003). The new curriculum was designed to promote a) student-centred and creative learning, involving all participants in the learning process, breaking away from sterile and ineffective teaching practices and b) the development of critical thinking, collaborative skills and creative activities which constitutes a social demand of our times (Pedagogical Institution 2003). For these purposes, the new curriculum introduced a cross-thematic approach to learning – (which is why the new curriculum is referred to as the Cross Curricular Thematic Framework) - aiming at the adjustment of teaching aims and methodology *“while focusing on the balanced distribution of teaching content among all grade levels and the horizontal linking of all subject content, seeking to cover a greater variety of topics”* (Pedagogical Institution 2003:6).

In terms of the structure of the new curriculum, it could be considered that the curriculum is divided into two parts. The first part explains briefly why and how the curriculum has been reformed and presents the general principles of education¹⁰. The second part encompasses individual Subject Curricula; for each subject taught at each

⁹ About the role and mission of Pedagogical Institution see Chapter 3.

¹⁰ The general principles of education are presented in latter sessions.

level there is a separate curriculum. Both parts constitute a whole and are interdependent; the first part represents the frame of reference and the base into which the other part procures its meaning and significance as well as the second part constitutes a mean for the first part to be implemented.

To sum up, the educational reforms intended to ‘equip’ students with an educational ‘armoury’, which would help them form their own model and principles, their own perception of the world (‘cosmo-idol’) and cosmo-theory and be fully prepared to overcome ‘life difficulties’. They are also the response of Greece to the present society of knowledge-transfer, of information-explosion, of know-how, and to the challenges that ongoing interaction within the European context poses (YIIEIIΘ 1998). In particular, the new curriculum attempted to bring forward a new role for school and education in general. Its main focus is on students’ competences and their smooth and successful integration in society. However, its success depends greatly on the contribution and support of all those who are involved in the educational arena.

2.5. The current history curriculum: Brief presentation

The structure of the present history curriculum (see also Figure 1) includes three parts which are interconnected:

- the first part (General Aim) mentions the general teaching/learning aim of school history which is the same for primary and secondary schools which are included in compulsory education
- the second part (Units) encloses guiding principles, general goals and indicative fundamental cross-thematic concepts for each unit taught at each grade of each level of compulsory education and
- the last part (Chapters) involves special goals and objectives, thematic units (indicative time), indicative activities and cross-thematic projects for each chapter of each grade of each school level.

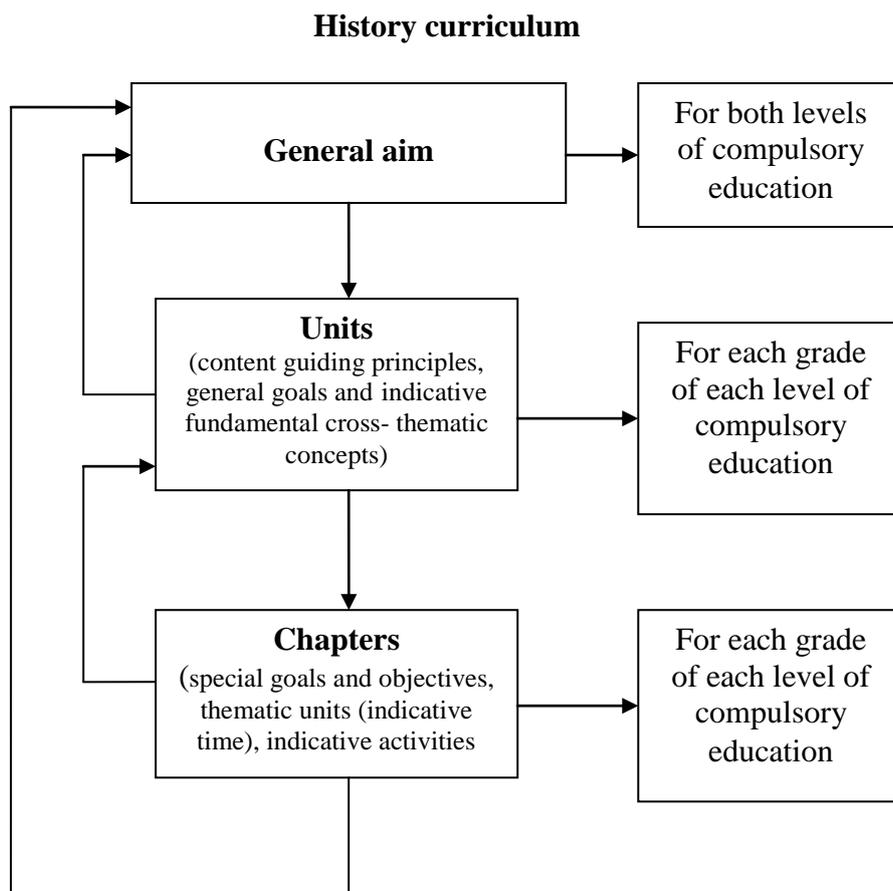


Figure 1. The structure of the history curriculum

The teaching units are arranged in spiral order and successive circles meaning that the same themes and topics are repeated from one level to the other *‘seeking to ensure*

consistency and continuity from grade to grade and from level to level complementing and providing a sequential increase of knowledge, skills and attitudes (Pedagogical Institution 2003:9). With regard to historical periods, the following tables (Table 1, 2) present the historical periods that are discussed and presented at each grade of each level of compulsory education.

Primary School		
Grade¹¹	Historical periods (From - to)	
3rd	Greek mythology	Pre-history / Proto-history
4th	Geometric period	Hellenistic period
5th	Roman times	Byzantine times
6th	Ottoman Empire times	Contemporary times

Table 1. Historical periods taught at primary school

Junior-High School		
Grade	Historical periods (From - to)	
1st	Pre-history	Romans times
2nd	Byzantine times	18 th century
3rd	18 th century	Contemporary times

Table 2. Historical periods taught at junior-high school

At the end of the history curriculum of each grade, the authors propose a specific topic for projects. Each history curriculum for each level of compulsory education ends up with:

a) proposed didactic methodology; in this part it is indicated that the role of teacher should be limited in parallel with the increase of pupils' active participation in teaching procedure and the employment of active teaching approaches such as

¹¹ History does not constitute a separate subject for the 1st and 2nd grade of primary school. However, it is integrated in studies of environment. In the particular curriculum, units which are proposed to be taught at both grades are indicated. These units aim mostly for pupils to understand the notions of space and time.

individual or group work in the form of project, formulation of research questions, organizing of re-enactment of historical events and research on sources

b) comments on pupils' assessment which involve written examinations

c) proposed teaching materials; apart from the use of school textbooks which is judged as self-evident, alternative teaching materials and activities are proposed such as the study of sources, photographs, diagrams, maps and visits to archaeological-historical places and museums

d) references about local history and how it could be taught in schools

e) further information about school textbooks (student's book, teacher's book and visual material) and their use and the structure of each book.

2.6. Analysis of the history curriculum

Among the aims that are stated in the introduction of the Cross Curricular Thematic Framework (C.C.T.F.) for compulsory education, are:

‘it is necessary for individuals to develop greater understanding and appreciation of different cultures and for the state to discard the possibility of imposing a one-dimensional cultural model, thus reinforcing xenophobia and racism’ (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 9).

To assist the development of European citizenship awareness, while preserving national identity and cultural awareness.

To promote a spirit of co-operation as well as of personal and collective responsibility’ (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 10)

Additionally, in the general principles of education which are stated in C.C.T.F., it is stated that:

‘At the same time multiculturalism as a social reality dictates that every citizen should develop understanding and appreciation of individuals belonging to social, ethnic and cultural groups other than their own, so that we can all live in peace and harmony in a society of cultural, ethnic and linguistic pluralism.

Therefore, in order to achieve the smooth integration and co-existence of individuals in society, each individual should learn how to live with others, respecting their language and culture. At the same time, school education should promote the preservation of national and cultural identity through developing national, cultural, linguistic and religious awareness’ (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 13).

The history curriculum as a part of the (C.C.T.F) should integrate and apply the above principles and aims. Thus, its examination intends to identify:

- a) how does history as a school subject preserve national and cultural identity and how does it contribute to the construction of students’ national identity and to the development of European citizenship awareness? What kind of historical events are presented in relation to Greece and how is Europe presented in the teaching goals?
- b) which nations/ ethnic groups constitute the ‘other’ in history teaching; are there references from a variety of nations all over the world or some specific nations/ethnic group are presented and why?
- c) what, if anything, is said about the identity of other nations?
- d) which nations’ features are presented in order for understanding and appreciation of the ‘other’ to be achieved; what kind of historical events are selected in order that other nations be discussed and presented?

e) in which context are other nations/ethnic groups integrated in and related to the national narratives? How are national narratives related with the history of other nations?

f) whether and to what extent does school history assist pupils in forming their own perception of the past and the world? What teaching approaches are employed so that pupils' can form their own ideas about the past?

g) whether and to what extent school history promotes a holistic view of the contemporary, unified, multicultural and internationalised world in which pupils as citizens will be called upon to participate actively in the future? Are all the continents and their civilizations which constitute the world displayed and discussed?

Taking into consideration the above research questions, this study is focused on the history curriculum of the last grade (6th grade) of primary school and of the last grade (3rd grade) of junior-high school (Gymnasium). These particular curricula are selected because, at these grades, modern and contemporary history is taught in which many references to other nations/ethnic groups can be found.

Since the analysis entails two curricula, their study is conducted in two parts. One part refers to the history curriculum of the last grade of primary school and the other part involves the history curriculum of the last grade of junior-high school. The methodology employed for both curricula is the same, allowing comparative conclusions to be drawn.

The analysis is presented in three parts: in the first part, the employed methodology is discussed, in the second; the research of the history curriculum of the last grade of primary school is presented while in the next, the history curriculum of the last grade of junior-high school is analysed. Finally, the findings are discussed and are related with the general teaching/learning aim of school history which is displayed at the beginning of the history curriculum document and with the questions of particular interest stated above.

2.7. Methodology of the analysis

The question which is the most appropriate and efficient method, the quantitative or the qualitative method, in the field of educational policy texts and materials analysis causes an on-going debate. Each of the methods has its pros and cons. According to Pingel (1999:45), each method answers to different questions:

'Quantitative methods [...] determine:

- *how many times a term is used, a person or people are mentioned,*
- *how much space is allocated to a country or topic etc.*

This can tell us a great deal about where the emphasis lies, about selection criteria, but nothing about values and interpretation.

Qualitative methods [...] reveal assumptions which cannot be measured:

- *what does a text tell us, what messages does it transmit?*

They give insight into the mode of presentation

- *multiperspectivity vs. monocausal explanation, results of scientific studies vs. didactic reduction in textbooks'.*

Based on that, the quantitative paradigm was judged to be used for the analysis of history curricula because, as the aims of the history curricula analysis discussed above indicate, the focus is on 'where the emphasis lies' and the 'frequency' that a nation is presented (which nations are presented, what are their features, what kind of historical events are presented).

Moreover, the way that history curricula are written and the sample sources which are analysed do not allow the use of qualitative approaches, for instance discourse analysis, since meaningful insights cannot be drawn. More particularly, the sampling source analyzed was the set of special goals and objectives which are declared in the third section of the history curriculum. These special goals and objectives are directly related with teaching topics and specify what goals should be achieved by the teaching of each topic. They are written in the form of short sentences in which no qualitative elements could be detected such as values, beliefs. For example, the objective: *'To know important events of World War II'* does not give 'mode of presentation'; however, gives evidence for the kind of events which are presented in history curricula. The second section of the history curriculum was not included in the analysis because it involves mostly general goals which are applied to units as a whole, and cross-thematic concepts such as time, space, past, present, future.

However, when the findings of the analysis are discussed, the first and the second section of the history curriculum are taken into consideration so that the outcomes of the analysis to be linked and compared with these sections.

In terms of a technique which can be used for the analysis of educational materials, Weinbrenner (1992) argues that this area lacks a set of reliable methods and instruments. However, a technique that is often used for the analysis educational texts is content analysis. The particular technique has been employed by many reviewers of educational materials and drew meaningful insights (e.g. Xochellis & Toloudi 1998, LaBelle 2010). Based on the above, the approach that was judged to be the most appropriate for the analysis of both history curricula is quantitative content analysis. Content analysis as a research approach first appeared in 1948 in a text titled '*The Analysis of Communication Content*' authored by Berelson & Lasarfeld (1948). Since then, the approach has been developed and expanded considerably (Berelson 1952, Holsti 1969, Weber 1990, Neuendorf 2002, Krippendorff 2004, Riffe et al. 2005). As Riffe et al. argue (2005:25):

'Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurements rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption'.

The particular technique was judged to be suitable for the analysis of history curricula because: a) the investigated curricula are written symbolic communication means with which their transmitter expresses specific messages, b) these messages can be located and registered by content analysis and c) this approach is particularly useful because access to the authors of the curricula is difficult (e.g. interview with the authors).

The recording unit used for this analysis was the symbolic unit: 'theme' (Berelson 1952, Holsti 1969), and 'theme' is considered as a complex recording unit, it was judged necessary to define which unit of the text will be the base for defining the meaning of the 'theme' (Crano & Brewer 2002). The context unit selected was: 'sentence' (Krippendorff 1980). This specific context unit served the study since the specific part of the history curriculum is formulated in the form of short sentences. In

Categories	
Category 1.	<i>Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena</i>
Category 2.	<i>References to Greece</i>
Category 3.	<i>References to Europe</i>
Category 4.	<i>References to the Americas</i>
Category 5.	<i>References to Asia</i>
Category 6.	<i>References to events of world interest</i>

Table 3. Categories of the analysis

cases where the sentences were linked in paratactic form (linked with ‘and’), they were divided and examined separately. Each text extract was numbered and by this way, 258 text extracts (sentences) in total (133 text extracts from the history curriculum of the 6th grade of primary school and 150 text extracts from the history curriculum of the 3rd grade of junior-high school) constituted the recording units.

According to the research design of content analysis, a protocol of analysis should be formed which displays the conceptual and functional definitions of the study in which they are going to be applied (Weber 1990, Neuendorf 2002, Krippendorf 2004, Riffe et al. 2005). The protocol of this study entails a system of categories into which text extracts would be classified. The categories were derived from the research questions the analysis tries to identify in conjunction with the study of the sampling source (deductive production of categories).

Next, a sample of text extracts from the current history curricula of both levels of compulsory education was applied to the categories in order to check that the formed system of categories was exhaustive, saturated, exclusive and disjunctive (Holsti 1969). After multiple tests, applications and reconstructions, the protocol of analysis

was formed and six categories were structured. The following table (Table 3) presents the categories.

Due to the great range of each category, it was also judged necessary each category to be divided into subcategories. Thus, for each category was structured as shown in Table 4. The entire protocol of curricula analysis can be found in Appendix 1.

In order to ensure as far as possible the objectivity and reliability of the analysis, and to achieve a non-arbitrary and objective option of the text extractions classification, inter-coder reliability was used (Holsti 1960, Krippendorff 1980, Weber 1990, Lombard et al. 2002, Krippendorff 2004, Riffe et al. 2005). Inter-coder reliability constitutes the most significant interpretation of reliability since it refers to the range of agreement between independent coders who are engaged in the process of conveyed message assessment (Lombard et al. 2002). Thus, in this analysis apart from the researcher, two coders participated in order to follow the same procedure of categorization as the researcher. Both coders were educators (one teaches history at primary school and the other at junior high school) who were interested in the content of the material analyzed (Riffe et. al. 2005). One coder was familiar with the approach of content analysis while the other was not. The procedure was explained in detail to both coders.

The protocol of analysis was provided for and was studied by both coders. Also, a coding sheet was created for each text extract. Each coder and the researcher used these sheets to classify each text extract to the appropriate category/subcategory. (A sample of coding sheets can be found in Appendix 2). Next, the coders classified the same text extracts individually.

Structure of Categories	
Category 1.	Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena
Category 2.	References to Greece
Subcategory 2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 3.	References to Europe
Subcategory 3.1	References to Europe in general
Subcategory 3.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.2	References to West Europe
Subcategory 3.2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.3	References to South Europe
Subcategory 3.3.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.3.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.4	References to East Europe
Subcategory 3.4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.5	References to Central Europe
Subcategory 3.5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 4	References to Asia
Subcategory 4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 5.	References to the Americas
Subcategory 5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 6.	References to the events of world interest
Subcategory 6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 6.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 6.4	<i>Social history</i>

Table 4. Structure of categories

In order to assess the reliability of the data analysis, inter-coder analysis was used. There are many suggestions about the calculation of inter-coder reliability and one of the most commonly used is the percent agreement¹² (Holsti 1960, Krippendorff 1980, Weber 1990, Lombard et al. 2002, Krippendorff 2004, Riffe et al. 2005). But, according to the relevant literature (Lombard et al. 2002, 2003, Neuendorf 2002, Krippendorff 2004, Riffe et al. 2005) the percent agreement has been criticized because ‘*it does not take into account the extent of inter-coder agreement which may result from chance*’ (Holsti 1969:140). For this reason, many formulas which calculate inter-coder agreement including chance component have been proposed, for instance, *Cohen’s Kappa* (Cohen 1960), *Fleiss’ Kappa* (Fleiss 1971) and *Krippendorff’s alpha* (Krippendorff 2004). Since there is no full agreement about the most reliable formula for the assessment of inter-coder reliability (Neuendorf 2002), in this analysis, the inter-coder reliability was calculated using the formulas developed by Cohen, Fleiss and Krippendorff. After the texts extracts have been categorized by the coders and the researcher, two consolidated files in which all categorizations were included were edited; one for each grade (see Appendix 3). These files were uploaded on the website: www.dfrelon.org¹³ where there is an online calculator of the most popular coefficients. The following tables (Table 5, 6) show the outcomes of the calculation of the inter-coder agreement:

¹² Percent agreement is sometimes called ‘crude agreement’ (Neuendorf 2002) and ‘agreement coefficient’ (Krippendorff 2004)

¹³ This website has been constructed by Mr. Deen Frelon who is Ph.D. student at the Department of Communication at the University of Washington, Seattle. On his website, there is a PHP-based utility called **Re-Cal** that calculates inter-coder reliability coefficients for nominal content analysis data. By the time the researcher accessed it, it has been used 6330 times by person other than the author.

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders
results for file "3rd grade.csv"

File size: 968 bytes
N coders: 3
N cases: 133
N decisions: 399

Average Pairwise Percent Agreement

Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
91.98%	88.722%	89.474%	97.744%

Fleiss' Kappa

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.9	0.92	0.197

Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.901	0.861	0.87	0.971

Krippendorff's Alpha

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.9	399	367	30984

***These figures are drawn from [Krippendorff \(2007, case C.\)](#)

Table 5. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (3rd grade)

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders
results for file "6th grade.csv"

File size: 1076 bytes
N coders: 3
N cases: 150
N decisions: 450

Average Pairwise Percent Agreement

Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
93.778%	94%	92.667%	94.667%

Fleiss' Kappa

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.856	0.938	0.567

Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.856	0.855	0.831	0.882

Krippendorff's Alpha

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.857	450	422	114372

***These figures are drawn from [Krippendorff \(2007, case C.\)](#)

Table 6. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (6th grade)

As tables 5 and 6 show, the inter-coder agreement is above 0.800 in each case which, according with the creators of the formulas (Cohen 1960, Fleiss 1971, Krippendorff 2004) means that the reliability of the analysis is acceptable and we could proceed to the presentation of the outcomes.

However, examining the text extracts distribution made by the coders and the researcher, it was noticed that there were some text extracts where the coders and the researcher did not agree about the category that each of the text extract should be categorized; for example text extract No 48 of the text extracts distribution of the 3rd grade (see Appendix 3) was categorized in category 3.5.1 by the coder A, in category 3.1.1 by the researcher and in category 6.1 by the coder B. So, the following condition was set for the final classification of a text extract: a text extract to be classified in the same category by at least two coders. Applying this condition, 2 text extracts from the text extracts distribution of 3rd grade were left out and 2 text extracts from the 6th grade. Finally, 148 text extracts of the history curriculum of the 6th grade and 131 text extracts of the history curriculum of the 3rd grade were included in the analysis.

Another issue that was taken into consideration was the validity of the study. Holsti (1969:142) argues that '*validity is usually defined as the extent to which an instrument is measuring what is intended to measure*'. He also adds that the validity of a study using content analysis depends upon careful planning of the comparisons to be made with the content data, choice of categories and content units and sampling design and reliability.

In this study, 'content validity' was used, (sometimes referred as 'face validity') which '*has most frequently been relied upon by the content analysts*' and '*is normally sufficient if the purpose of the research is a descriptive one*' (Holsti 1969: 143). Face validity refers to the extent that the outcomes are related to other independent information (for instance theory, other relevant studies). As it appears in the discussion of the outcomes that follows, there is close relation between the findings of the analysis and findings from other studies. Moreover, the high level of correlation

between coders and the empirical way¹⁴ the categories have been constructed strengthen the case for the validity of findings.

Apart from the ‘content validity’, the ‘social validity’ of the study was taken into consideration.

‘Social validity will depend on the social significance of the content that the content analysis can explore and the degree to which the content analysis categories created by the researchers have relevance and meaning beyond an academic audience’ (Riffe et al. 2005:158)

According to the model adopted by Riffe et al. (2005), in order for ‘social validity’ to be achieved, attention must be paid to the nature of the content and the nature of the categories. More specifically, the nature of the content involves the importance of the content being explored, the exposure of some critical audience to content influence and the crucial role that content plays in society. The nature of categories refers to whether the construction of categories and the content analysis protocol have utility and could be used beyond the research context by a broader audience.

In the context of this particular study and in relation to the nature of the content, the content being explored is applied to all Greek schools of compulsory education, is addressed to the whole teacher and pupil population of the compulsory education of the country and is related to political, social and educational situations of modern Greek society. In terms of the nature of the categories, ‘social validity’ is ensured by the engagement of two coders in the study who are familiar with the field that the content (history curriculum in this study) is applied and use the content.

In the following display of the findings of the analysis, the outcomes are presented by grade. First, the outcomes that derived from the analysis of the history curriculum of the 6th grade (primary school) and next, the analysis of the history curriculum of the 3rd grade (junior high school).

¹⁴ The categories were formed after the sample of analysis had been studied. By this way, all paragraphs were classified.

2.8. Presentation of the findings

2.8.1. The history curriculum of 6th grade

The text extracts distribution into the six constructed categories appears in table 7.

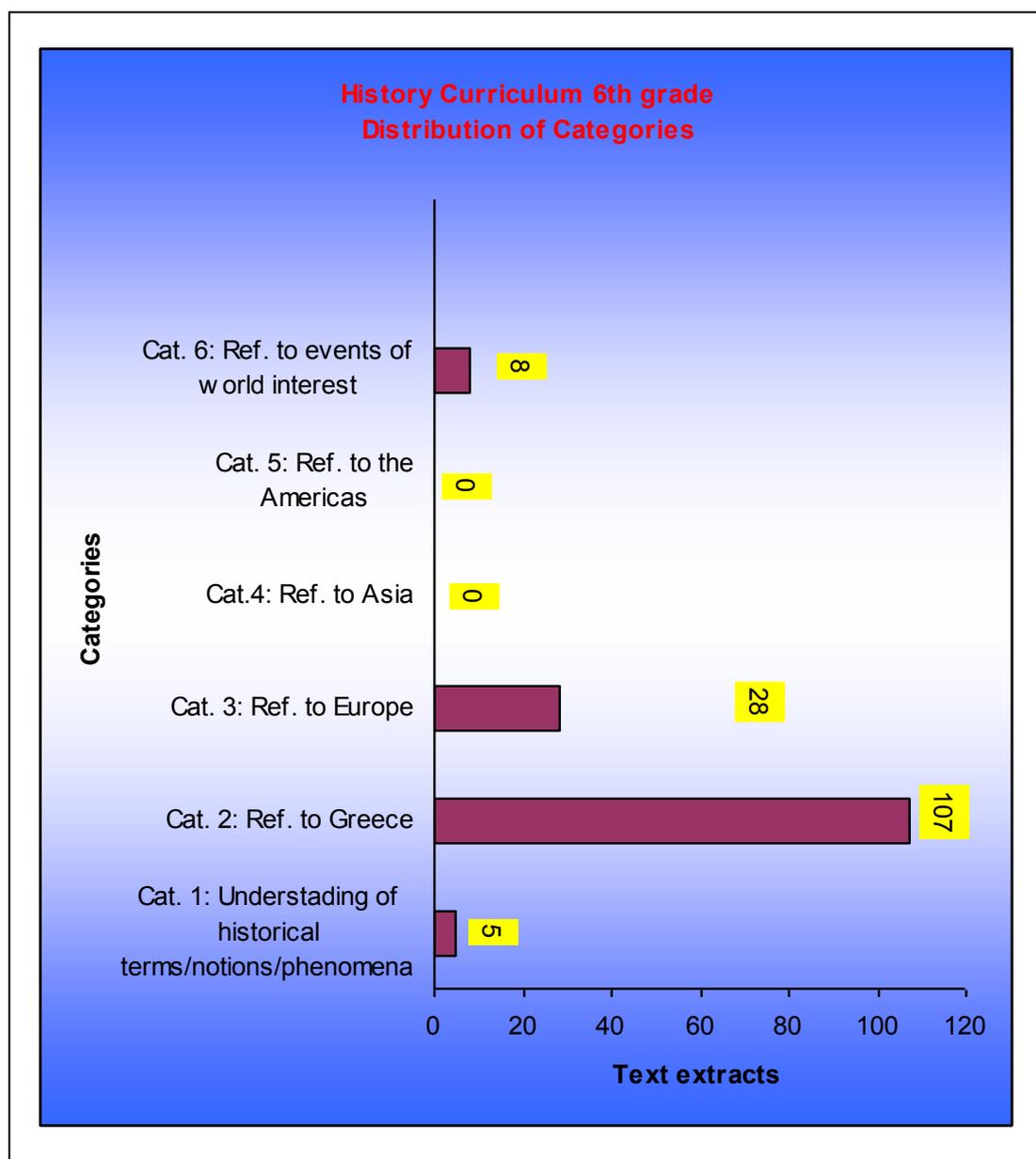


Table 7. Text extracts distribution of history curriculum of 6th grade

As it is showed table 7, the majority of the text extracts is categorized in the 2nd category: 'References to Greece' (107 text extracts / percentage 72, 29%) followed by

category 3: ‘References to Europe’ (28 text extracts/ percentage 18,91%) and category 6: ‘References to world events’ (8 text extracts/ percentage 5,40%). No text extracts were categorized in categories 4 and 5 while in category 1: ‘Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena’ 5 text extracts (percentage 3, 37%) were classified. The text extract distribution demonstrates that the history curriculum for primary school is more focused on national history which constitutes the core of history teaching. It also seems that national history is only related to Europe since other continents such as Asia and the Americas are not presented in the history curriculum. There are also some references to events of world interest which involve World War I and World War II and similarly, references to historical terms, notions and phenomena which are mostly political such as ‘discovery’, ‘Enlightenment’, ‘slavery’, ‘Islamization’, ‘institution’, ‘alliance’, ‘treaty’ and which pupils are called to understand.

According to the protocol of analysis, the text extracts which fell into category 3: ‘References to Europe’ were distributed in subcategories and their distribution is showed in table 8.

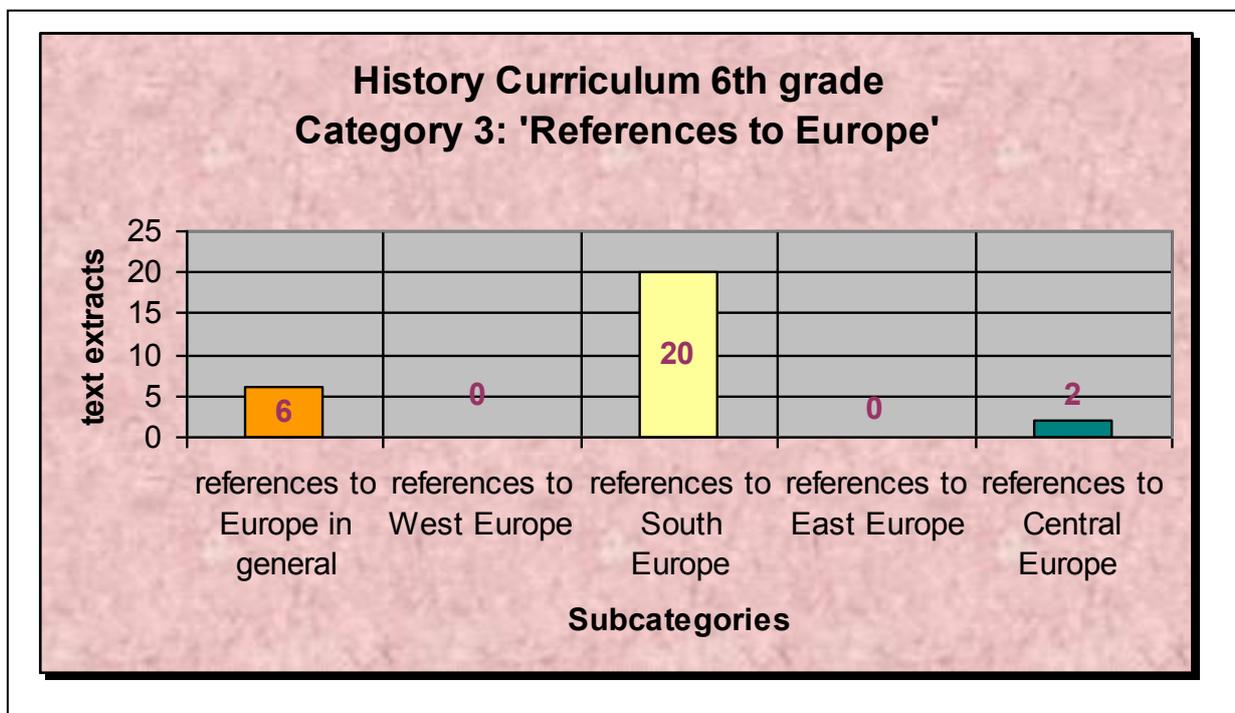


Table 8. Text extracts distribution in category 3

Table 8 shows that 20 out of 28 text extracts which were categorised in this category were references about South Europe (subcategory 3.3) and less or none in other subcategories (6 text extracts in subcategory 3.1.: 'References to Europe in general' and 2 text extracts in subcategory 3.5 while there were no references in subcategories 3.2: 'References to West Europe and 3.4: 'References to East Europe'). Thus, the study of this table specifies the references to Europe and demonstrates that specific parts of Europe are mostly discussed and presented. This specific part is South Europe (Balkans in particular) which is very close related with national history since a great part of the historical events that are examined in the 6th grade of primary school involves the Ottoman Empire, the Greek War of Independence and the Balkans Wars. So, it could be said that Europe and its history is not examined as a whole. On contrary, the 'view of Europe' is limited and focused on the part of Europe that is mostly connected to national narratives. This finding, in conjunction with the lack of references to other continents (category 4: 'References to Asia' and category 5: 'References to the Americans') also underpins the previously made statement that national history is central in history teaching.

It is also interesting and in the scope of this study to examine what kind of references (for example, political, economic, cultural references) are included in each category. To begin with, table 9 illustrates the categorization of text extracts which fall into category 2. As it appears in table 9, 53 out of 107 text extracts (50%) are about political-economical events and 29 text extracts about military events while the references to cultural developments and the everyday life of the Greek people are 25 in total (23%). So, it is obvious that political and military history is more emphasized than cultural and social in national narratives.

However, the verification of the political and military character of history teaching could be traced in the other categories as well. More particularly, in subcategory 3.1 the text extracts distribution shows that only political-economic events are discussed about Europe in general (Table 10) since the 6 text extracts this subcategory includes are fallen in subcategory 3.1.1: 'Political-economic references'.

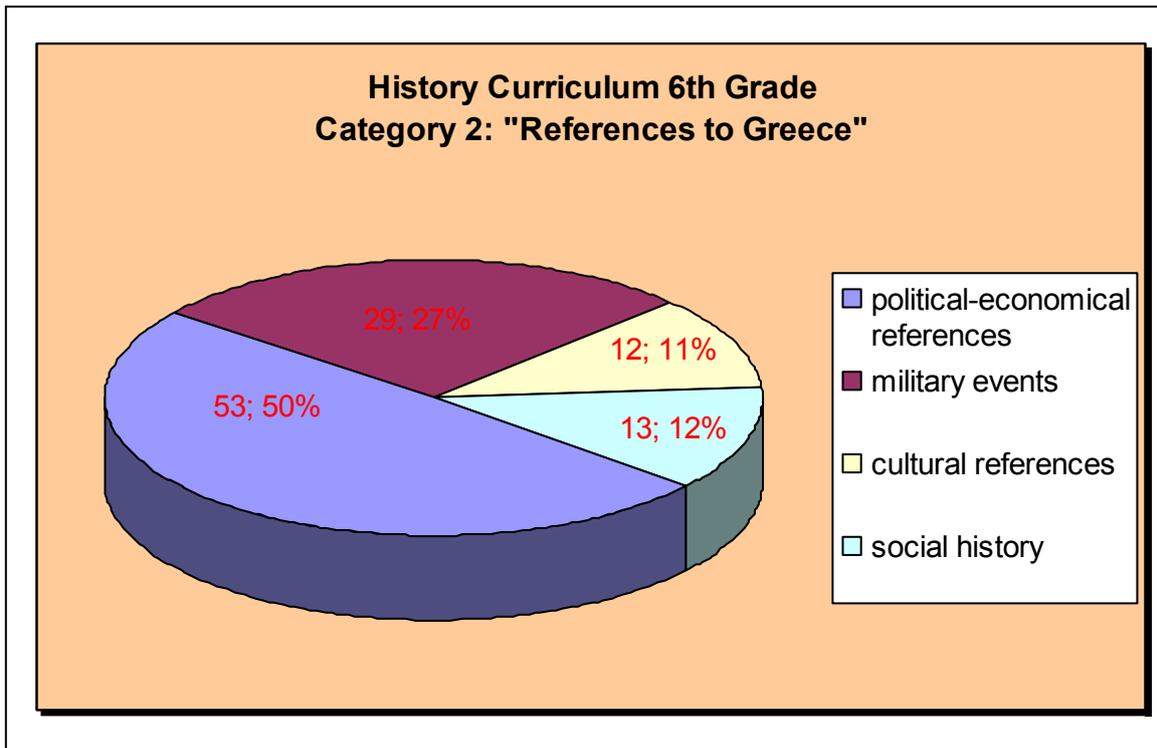


Table 9. Distribution of text extracts in category 2

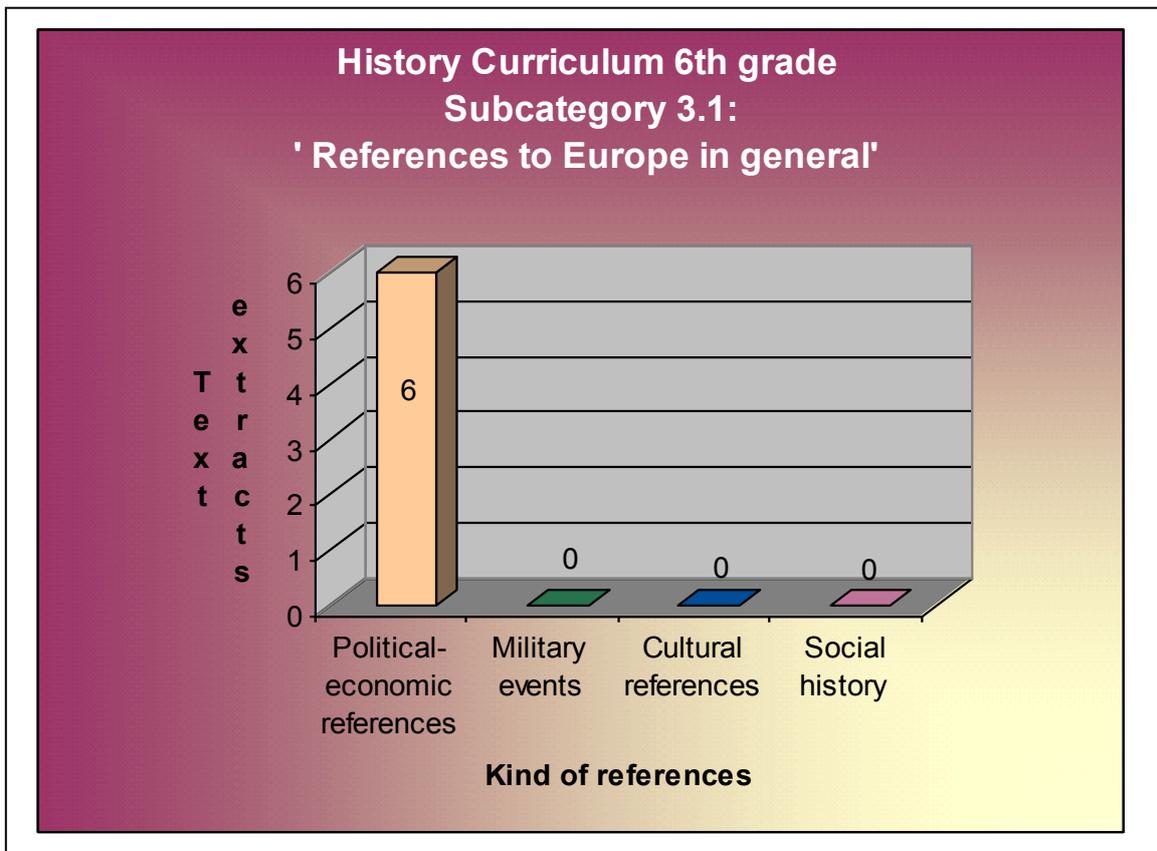


Table 10. Distribution of text extracts in subcategory 3.1

In the same vein, in subcategory 3.3: ‘References to South Europe’, the 20 text extracts that are distributed in it are references about political, economic and military events (table 11). The same is noticed in subcategory 3.5: ‘References to Central Europe’ which includes 2 text extracts that are referred to political-economic events (table 12) and in category 6: ‘References to events of world interest’ where the 8 text extracts are classified to political- economic- military events (table 13). The study of the findings presented in these tables and the particular curriculum also demonstrate that history teaching involves mostly political-economic events in chronological order and when cultural and social history which is discussed is only about the Greek civilization and people. Additionally, in cases where other nations are discussed, they are presented in an abstract and unspecified way, for instance, ‘To know the attitude of the Great Powers to the Greek War of Independence’, ‘To know that, apart from Greeks, other Balkan people protested against Ottoman rule’. Specified references about other nations involve the Turks and the Greek-Cypriots.

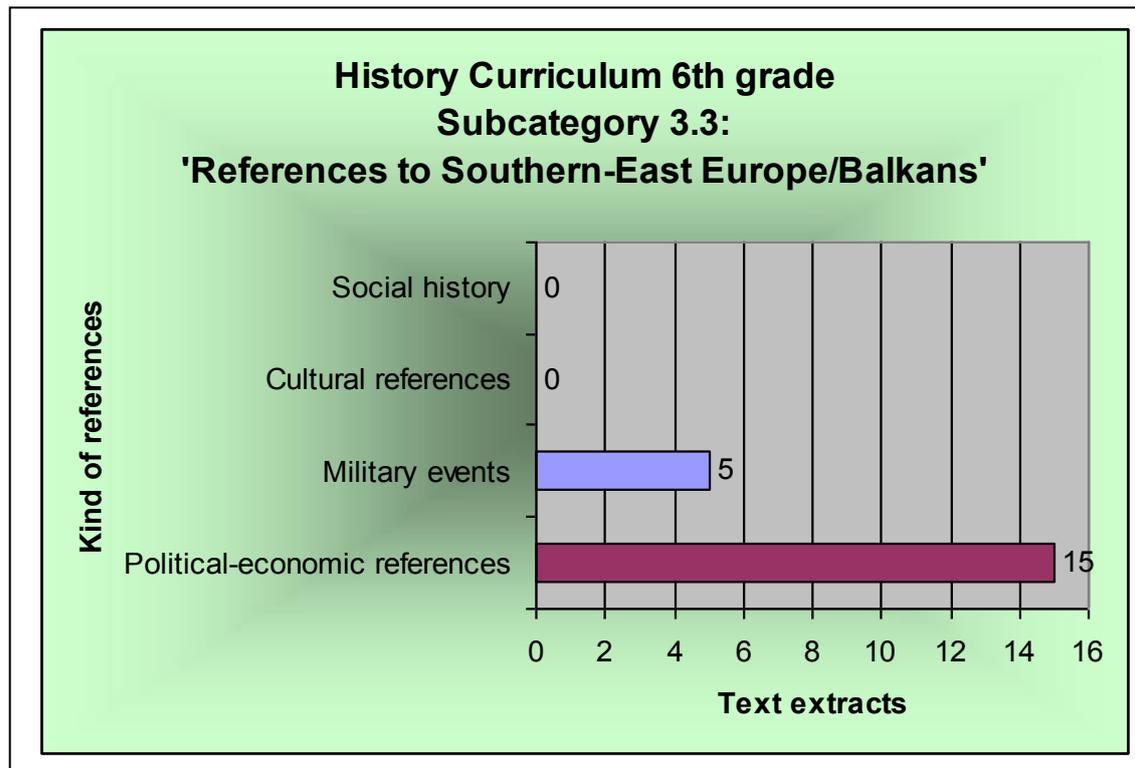


Table 11. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.3

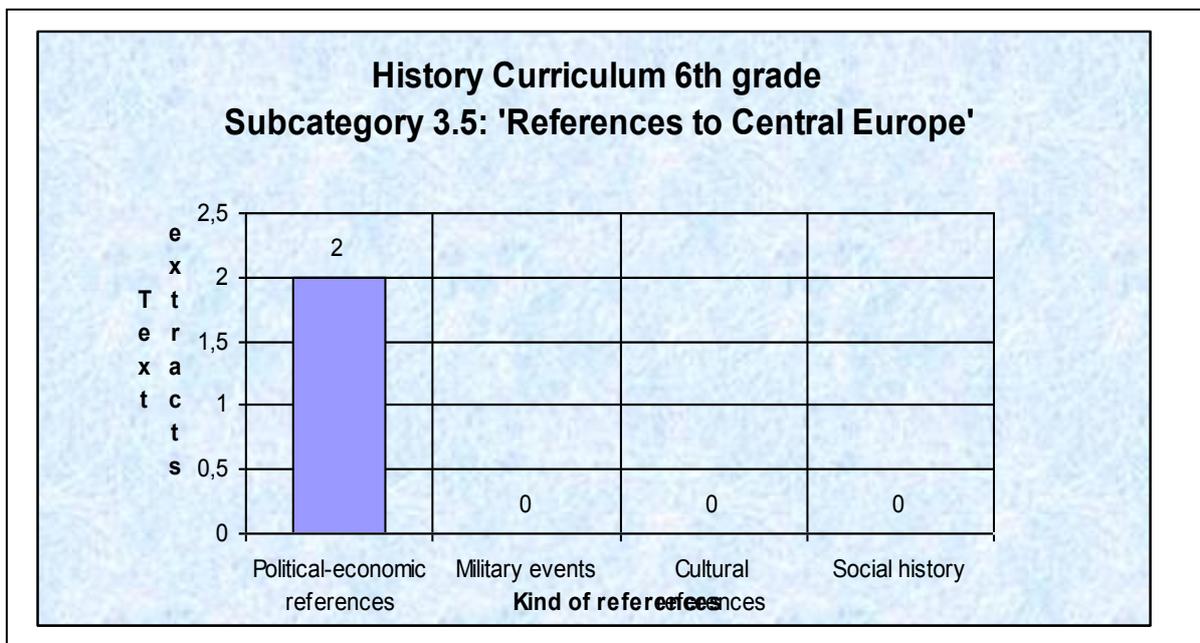


Table 12. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.5

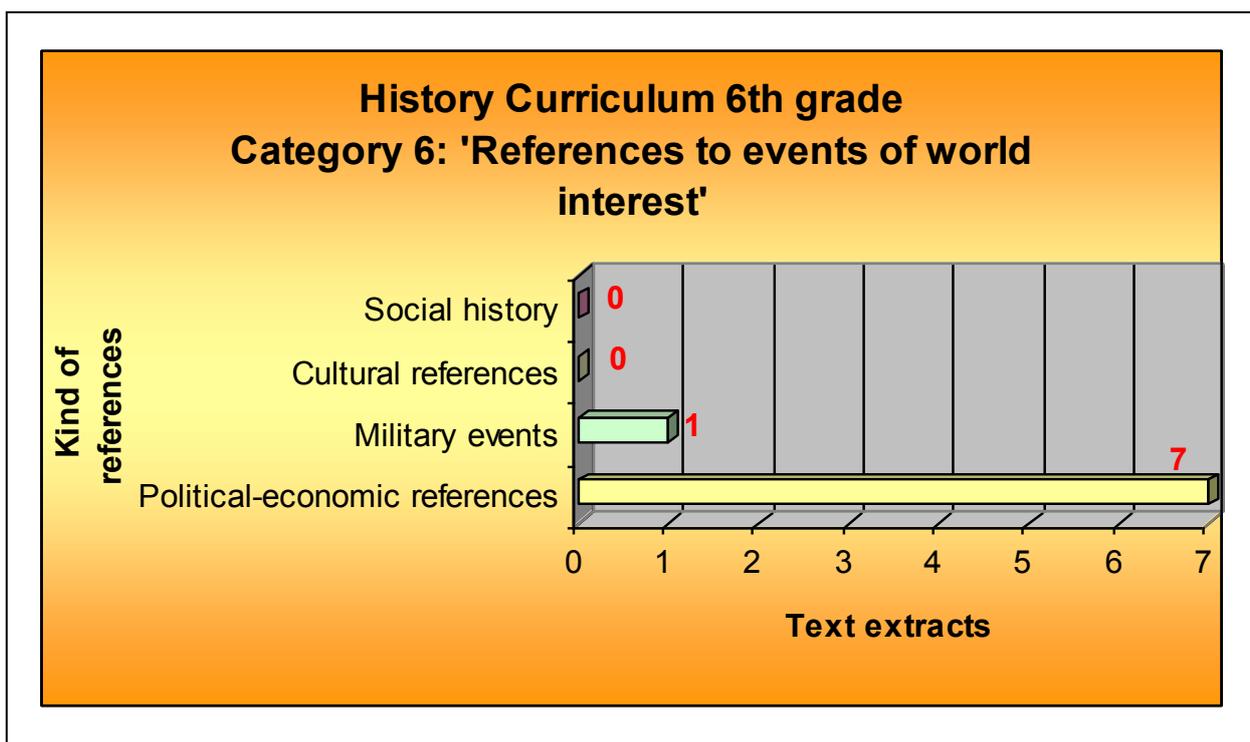


Table 13. Text extracts distribution in category 6

To sum up, the analysis of history curriculum of the 6th grade of primary school indicates that in the centre of history teaching at this grade is the study of the Greek nation and its struggles to gain its freedom and establish democracy. Additionally, the

history narratives are expanded and Europe is also included in history teaching; however, a specific part of Europe which is linked with the national struggles and narratives. World history is presented briefly by references to the two World Wars, while great emphasis is given to political and military history. In the case that cultural and social history is mentioned, it basically entails the Greek civilization and people.

2.8.2. The history curriculum of 3rd grade

Considering the constructed categories, the coders and the researcher classified the text extracts of the history curriculum of the 3rd grade of junior high school as table 14 illustrates.

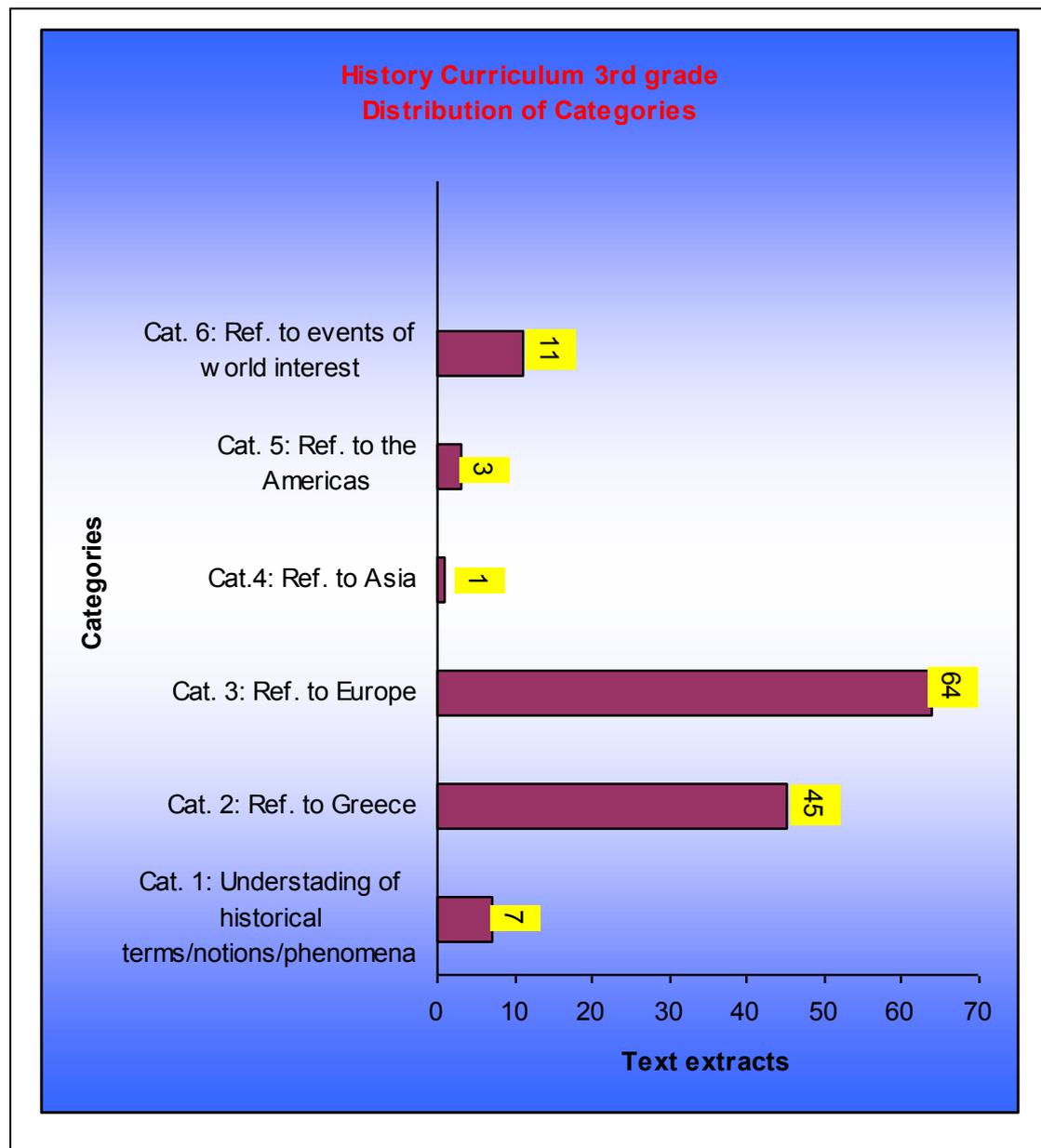


Table 14. Text extracts distribution of history curriculum of 3rd grade

Comparing with the history curriculum of 6th grade, the text extracts distribution of this particular curriculum demonstrates a different view. According to table 14, 64 out

of 131 text extracts (percentage 48, 85%) were classified to category 3: 'References to Europe' and 45 text extracts (34,35%) fell into category 2: 'References to Greece'. In other categories the distribution is: category 1: 'Understanding of historical terms/notions and phenomena' 7 text extracts (5, 34%), category 4: 'References to Asia' 1 text extracts (0,76%), category 5: 'References to the Americas' 3 text extracts (2,29%) and category 6: 'References to events of world interest' 11 text extracts (8,39%). From this distribution, it could be assumed that history teaching at this grade mostly pays special attention, on the one hand, to Europe and, on the other hand, to national history. In order to explain this 'double-edge' attention, the attempted study of the specific curriculum indicated that special attention to Europe was given aiming national history to be linked to and integrated into the expand geographical and historical context of Europe. For instance, in page 222 of the history curriculum (Pedagogical Institution 2003) one of the special objectives is:

'to integrate the Greek revolution into the expanded net of national and liberal movement of the 19th century'

and in page 225 it is found:

'to know the most significant attempts which took place from the 19th century and onwards for the realization of the idea of Europe's unification' and 'to appreciate the contribution to and participation of Greece in the procedure of the European unification'.

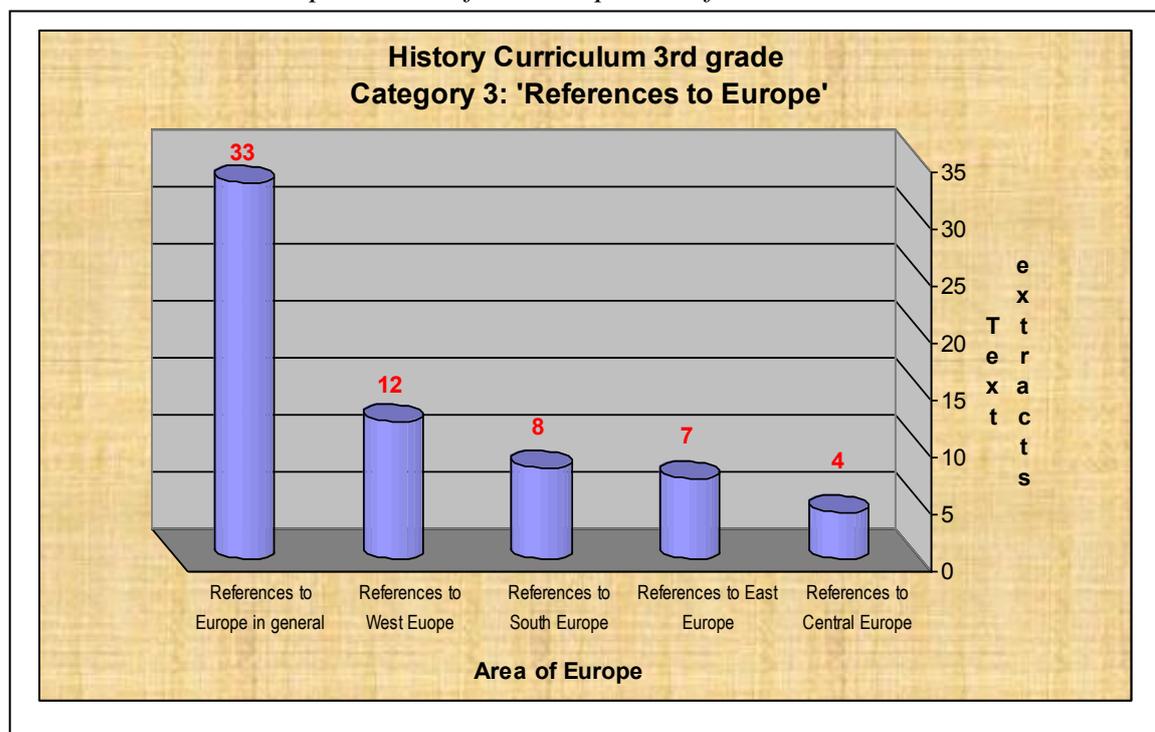


Table 14. Text extracts distribution in category 3

Apart from Europe, in contradiction with the history curriculum of 6th grade, there are some references to other continents such as the Americas (mostly North America) and Asia but considerably less than the ones to Europe (there are only three references to Asia and four to the Americas). The terms/notion and phenomena that are indicated to be understood by pupils and were classified in category 1 entail, except for political terms, intellectual terms and notions such as ‘Romanticism’, ‘Empiricism’, ‘Impressionism’ as well. As in case of history curriculum of the 6th grade, the events of world interest that are mentioned and fell into category 6 are related to the World Wars.

Examining category 3, to which the most text extracts were distributed, in order to identify whether a specific part of Europe is emphasized or whether Europe is presented as a whole is shown in the table 15. As shown in table 15, most text extracts were classified into subcategory 3.1: ‘References to Europe in general’ (33 out of 64 text extracts) and subcategory 3.2: ‘References to West Europe’, subcategory 3.3: ‘References to South Europe’ (12 text extracts), subcategory 3.4: ‘References to East Europe’ (7 text extracts) and finally subcategory 3.5: ‘References to Central Europe’ follow. By this distribution, it could be argued that no specific part of Europe is emphasized and Europe is mostly viewed generally; although there are more references to West Europe than for Central Europe.

In terms of the kind of history suggested to be taught, the analysis shows some differentiations from the history curriculum examined previously. More specifically, table 16 presents the text extracts distribution in category 2. According to the table, 69% (31) of the text extracts which were distributed in this category mention political and economic events and 11% (5 text extracts) refer to military events. Cultural references are 13% (6 text extracts) of the total text extracts classified in this category and 7% (3 text extracts) refer to social history.

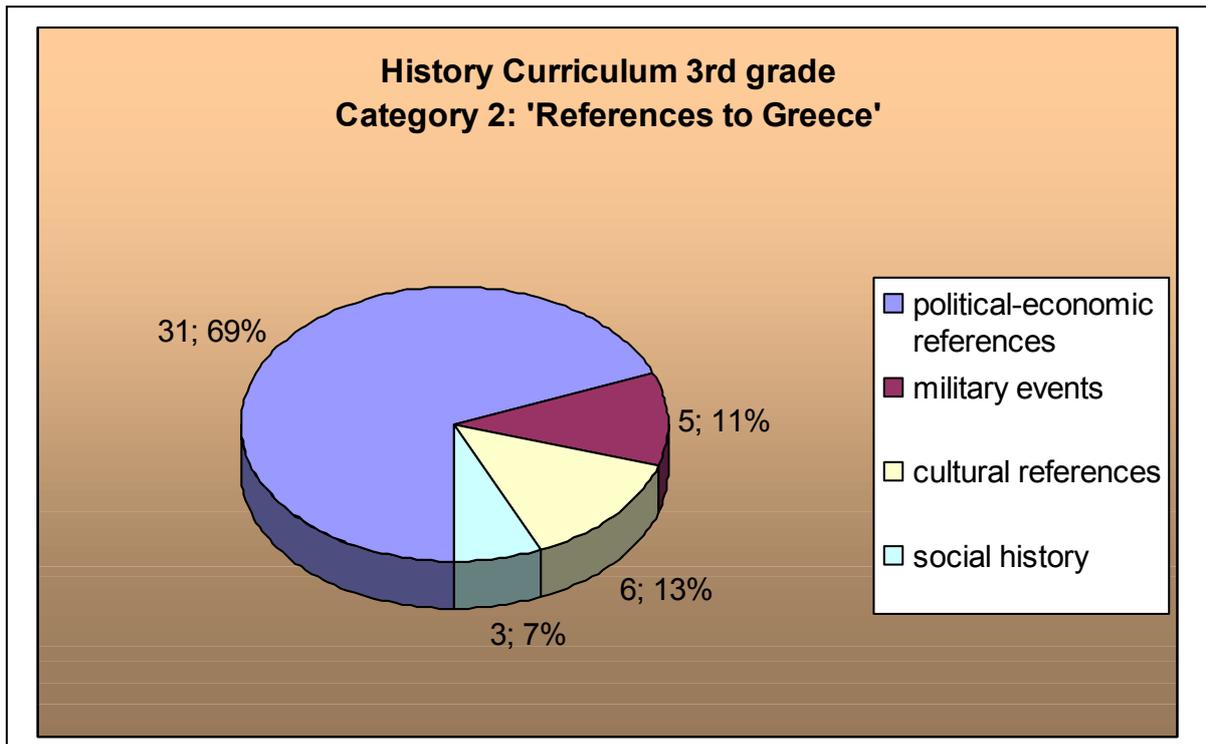


Table 15. Text extracts distribution in category 2

Thus, it is obvious that more emphasis is given to political history than to cultural and social history. Besides, the same statement was extracted by the analysis of the history curriculum of 6th grade. A slight differentiation is answered in other categories. As it is Chapter 2, in category 3: 'References to Europe' and its subcategories less or no emphasis is given to social and cultural history. However, the particular analysis leads to the statement that the particular curriculum pays more attention to cultural and social history in general. To be more specific, tables 17-21 depict the texts extract distribution to the subcategories of category 3 and demonstrate emphasis to these particular sorts of history. In table 17, although the majority of texts extracts (20 text extracts) which were classified in subcategory 3.1: 'References to Europe in general' falls into subcategory 3.1.1: 'Political-economic references', 7 and 4 text extracts were classified to subcategories 3.1.3: 'Cultural references' and 3.1.4: 'Social history' respectively while only 2 text extracts are included in subcategory 3.1.2: 'Military events'.

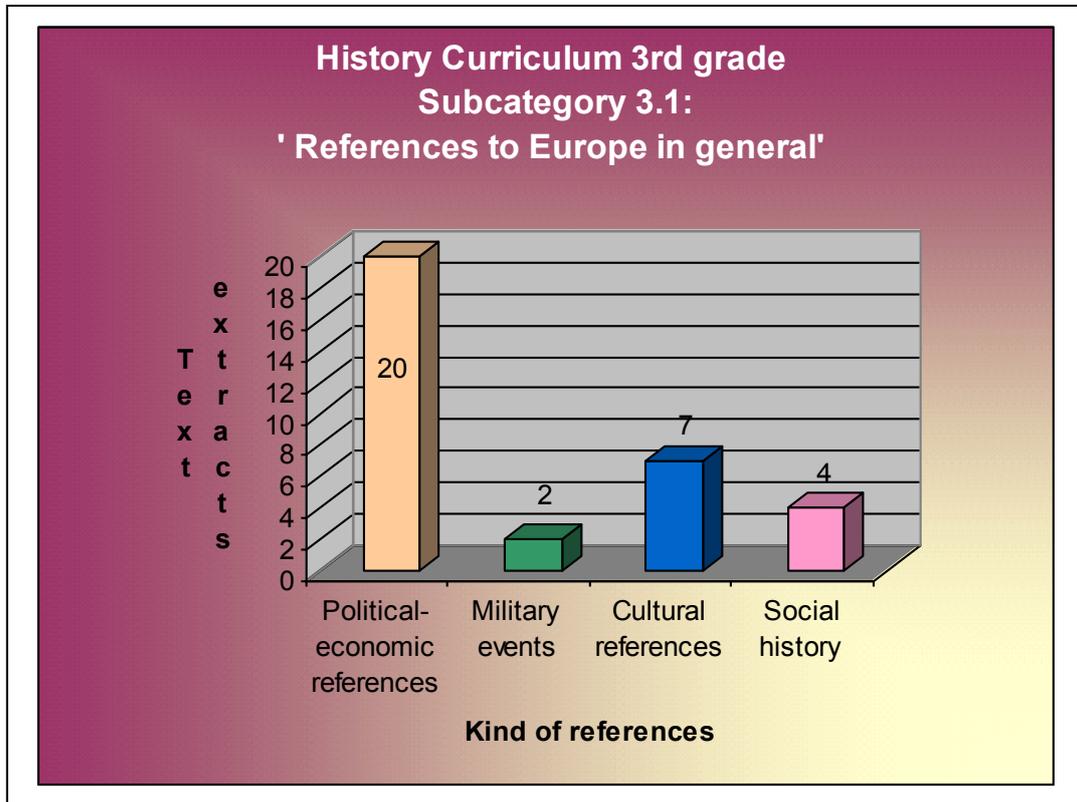


Table 17. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.1

Similarly, in subcategory 3.2: 'References to West Europe' 7 text extracts were classified in subcategory 3.2.1: 'Political-economic references' and none in subcategory 3.2.2: 'Military events', while 3 and 2 text extracts are in subcategory 3.2.3: 'Cultural references' and 3.2.4: 'Social history' respectively (table 18).

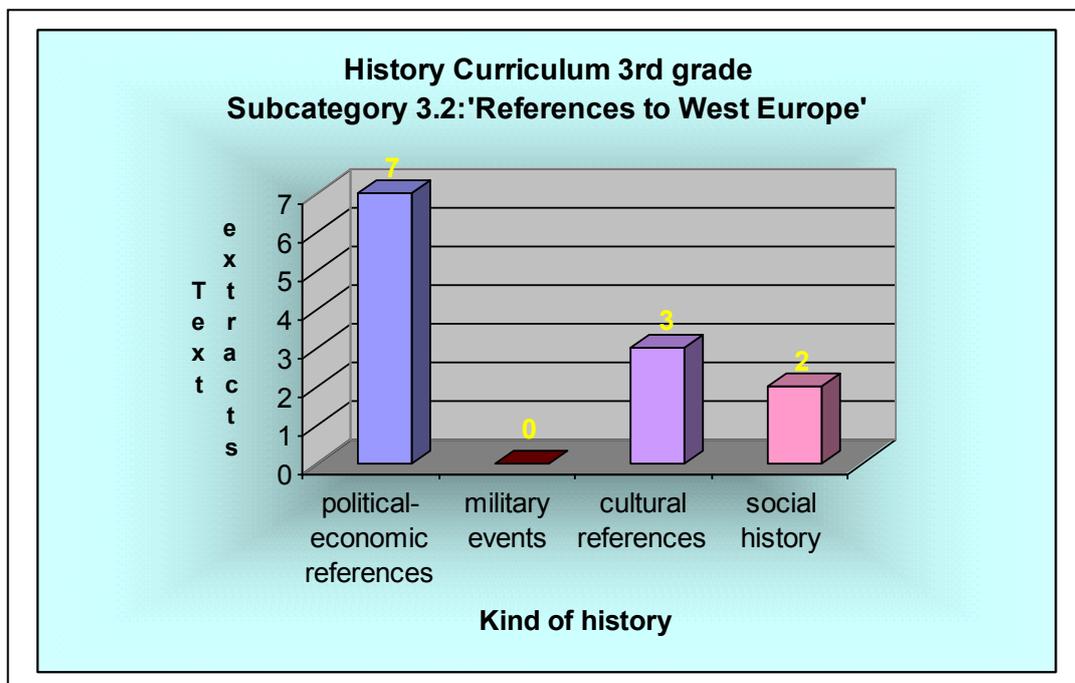


Table 16. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.2

One reference to social history of South Europe is also found in subcategory 3.3. Although, most of the text extracts of this subcategory is distributed in subcategory 3.3.1: 'Political-economic references' (Table 19).

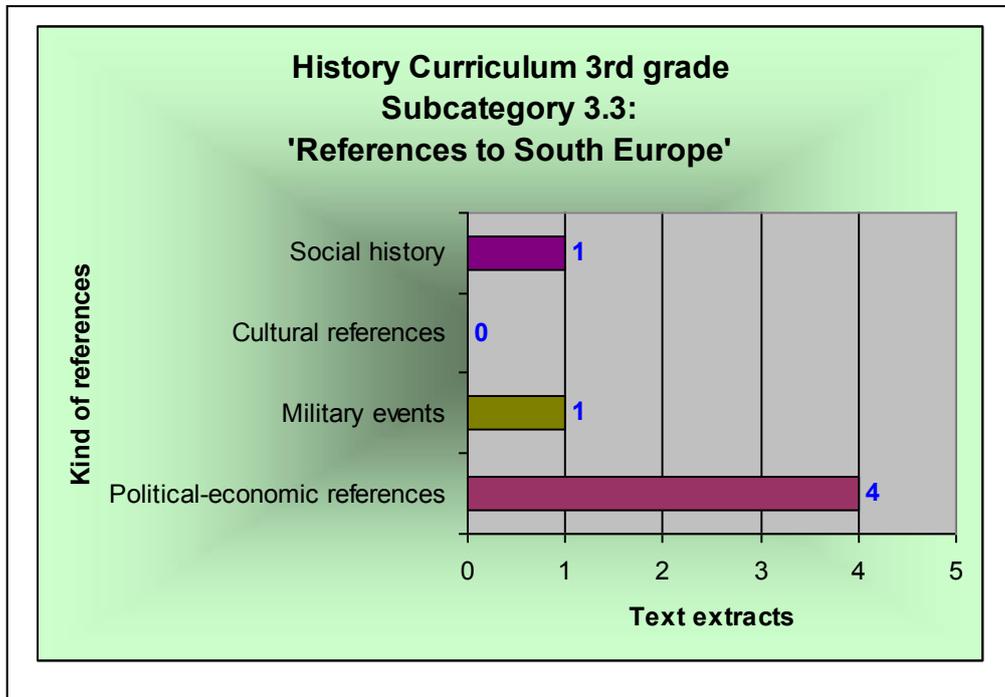


Table 19. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.3

In contrast, East and Central Europe are mentioned for the political-economic and military events that took place in these parts of Europe as table 20 and 21 illustrate.

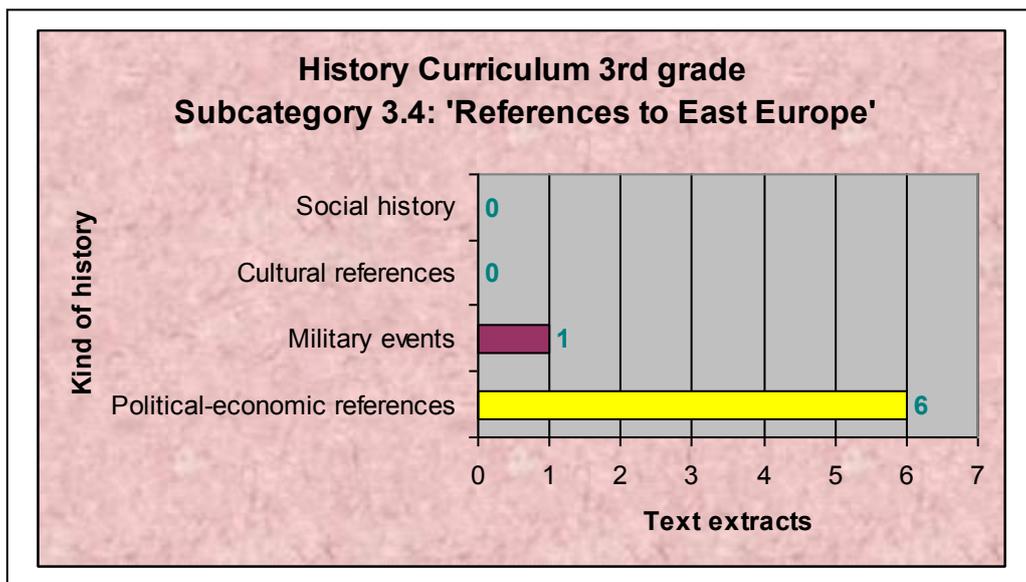


Table 20. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.4

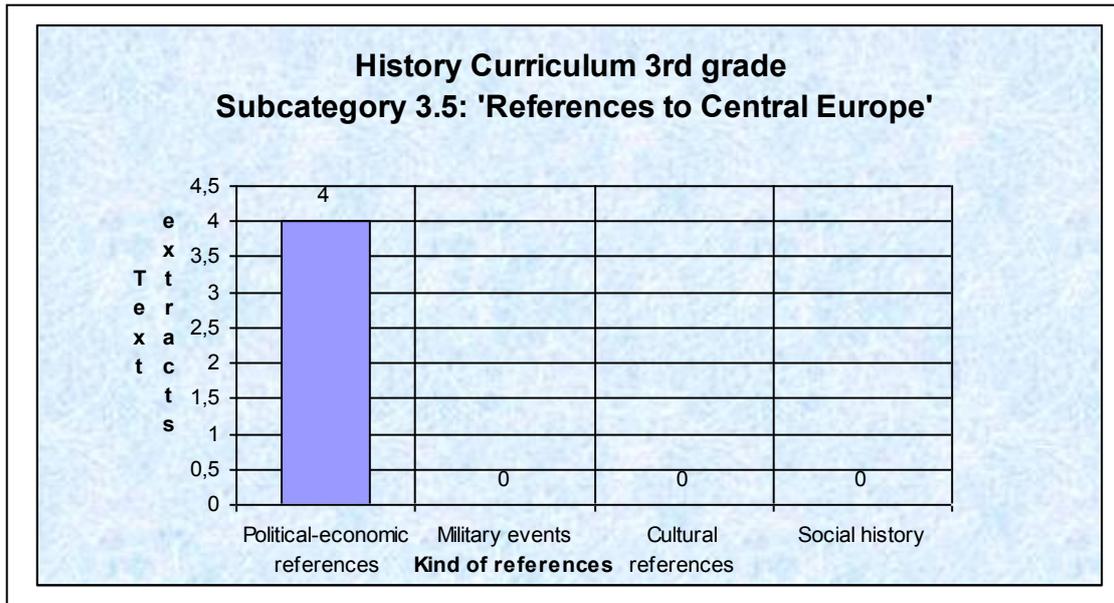


Table 21. Text extracts distribution in subcategory 3.5

The references to the Americas and Asia are political-economic/military (tables 22 and 23) and there is no mention to cultural and social history.

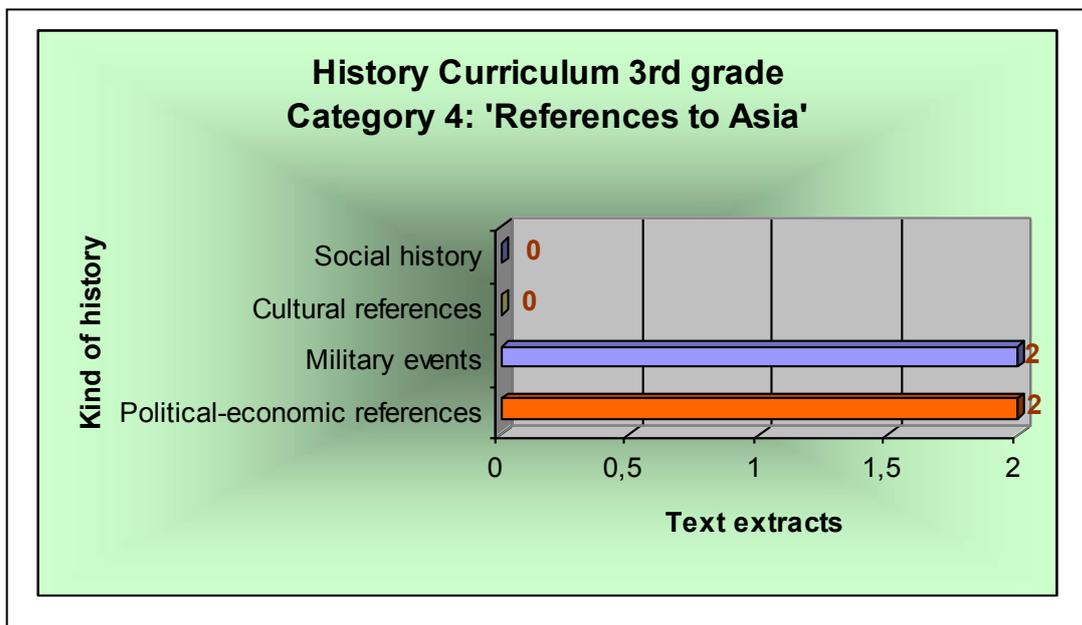


Table 22. Text extracts distribution in category 4

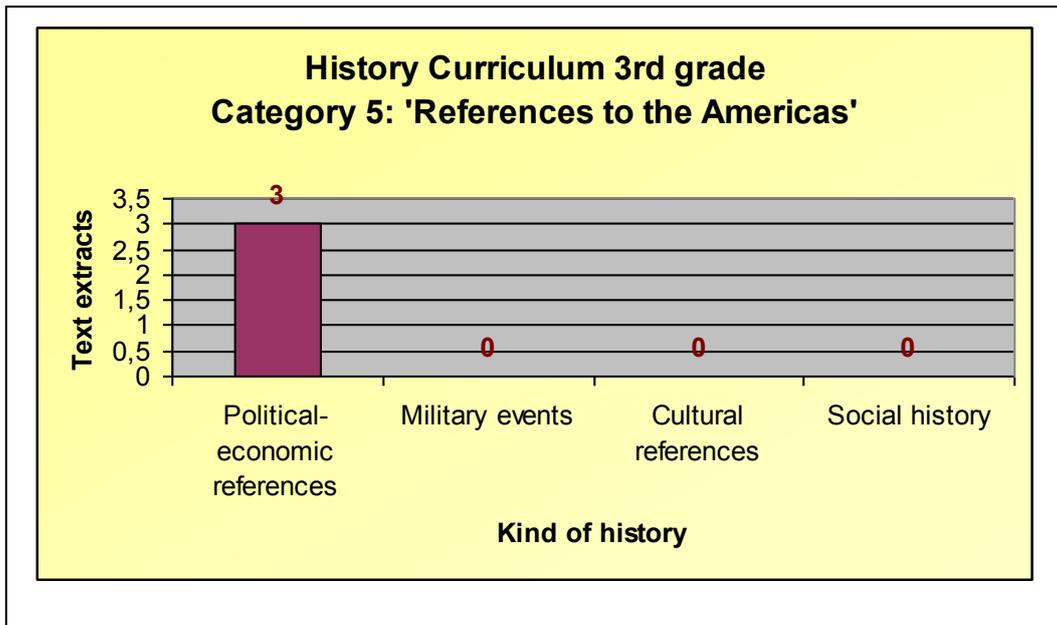


Table 23. Text extracts distribution in category 5

In the same path, since the events of world interest that are presented in this particular curriculum are the two World Wars, the references are political-economic and military (table 24).

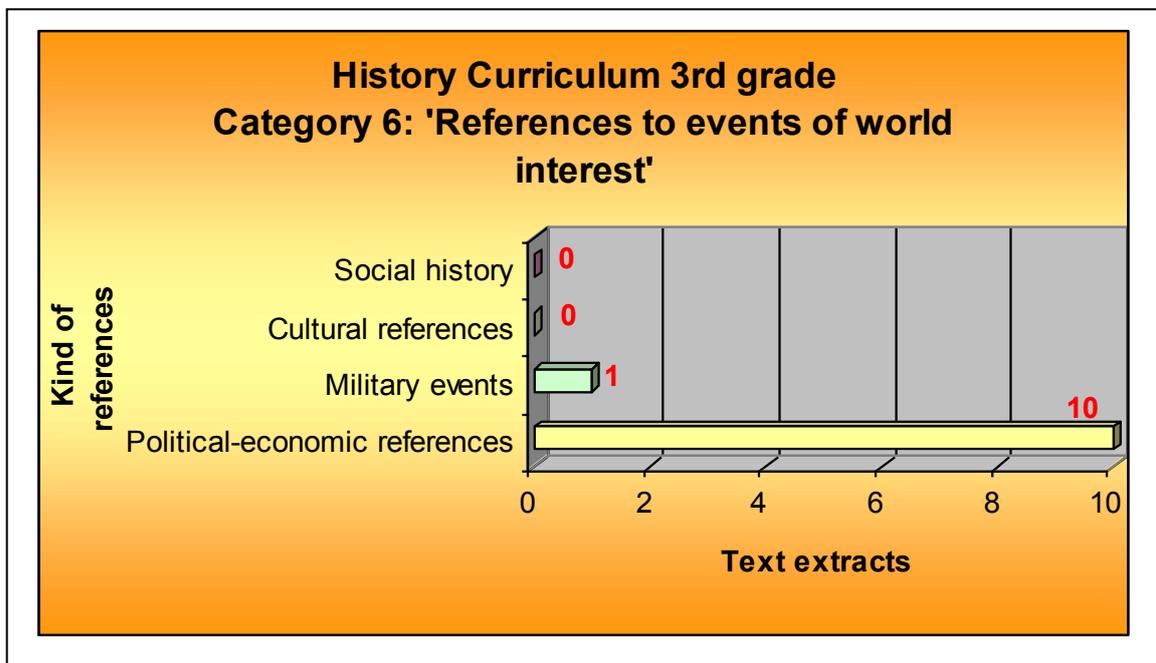


Table 24. Text extracts distribution in category 6

Since most references are about political and military events in general, no specific nations and/or ethnic group are discussed in particular. People are presented in an

‘indirect’ way meaning through mainly political events. For example, in page 221 of the history curriculum (Pedagogical Institution 2003) it is stated that history teaching aims for pupils ‘*to understand the circumstances of the American Revolution and the establishment of the U.S.A.*’. The American Revolution is a political event which was organized and attempted by ordinary people who are not discussed but presented through the political event. Similarly, there are references to other nations and people from the Balkans or who are German, Russian, Asian and French.

Finally, the analysis of the history curriculum of 3rd grade leads to the suggestion that it is more expanded in comparison with the history curriculum of 6th grade in terms of the world areas which are presented. It focuses on Europe in order to integrate with European history national history which continues to be an important part of history teaching. Although, history teaching entails mostly political/military aspects of historical events, emphasis is given to cultural and social history, but, only in relation to the nation and specific parts of Europe whereas other parts and continents are presented through a political view.

2.9. Contextual and critical review of the findings

As discussed previously, among the aims that are promoted in the C.C.T.F. are the development of greater understanding and appreciation of different cultures and the maintenance of social cohesion since social reality becomes multicultural. Taking into consideration the findings of the analysis of both curricula, it could be stated that history as school subject does not appear to promote greater understanding and appreciation as well as social cohesion. The focus of both curricula is on political and military events and less on cultural and social developments. In order for pupils to learn to appreciate other cultures/civilizations it presupposes pupils know and/or study about other cultures and civilizations. Additionally, as Ferro (2003:5) argues:

“Our image of other peoples, or ourselves for that matter, reflects the history we are taught as children. This History marks us for life. Its representation... embraces all our passing or permanent opinions, so that the traces of our first questioning, our first emotions, remain indelible”.

In the case of the primary school curriculum, only the dominant national culture is discussed and no mention of other cultures exists. So, the questions which arise are: how will pupils be aware of other cultures and be able to develop acknowledgement of them and how will the state avoid the possibility of imposing a one-dimensional cultural model when only the development of the dominant culture is discussed? Further, nowadays as the C.C.T.F states the Greek society rapidly transmutes into a multicultural society. Looking at the statistics of the Greek school population (table 25), more than 10% of the total of the Greek school population are foreigners and repatriated students and most of them attend compulsory education and particularly primary school. So, how could ‘*social cohesion be maintained by providing equal opportunities for all*’ and how could each individual ‘*learn how to live with others, respecting their language and culture*’ (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 10, 13) when an one-dimensional cultural model is promoted as the findings indicate? The only mention that is found to other cultures is included in the aims of revision lessons. Underlining the purpose revision lessons should serve, it is stated that student should learn ‘*to respect all people’s and all times civilization*’ (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 210). If this respect is to be learnt, only revision lessons can promote this aim? Moreover, to what extent can this respect be achieved by a small number of revision

lessons when ‘regular’ lessons in aggregate promote only knowledge of Greek civilization?

Table 25. Distribution of Foreigner and Repatriated Students in (Greek) Public Schools in school year 2008-09			
Level of education	Total of students	Number of Foreigner Students	Number of Repatriated Students
Kindergarten	128.319	15.447	1.122
Primary	568.797	58.332	5.212
Gymnasium	310.585	28.680	4.208
Lyceum	209.243	9.229	2.262
Vocational education	70.860	7.135	1.543
Total	1.287.804	118.823	14.347

Source: Ινστιτούτο Παιδείας Ομογενών και Διαπολιτισμικής Εκπαίδευσης (2009) [Institute of Greek expatriates’ education and of multicultural education ‘Statistical data on foreigner and repatriated students in public schools of Greece (during 2008-2009)’ available on [www. antigone.gr](http://www.antigone.gr)

On the other hand, the presented analysis of the particular curriculum leads to the conclusion that there is an effort for national identity to be preserved through the presentation of the Greek nation’s struggles to protest against other nations / ethnic groups which had imperialistic intentions for the country in order to gain their freedom. Thus, it seems that the notion of ‘other/significant other’ is perceived in the way Triantafyllidou (1998:600) defines the notion which:

‘ [...] refers to another nation or ethnic group that is territorially close to or indeed within, the national community and threatens, or rather is perceived to threaten, its ethnic and/or cultural purity and or its independence’.

The limited focus on South Europe as well as some objectives which promote patriotic feelings, such as *‘to know the limitations, oppressions and humiliation which the enslaved Greeks suffered [by the Ottoman yoke]’, ‘to appreciate the self-sacrifice of the [Greek] fighters’* (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 204, 205) advocate the assertion that the ‘other’ is seen in a territorial close context and who threatens the independence and purity of the nation. Looking deeper and trying to identify who is/are the (significant) ‘other(s)’, it is ascertained that more than the half of the objectives (83 out of 150 objectives) and consequently the teaching syllabus refers to

the Greek people's struggles to gain their freedom from the Turks, meaning that 'significant other' in effect means the Turks. However, the study of history textbooks that follows will more thoroughly specify which nations /ethnic groups are considered as significant.

The limited focus on a specific part of Europe appears to contribute to another discovery: European citizenship awareness does not seem to be assisted by this particular curriculum. Since Europe is presented through a small neighbour part (Balkans in particular), it could be said that the compilers of the curriculum, apart from the national identity, mostly aim to cultivate the idea that Greece belongs to the Balkans where it had played -still plays- an important role. In the few cases where Europe is presented, the references entail Europe in a political context in order for national narratives to be integrated.

Considering the findings of the history curriculum for junior high school analysis, the focus is more expanded and many parts of Europe are included. However, it does not appear that this particular curriculum provides an historical overview of human development and the past which fulfils the goals stated in the aims of the curriculum. The few references to other continents which mostly involve political events in conjunction with the restriction of the events of world interest to World Wars do not stimulate pupils

'to realize that the understanding of each society presupposes the study of all its aspects (political, economic, cultural, religious etc) and 'to form, through the study of particular civilizations and their contribution to the global civilization, a spirit of moderation, cohesion and respect for the 'different' (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 214)

The study of civilizations (when it is suggested) is limited to the continent of Europe while mostly political and economic aspects of societies that emerged in this continent are presented. Consequently, it could be argued that the nations and their people which are discussed are coming basically from Europe. Nevertheless, the discussion about these nations and their people seems to 'conceal' nations' and people's features behind political actions which appears to characterize the whole nation and people. To be more specific, in page 225, is found: *'to evaluate the circumstances of Soviet Union demolition'*. The term 'Soviet Union', as it is known, means a group of nations and their people but with different social, cultural and ordinary features which are not

presented; instead all these special features are integrated in political decisions of political personalities which, in some cases, do not reflect people's will. It appears that history teaching based on both curricula presents a 'top-bottom' history since political personalities and their endeavours are mainly discussed. A typical example of this kind of history can be found by the study of the objectives related to national history. In both curricula, there are specific objectives which propose the understanding of particular Greek politicians' and military policies such as '*to know the military plan of Kolokotronis (Greek fighter)*', '*to identify the significant work of Trikoupis (Greek politician)*', '*to know the efforts for modernization of Venizelos (Greek politician and diplomat)*' (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 206, 208, 223). In parallel, in terms of the 'gender' of history, it appears a 'masculinist' view to be provided. Studying both curricula, there is no mention of females' contribution to the historical course either of the country or of other continent; this fact is also supported by many war-centered references which are mostly men's matter.

Studying the whole history curriculum, it seems that it tries to locate history teaching in a model which could be called 'concentric circles'. More specifically, it is noticed that at primary level, school history has the national history in its centre which is surrounded by the expanded circle of the historical events which took place in South Europe. Going to the next level (junior high school), these circles are ringed by the historical developments of other parts of Europe and of other continents which in turn, are included in the circle of events of world interest, (especially World War I & II) although the latter are present at primary level as well. In other words, historical development is presented in a hierarchical order from the local to the global, from national to international.

An interesting issue that arises from this model/order is whether it is based on pupils' age and their competence to understand historical developments in a complex and expanded context. The order in which history teaching is structured seems to bring about the four stage children's intellectual development of Piaget's theory, especially if it is taken into consideration the way that history as a school subject is introduced to pupils from the first grade until the last grade of compulsory education (from *the understanding of specific notions as 'time', 'space' and 'change'* up to *the development of 'critical attitude' and 'research spirit' about the agents that form the*

historical events (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 184-186). In fact, Piaget's theory underpins and penetrates the foundations of C.C.T.F. as the following quotation indicates:

'At Primary School level (children aged 6-12) [...] where pupils, especially those in the first grades, perceive/understand the world around them mostly through their senses and are able to think logically, the main aim is that the pupils acquire knowledge on the basis of fundamental concepts and principles and develop a positive attitude towards life-long learning, cooperation and responsibility. To realize this aim the pupils' cognitive and learning abilities as well as their individual needs should be taken into consideration.

At Junior High school level (children aged 12-15), where young adolescents begin to develop abstract thought, the study of independent subjects is considered essential and is facilitated by the spiral development of subject matter' (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 19-20).

In that case, according to the cognitive theory of Piaget, on the one hand, students are thought to not possess any historical thinking when they enter school for the first time, but, recent research (e.g. Booth 1984, Seixas 1993, Carretero et al. 1994, Levstik & Barton 1996, Cooper 2002) indicate that *'even young children know something about the past, both about specific historical events and about patterns of change over time'* (Barton 2001:90). On the other hand, Piaget's developmental psychological theory is based on the natural sciences; and thus different to the discipline of history. Booth (1984:106-107), explaining how history as a discipline distinguishes from the natural sciences, argues:

'It can be claimed, therefore, that historical knowledge and the thinking it demands have certain distinct features; that it is concerned with the winnowing of evidence and the creation of a true, narrative account of events which have actually occurred. To assess this by means of an a priori framework evolved in the first instance from children's language and thinking when dealing with problems in the natural sciences where the evidence was "all in," would seem misguided'.

Taking into account the particularity of the discipline of history as well as the declared general aim of teaching history which is *'the development of historical thinking and historical awareness'* (Pedagogical Institution 2003:99), I think what is needed is that the history curriculum should be structured in the way children's thinking develops in terms of the discipline's particular knowledge form and special historical terms (Cooper 1999, Wineburg 2001).

Apart from Piaget's cognitive theory, C.C.T.F. is based on and integrates another cognitive theory in relation to educational objectives Bloom's taxonomy of cognitive domain could be easily detected in the general part of C.C.T.F.:

For methodological reasons these objectives, could be divided into three groups, despite difficulties in defining the scope of each group. These groups are i) cognitive, ii) affective and iii) psychokinetic.

i. Cognitive objectives refer to the acquisition of essential knowledge and the development of cognitive abilities that are necessary for information processing. [...]

ii. Affective objectives refer to the pupils' emotional development [...]

iii. Psycho-kinetic objectives mainly refer to the development of the pupils' practical skills [...] (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 23-24).

Examining the objectives of both curricula in order to identify whether the three categories are equally represented, it is found that most objectives are cognitive; the verbs that are mostly used when an objective is introduced can be categorised in the group of cognitive objectives (based on Bloom 1956). All the objectives are introduced by verbs such as 'know', 'understand' and 'appraise'. Also, the indicative activities which accompany each chapter were studied in order for more insights to be drawn related to this issue. The majority of these activities are based on recall and/or application of obtained knowledge. For example, '*pupils mark the Greek movements and underline the cities in which significant Greek communities were established*', '*design a map which demonstrates the technological achievements of war interval*' (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 206, 225). Thus, this finding leads to the suggestion that the orientation of the subject of history is thought to be the acquisition of essential knowledge while the other domains of pupils' abilities are neglected.

In the first part of the history curriculum it is stated that the general teaching aim of teaching history which is:

'the development of historical thinking and historical awareness. The development of historical thinking involves an understanding of historical events by examining their causes and effects. The development of historical awareness involves an understanding of human behaviour as it is expressed in specific situations and also adopting values and attitudes that account for the development of individual responsibility' (Pedagogical Institution 2003: 99).

This general aim seems to limit the subject of history in the context of causes and effects. According to the relevant literature (e.g. Holt 1990, Wineburg 2001, Seixas & Peck 2004, Yerxa 2008) 'historical thinking' does not only involve the

causality of historical events. It is a complex notion which entails many another aspects of approaching historical events. Historical thinking is also related to history as discipline and the tools and approaches historians employ in order to produce historical knowledge (Counsell 2000). Also, it involves the notions of 'interpretation' (Stearns 1998, Levstik & Barton 2001) and 'empathy' (Lee & Ashby 2001, Moun 2006) which are significant in the area of history and the variety of aspects under which sources, whether primary and secondary, can be analyzed (Dickinson et al. 1978, Tosh 2006). Additionally, since the basic aim of the C.C.T.F. is the growth of critical thinking in individuals, it is not explained or stated how historical thinking can be related to and promote critical thinking especially when historical thinking is only included in terms of causality.

In terms of teaching, several approaches are proposed. For primary school, two teaching approaches are suggested. The main approach is narration. The particular curriculum proposes teaching procedures could begin with narration which should be explicit and objective and be characterized by diversity and vividness. The study of sources constitutes the other suggested approach which is characterized as *alternative*. The use of this approach aims for pupils to be able to realize the significant characteristics of historical events, to describe and analyze these characteristics and to extract logical conclusions. In the history curriculum for junior high school the range of approaches is expanded. Dialogue as a teaching approach is firstly suggested in order that pupils to be activated and participate in learning procedure. Narration is again proposed to be applied, as the case may be, with the same features as described above. The study of sources is proposed as a means for deeper understanding of historical issues, development of critical thinking and familiarization with historical research. Additionally, projects on specific topics and an experiential approach of historical events through appropriate questions, drama exercises and theatre plays complete the list of proposed teaching approaches. At both levels, the active participation of pupils is strongly emphasized and there is a notice saying that the flow of 'ready' knowledge and memorization should be reduced so that they do not obstruct the active participation of pupils and the production of critical thinking (Pedagogical Institution 2003).

It is obvious that there is a differentiation from one school level to the other concerning teaching approaches. At the first level, teaching is based on narration which is not abandoned at the higher level but several other approaches enrich the way of teaching. Since the emphasis is on pupils' active participation, it is under question whether narration could stimulate pupils to participate actively and as well as to cultivate historical thinking given that the study of sources is optional. Also, according to the general part of C.C.T.F., pupils of young age discover the world by their senses. Would experiential learning be more appropriate for pupils of this age? Why is experiential learning judged and proposed only for older pupils? Are not pupils of the first level able to participate in dialogue and/or be involved in projects? If they are not, what makes them able to do this at higher grades? It is only a matter of maturity and if this is the case, which role are teachers and education in general called to play? How will pupils be introduced to historical thinking and awareness when they are supposed to listen to teachers lecturing historical events while research (Cooper 1995, Lee et al. 1996, von Borries 2000) indicates that pupils should be introduced to critical thinking from an early age? Additionally, the proposed approaches do not identify how sources will be selected and used in classroom. Will they be selected by teachers and in this case based on what criteria or they will be provided by textbooks? The study of textbooks may provide more insights into this issue.

Finally, the current curriculum in general and the history curriculum in particular appear to keep some significant elements and differ in some points compared with the history curricula compiled in previous centuries. Firstly, the aim of history teaching has been re-orientated. Nationalist elements such as national pride and feelings are not stressed to the extent that was apparent in previous curricula. The cultivation of historical thinking and awareness constitute the main orientation of school history. This re-orientation had already partly appeared in the second half of 20th century and it seems that it is completely adopted in the current curriculum, even, in a limited context as discussed above.

'Nation' continues to constitute the main notion on which, together with the notions of 'origin' and 'time', school history is based. Therefore, national history constitutes to be the main focus for primary school and a significant domain for

secondary school. In terms of the other nations, the focus of school history appears to be gradually expanded from the Balkans further into Europe similarly in this and earlier curricula. This expansion, however, is not answered in relation to World history. World history remains in the references to World Wars which are mentioned in order that national history is integrated in a more expanded historical context. Thus, the main view that was given to pupils remains in the same path: the world pupils live in has as a core Greece which is located in the Balkans and Europe. Greek civilization/nation is derived naturally, was unaffected by previous civilization and contributed the most to the formation of European civilization. Other continents and their people are seldom presented and an overview of the world and its development is only partly conveyed.

The traditional model of history teaching continues to be espoused to some extent since historical events are examined in chronological order, a 'top-bottom' presentation of history is suggested, and the emphasis is on political/military actions which took place in every historical period. Nevertheless, there is an attempt to achieve a balance between national and European history, especially in the junior high school curriculum and for the social dimension of history to be discussed. A variety of teaching approaches are suggested in the current curriculum especially for secondary level education and special attention is paid to the study of source even though there are no specific indications about their 'nature' and the way of studying them.

The history curriculum in general does not appear to be a 'closed' one. There is an effort for history as a school subject to be related with other subjects and integrated in a cross-thematic context. The structure of the curriculum is not restricted to a list of contents, there are suggestions for further activities and projects and the expanded methodological guidelines support this effort.

Briefly, according to my view, the current history curriculum is a compromise between the traditional and the 'new' model of history teaching. It tries to adopt some general elements of the model of history teaching proposed by 'new' history but these features are linked, assimilated with, and, in sense, are 'subjugated' to the traditional characteristics of school history. So, the current curriculum, despite

the rather inchoate declarations of C.C.T.F., continues with the aims introduced by the history curricula of the 20th century's last decades.

The way that these features and characteristics are conveyed in history textbooks (and in other ways), to pupils is worth further consideration. Also, it is interesting to investigate which, and to what extent, the elements of both tendencies of these characteristics influence pupils' perceptions about school history, as well as history teachers' ideas about the purposes this school subject serves and their views about 'the proper way' of teaching it.

Chapter 3: Studying the history textbooks

3.1. Introduction

As stated previously, a general aim of this thesis is to identify the ‘nature’ of school history in the Greek context. Having studied and discussed the history curriculum, this chapter is focused on the analysis of history textbooks since *‘textbooks are the dominant definition of the curriculum in schools’* (Crawford 2001:324).

Textbooks constitute a creation of modern times. The expanded use of paper in conjunction with the discovery of typography contributed to the mass production of books. Consequently, education and schooling was effected by the availability and the low cost of books. A new period for the history of education and for teachers’ and pupils’ role in general was initiated by the use of printed books (Verduin-Muller 1989).

The history textbook was integrated into the historical course of the textbook in general. History textbook use varies from time of time, from one to another educational context. As Nicholls (2006: 10) writes:

‘In some places textbooks define the history curriculum, in others they are used as one source among several others. In some situations their function may be central, in others extremely marginal. In some contexts textbook may have no function at all.’

In the Greek educational context, the (history) textbook- especially from the 20th century until nowadays- was used expansively, continuously and with the aim to specify, imply and broaden the basic principles embedded in the (history) curriculum (Βέικος 2005). For many decades, the history textbook was the only educational material used by teachers and pupils in classroom and out of it. Thus, the study/analysis of history textbooks used in Greek compulsory education will draw meaningful insights about the way the history curriculum’s main objectives are conveyed in history textbooks and how national identity and the image of the ‘other’ are cultivated in them.

Taking into consideration that *'textbook developers have two media available for communicating information: word and pictures or illustrations'* (Levin 1981: 52), this chapter touches upon both means. Also, textbooks are not 'neutral' constructions. They are *social* constructions which include and exclude a series of expectations of interested parties which are involved in the debate about what constitutes legitimate curriculum knowledge (Anyon 1979) and are *'published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources and power'* (Apple 1993:46). Thus, before focusing on the current history textbooks themselves that are used in history classes, a historical review of the Greek policies about textbooks of previous centuries and a description of how these policies affected the production and the context of history textbooks is thought necessary. The objective of this review is not to examine thoroughly the history textbooks edited in previous centuries but to identify, on the path of Bernstein's thought, *'how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge'* which *'reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control'* (Bernstein 1971:47). Next, the focus is on current history textbooks and the political and social context in which they are edited. After the presentation of the structure of history textbooks, the textual materials (text-narrative and written sources) which are included in the history textbooks for the 6th grade of primary and the 3rd grade of junior high school are separately examined and discussed. What follows is the examination of visual materials that support texts and constitute a significant part of history textbooks. Both investigations try to depict the role, form and use of history textbook in relation to the image of national self and the 'other'.

3.2 A historical review of policies about (history) textbooks

3.2.1 ‘The policy of ‘antagonism’’ (1830-1882)

The construction of the Greek educational system in 1830 brought about the issue of teaching materials and particularly the books that should be used in the new established schools. The Royal Decree of 1836 (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1836 cited in Αντωνίου 1987: 87-90), declares that the books used in secondary schools must be ‘*absolutely uniform*’ and their content and quality will be directly defined by a textbook approval committee which will be set up for this reason. The implementation of this decree had as a result the establishment of the ‘Royal Printing Office’. Its mission was to print all textbooks needed for schools after the proposals of the specific committee. Schools were obliged to use exclusively the state publications of textbooks since they were checked and did not include ‘*hurtful opinions about religion, the state and the moral and spiritual human development and education*’ (Αντωνίου 1987: 88).

However, the ‘Royal Printing Office’ was abolished two years later due to publishing trade unions protest because their economic interests were threatened but the textbooks approval committees- one for each level of education- remained. The committee’s competence was to read, check and approve books that were intended to take the place of textbooks in schools, edit a list of the approved books and forward it to the Ministry of Education. In the beginning of each school year, the Ministry of Education, in its turn, forwarded this list to the schools in order for teachers to choose which textbook was more appropriate for their subject. Thus, a policy of ‘antagonism’ was introduced in the area of textbooks production; publishers and authors entered in a competition over whose book was going to be approved.

This legislation had the result that textbook production became ‘*a fruitful field of economic activities*’ (Καψάλης & Χαραλάμπους 2008: 14). A net of economic interests was constructed around textbook publishing. On the one hand, the textbooks approval committees were in favour of particular publishers and authors (Εφημερίδα των συζητήσεων της Βουλής 1867) and in some cases, the members of the committees wrote textbooks which were preferred (Σκιαδάς 1981). On the other hand, teachers did not choose their books from the list of approved schoolbooks. Given their

poor economic and social status at that time, they preferred the books that their publishers and/or authors promised to them an economic profit, instead (Πουργιώτακης 1992). This problem became a big issue. Many groups- even outside the publishing arena- pointed out the problem and it was discussed in Parliament, where despite the fact that the Minister of Education acknowledged the problem, he defended the state control over textbooks (Πρακτικά των συνεδριάσεων της Βουλής 1855:7).

In the years between 1834 until 1882, history textbooks developed in parallel with the general context of textbook production. At this time, history textbooks that were used were translations of history books edited out of the country by non-Greek authors. Also, copies of foreign books' extracts were used. The reasons for the introduction of this kind of translation were: the classical philosophy and the admiration of ancient Greek civilization penetrated European society at the time, leading to good textbooks about Greece being produced elsewhere, which fulfilled the orientation of the Greek educational policy and the influence on Greek education from European educational systems (see Chapter 2) (Μάππα 1982). Concerning the structure and the way historical knowledge were presented in these books, a 'question-answer' structure was adopted. The display of the syllabus was based on questions which were stated firstly and were followed by well defined answers. This model of book construction was very common in Europe in the 18th century (Oelkers 2008) and was mimetically entered into the Greek education.

3.2.2: 'Regulative state interventionism' policy (1882-1917)

Nevertheless, while each European country and Greece, as well, tried to define history in each national context during the last decades of 19th century, the history book translations were thought of as inappropriate for the Greek educational system. After 1880, the translations were rejected by the committees because they did not serve the national educational system. The problems were detected on the 'frigidity' and the 'inapprehensible' nature of the language and the over representation of the chapters involving European countries' history rather than national history (Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 280, 139). Additionally, at that time, the development of the periodisation of historical time in the Greek context and the integration of Byzantine

times as an organic part of national history (see Chapter 2) constituted another agent which promoted the abandonment of the translations.

In 1882, a Law (Νόμος ΑΜΒ' 1882) was passed by parliament. This law introduced in the arena of textbook production four parameters: a) a competition for textbook authorship would take place every four years, b) one single book would be introduced for each subject and would remain in the schools for four years, c) the single book would be approved by committees specialized in a set of subjects (liberal arts, sciences and ethical studies) and d) the committees should edit a rationalized report of its choice of book and define the price of each textbook. This law introduced a new policy in the area: the 'regulative state interventionism' policy, where the state set the standards and defined what was going to be published and introduced in schools (Χαραλάμπους 1992). This particular law was in force until 1895. However, this policy had been objected to by the professionals of the book market and opposing political parties. Both argued that the single book policy forces pupils to think in the way the author of a book thinks while there are many other ways of thinking. Also, they added that every four year proclamation of textbook authorship competition was a very long time period and would be a source of anachronistic knowledge; authors would not be willing to follow the development of each scientific area (Υπόμνημα 1894).

In this particular competition suggested by this legislation, the editing of history textbooks was referred to secondary schools while no suggestions were included in them for the primary schools. The role of history textbooks was substituted by primer books which were the only books taught at primary schools. According to the standards that were set for textbook authorship, the themes included in primer books were mostly historical (e.g. at 3rd grade of primary school Homer's 'Odyssey' and the history of Greece until the Ottoman occupation and at 4th grade selections from Herodotus and narrations from the Greek War of Independence). So, it is clear that significant emphasis was paid on the construction of national identity of young people of that time since the textbooks, with which young people learnt to read and write, had in their core '*sentiments of devoutness, patriotism and affection*' (Προκήρυξη 1882 cited in Βενθύλος 1884: 104). These textbooks were structured on a thematic presentation of historical events which, although they were presented in a

chronological order, did not relate to each other and their specific time context was not specified. The historical events which were included in primer books were displayed through ‘*a theatrical perception of the historical evolution*’ (Κουλούρη 1988: 58). History was compared to drama and had several elements in common: the scene, the geographical place that a historical event took place, the characters of the theatre play, the hero(es) and the brave man/men who were involved in this event, and the transcript, the heroes’ speeches and phrases that have marked national history.

In the proclamation in question, a similar orientation was adopted concerning secondary schools. The proclamation highlighted that the emphasis should be placed on national history, especially, after the official adoption of Papanigopoulos’ historical view on the uninterrupted existence of the Greek nation (see Chapter 2). As a result, the appearance of aspects of European history gradually faded. In the proclamation of 1882, is found the following suggestion which details what should be included in secondary school history: ‘*History of the Greek nation [...]segmentally associated with few significant events of the foreigner nations, especially those which had relation with the Greek [nation]*’ (Βενθύλος 1884: 110). The main idea which penetrated those textbooks resulted from the influence of romantic historiography: the individual was the sole determining agent of historical evolution (Green & Troup 1999). Thus, historical knowledge was conveyed through ‘eminent men’s’ biographies. National heroes were presented as ideal models of behaviour and ways of living so that pupils should imitate them. So, history teaching was arranged around significant historical personalities.

The ‘regulative state interventionism’ policy became more intensive by a law (Νόμος ΓΣΑ’/1907) which was compiled in 1907. In this law, the main features of the previous law remained. A new insertion which empowered the state control over textbook production was that the state would buy up the copyright from the authors of approved textbooks and proceeded to auction for the publishing of the books. In this way, the state participated with a percentage in the economic-commercial utilization of textbooks. Also, primer books remained the only used textbooks for primary education. This particular law was in force until 1917.

In terms of history textbooks, the standards that were set did not affect the orientation and the content that prevailed in the previous legislation. Primer books continued to include ‘*independent historical narrations from the national history*’ (Πρόγραμμα της ποσότητας και οικονομίας της ύλης των αναγνωστικών βιβλίων 1907: 54). For secondary schools, the content of history textbooks was focused on national history. The range of historical time extended from antiquity to the current days.

Regarding the structure and the lay-out of history textbooks, it could be said that 19th century (history) textbooks presented almost only long texts (alphabetic ratio) which were accompanied by few illustrations. Those illustrations portrayed stereotypical features aiming to educate pupils in the atmosphere of classicism (Ασωνίτης 2002).

3.2.3 Continual reversing of the previous policies (1917-1935)

The time period 1917-1935 was characterized by the continual reversing of the policies of the previous governments, the policy of ‘antagonism’ and ‘regulative state interventionism’. The interchange occurred due to a change in orientation of the political parties that took power and the ‘battle’ over the official language of the state.

This policy of ‘antagonism’ was adopted by the liberal party as a basic element of the liberal ideology supported by the liberal party. During the years that the liberal party controlled the country (1917-1920, 1922-1924, 1928-1933), the official policy supported the use of ‘everyday language’ called ‘*dimotiki*’ (Modern Greek Language) which was spoken by the inhabitants of the country instead of ‘*katharevousa*’ (‘purist’ Greek language) which had many elements of the ancient Greek language and was an intermediate link with the Modern Greek language. The policy of antagonism was convenient for this political party because it was thought very close to the liberal ideas and the lack of textbooks and books written in ‘*dimotiki*’ (Δήμος & Καποθανάση 2002).

The regulations about school textbook production adopted by this party (Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1917, Νόμος 827, Νόμος 1332), stated that only primer books should be used at the first four grades of primary school and the use of ‘supportive’ books is possible to the other two grades, the primer books of the first three grades should be

written in 'dimotiki', the 'Educational Committee' could indicate only general guidelines and not specify precise details for the authorship of textbooks. Also, it was highlighted that a textbook had to be approved by the 'Educational Committee'. The textbook was examined if it insulted religion, homeland, civilization and morals and was in parallel with particular disciplines' conclusions. Finally, a textbook could be submitted for approval whenever during the year and an unlimited number of books could be approved.

Based on this legislation, history textbooks were included in 'supportive' books. This kind of book was for teachers' use in order to help them to enrich their knowledge. The 'supportive' books were written in accordance with the curriculum which was in force at that time. For secondary schools, there was an attempt for school history to be focused on the present and modern Greece. But the interest for textbooks for secondary education was shown almost at the end of the period that the liberal party ruled the country, so not many books were published which reflected that 'new' orientation.

However, it is interesting to see how the textbooks which were aligned with the 'new' orientation were accepted. The history textbook that was written in 1923 by the authors Theodoridis & Lazarou is an example of this kind of textbook. The book reflected the new orientation since many elements of social history were embedded in it. It was used until 1932 and after this year, it was not in use until 1937. In this year, the dictatorship of Metaxas re-introduced it in schools but the book was stripped of unpleasant elements which promoted or 'were related to communist propaganda' including the emphasis on social history. In 1940 it was re-printed and adjusted while in 1972, it 'was again cleaned' by the dictatorship of the military. After the dictatorship, the book was amended and written in 'dimotiki' and was used until 1982 but as Πελώνη (2007:6) wrote '*what finally remained from Theodoridis' book was...his signature*'. This history textbook constitutes an indicative example of how history textbooks are manipulated by each political regime to serve their ideas and how school history is used a tool by the political system in order to impose and enforce ideologies (Κακαρούμπας 2008).

In the interval that the liberal party lost the elections, conservative parties (1920-1922) and the dictatorship of Πάγκαλος (Pagalos) (1925-1927) ruled the country. Both governments tried to re-force in the arena of textbook production, the ‘regulative state interventionism’ policy. Thus, ‘katharevousa’ was introduced again as the official language of textbooks, only one textbook was approved for each grade and subject, and textbooks that were published before 1917 were again used at schools. For the textbooks that had been written in ‘dimotiki’, the committee that was formed in order to examine the appropriateness of them decided those textbooks ‘*to be burnt*’ (Προτάσεις «της Επιτροπείας προς εξέτασιν της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας των δημοτικών σχολείων» cited in Δημαράς 1986: 130-131). This period was characterized not by the policy that would be adopted about textbook publishing but by the language in which textbooks should be written (Φραγκουδάκη 2001).

3.2.4 ‘Policy of state monopoly and single textbook’ (1935-1997)

From 1935 to the present, a new policy has been introduced in the area of textbooks. The textbook became a state matter, meaning that the state had the monopoly on textbooks. In 1937, the ‘School Textbooks Publishing Organisation’ (STPO) was established by the Law (Αναγκαστικός Νόμος 952). According to this Law, this organisation was responsible for the publishing and distribution of textbooks and books in general used in each educational level of education, even at university level. The Ministry of Education was responsible for the publishing of the textbook authorship proclamation which would include all the necessary details related to each textbook. Textbooks were approved by the ‘Upper Council of Education’ in which representatives of the state participated. After the approval, the STPO would buy up the copyright from the authors and publish and distribute the textbooks. By this policy, it is clear that the state intended to practice a centralized policy and have complete control of textbooks.

It should be mentioned that this particular law was compiled by the dictatorship of Metaxas (1935-1940). The dictatorship ‘*had all the external and internal characteristics of Nazism and Fascism*’ (Καλαντζής 2002:60). The establishment of this particular organization was not done in order to reduce the unfortunate

consequences of the uncontrolled textbook market but as Καψάλης & Χαραλάμπους (2008:118) argue, the main reason that the dictatorship chose that policy is:

‘the imperative need of creation of a mechanism that will control school in a political-ideological way and the Greek society in expansion, after the emergence of communism and its uncontrollable activity’.

Focusing on history textbooks, the STPO reprinted previously used textbooks after making all the appropriate amendments and alterations in order them to serve the regime and its propaganda. Thus, the dictatorship and its regime were glorified as well as its attempts to ‘save’ the country from the great danger of communism. The slogan adopted by the dictatorship was: ‘Homeland-Religion-Family’. Metaxas’ ideas about the national identity were: *‘I want [pupils] to live as Christian Greeks’* and to respond *‘to the national traditions, to the family’s ideals of our race and to the religions beliefs and tenets’* (Μεταξά Ι. (χ.χ.) ‘Λόγοι’ cited in Καγκαλίδου 1999: 51). The particular triptych penetrated particularly history textbooks which also stressed the significant contribution of the armed forces to the country’s well being. For this reason the political system of ancient Sparta which was based on the rule of arms was emphasized and particular attention was paid to it instead of the democratic regime of ancient Athens (Καλαντζής 2002). This law and policy was in force until 1964.

In 1963, the STPO was renamed as Didactic Books Publishing Organization’ (DBPO) by the Legislative Decree 4320 (Νομοθετικό Διάταγμα 4320). The particular Decree, apart from the new name, defined that the DBPO would be the only state body responsible for the proclamation about the authorship of school textbooks and their judgement and publishing. One year later, the compiled Law 4379 (1964) (cited in Μπουζάκης 2002a: 147-172) legislated that all school textbooks should be written in ‘dimotiki’ for all grades of both levels of education, as well as, the ‘free’ character of education meaning that education would be provided with no money spent by pupils and their families. Also, regarding textbook authorship, it introduced ‘commission’ meaning that textbook authorship could be assigned to well known educators for their contribution to their discipline, scientists or teachers. However, it did not abolish the option of competition; textbooks could be written using one or the other way. Concerning the way that textbooks would be judged as appropriate or not, the Law introduced the foundation of another state body called ‘Pedagogical Institution’; its pertinence was to judge and approve textbooks. Both the Legislative Decree 4320 and

the Law 4379 were part of the educational reform that centrist government of that time tried to imply in order to discard the conservative policy of the right-wing parties that previously controlled the country.

Regarding history textbooks, at that time, a ‘history war’ broke out about a specific history textbook. In 1964-1965, a history textbook was written by Kalokairinos in accordance with the specific curriculum and textbook authorship guidelines and was distributed to the 2nd grade of junior high schools. The particular textbook caused an enormous debate. On 9th October 1965, an article in the newspaper ‘Απογευματινή’ written by the journalist Konstantopoulos focused on this particular textbook. Its author declared that Greek history was falsified by this history textbook because a) in its title the word ‘Byzantine’ was omitted and the word ‘Medieval’ took its place b) it was inaccurate and c) it falsified the historical truth and created wrong impressions for pupils. All the newspapers which supported the right-wing party followed the main criticism of the particular article during the next ten days.

The particular textbook, as Giotoπούλου Σισιλιάνου, who was responsible for it as a member of Pedagogical Institution at that time, states that:

‘By perspicacious manipulation of the economy of material, despite the vast historical period to be covered, it [the book] managed to give proper and adequate information about financial, social and religious matters, although it was a textbook focused purely on political history. The collation of summaries, extracts of sources and texts of subsequent writers, aimed to derive the way by which each particular period was shown in different times and to cause debate and discussion in class’ (Γιωτοπούλου-Σισιλιάνου 2007).

In fact, the textbook had all these characteristics and was an innovation in the area of Greek textbooks. This acknowledgement was made by the committee the Minister of Education formed in order to judge to what extent the textbook was appropriate or not: *‘[...] this textbook constitutes progress in comparison with the old (textbooks)(Εφημερίδα ‘Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ’ 1965).*

However, the committee criticized the book because: a) it disputed the continuity of the Greek nation, b) it undermined national identity c) it had a Marxist background d) it went against the Orthodox Church e) it was selective in the sources that were

included in it f) it included maps of Balkan peninsula which were dangerous for the nation and g) it supported the Slavs (Εφημερίδα ‘Ελευθεροτυπία’ 2007).

Finally, the textbook was withdrawn by the Minister of Education after the strong debate which it caused. In the period of the dictatorship that followed the particular books as all the others that was published in this period was pulped (Δημαράς 1986). It was again introduced to schools after the establishment of democracy in the country in 1980. In 1981, it was again withdrawn, although many amendments were made to it. In 2002, the book appears again at schools but with even more alterations and amendments. It was finally replaced by a new book that accompanied the compilation of the new history curriculum. As, will be shown, this book was not the only book that caused a ‘history war’. However it could be said that it was the first history book that gave cause for thought about the role of history in society (Κιτρομηλίδης & Σκλαβενίτης 2004).

The military dictatorship that followed (1967-1974) compiled a new law (Αναγκαστικός Νόμος 129/1967) about education which affected textbooks as well. According to the Law, the Pedagogical Institution was abrogated and its place was taken by the ‘Consultative Education Committee’, a body which was responsible for textbooks. Textbooks were distributed to pupils and students for free and textbook authorship would take place after competition or commission introduced by the ‘new’ committee. As has been noted above, all previous textbooks were pulped, history textbooks included. New textbooks were published, especially history textbooks. These textbooks, as in case of the previous dictatorship, were used in order to promote the regime’s propagandistic aims. The emblem of dictatorship (a regenerative phoenix) which was embedded in all textbooks published by DBPO constituted an example of this strategy. History textbooks of that time included special references to the advantages of the regime and the important role of military government in the ‘rescue’ of the nation. The slogan that was adopted by the regime and penetrated all textbooks was: ‘Hellas of Christian Greeks’, indicating the nationalistic and ethnocentric aspects of the dictatorship’s policy with special focus on the religion which united the Greeks.

A year later, it was decided ‘supportive’ textbooks should be edited and distributed at 3rd and 4th grade of primary school (until that time they were only used at the last two grades of primary schools) (Διδασκαλικόν Βήμα 1970). By this decision a state monopoly policy was established absolutely and the private sector of textbook publishing was excluded; only the state had control of textbooks.

After the establishment of democracy (1975), the governments that took control of the country regardless of their political orientation (conservative or socialist) preserved the policy of absolute state monopoly of textbooks. This policy was ‘convenient’ due to their political will to enforce the idea of democracy as well as to renew the educational context (Μαυροσκούφης 1997). In 1975 the Consultative Educational Committee was replaced by the ‘Centre of Educational Studies and In-service Training’ (CESIT) which took over all the responsibilities of the previous body (Νόμος 186 /1975). The replacement of textbooks was urgent because they had ‘[...] *substantial failings so significant so that, from a pedagogical and didactical view, became unacceptable or/and dangerous*’ (Εφημερίδα ‘Το Βήμα’ 1974). The basic features of textbooks that were to be changed were the language (they were written in ‘katharevousa’), propagandistic elements from the previous regime and the social models that were reflected in textbooks which were thought superannuated (Βουγιούκας 1977). So, special committees were set up in order for textbooks to be replaced gradually. Textbook authorship was made by commission due to the urgency of the endeavour according to the Law 4379/1964 (cited in Μπουζάκης 2002a: 147-172). Regarding history textbooks, textbooks that have been published and used before the dictatorship were used (such as Kalokairinos’ history textbooks) with the appropriate amendments (such as Theodoridis & Lazarou’s history textbook). New history textbooks were written and introduced gradually.

In the next ten years (until 1985), the policy of state monopoly and sole textbooks did not seem to be a matter for both parties which had power (‘PASOK’ and ‘New Democracy’). The Pedagogical Institution was again established and CESIT was negated in 1985. The modernization of textbooks was the focus of the governments of that time as a result of the governmental attempts that the country (and its educational system as well) be modernized, especially after its accession to the European Union

(1981) (Κυπριανού 2004). Also, the renewal of textbooks was dictated by scientific, psychological, pedagogical-didactic and social-economic reasons and the age of the existing textbooks (ΥΠΕΠΘ 1998). Thus, there was an attempt for history textbooks to be renewed in regards to their context and lay-out, and the pedagogical principles on which they were based. At that period the notion of ‘(didactic) textbook’ was expanded and new materials like documentary films, audio and visual materials were included in the format of the textbook which ‘*were necessary for the support of teaching staff to its teaching mission*’ (Νόμος 1566/1985 cited in Μπουζάκης 2002: 608-630). On the same path, books especially for teachers were written at that period in order to support teachers. Improvements in textbook illustrations and aesthetics were also made at that period (Ασωνίτης 2002). The DBPO continued to be the only state body which edited, published and distributed textbooks.

As stated previously, in the first years after the fall of the dictatorship, textbooks that had been used previously were restored in education. In the next years, CESIT and next the Pedagogical Institution, using mostly the method of ‘commission’ promoted the authorship of history textbooks. Many history textbooks were edited for compulsory education. Each author of these textbooks tried to throw light on different aspects of history despite the same guidelines provided by the particular curriculum and CESIT/Pedagogical Institution. (Καραγεώργου-Κούρτζη 2004). Some of them were criticised negatively and were withdrawn. For instance, Kremmidas’ history textbook was criticised for its ideological context¹, for being ‘anti-historical’ because only a small part of the book was dedicated to Greek history and was ‘anti-pedagogical’ because of its methodology and language (Μηταφίδης 2002). In 1985, the history textbook of Stavrinou with the title ‘History of the human race’ was criticised, mostly for atheism, and caused intensive protestations by the Church (Πελώνη 2007). Regarding the structure, the form and the context of history textbooks, these were enriched by different kind of illustrations, primary and secondary sources were added as well as maps, diagrams and tables. There was an attempt for history textbooks, as well as textbooks in general, to be modernized and to

¹ The criticism was that it was against the left-wing policy (see for example, Παλληκάρης, Ε. (1984) ‘Μάθημα ανακρίβειας και διαστρέβλωσης [Lesson of inaccuracy and distortion]’ *Εφημερίδα ‘Ριζοσπάστης’*, 3 Οκτωβρίου 1984).

be similar to the textbooks of other European countries (Καψάλης & Χαραλάμπους 2008).

In the period that followed (1997-2007), apart from the state, another agent was involved in the area of textbooks: the European Union. As the textbooks which are next presented and analyzed were products of this time, this period is examined separately and follows.

Considering the structure and appearance of textbooks in this century, (history) textbooks seem to try gradually to find a balance between the alphabet and icon ratio. Text progressively was reduced and its 'lost' place was taken by illustration, graphic elements and visual materials in general. However, the study of history textbook illustrations of the second half of the 20th century (Παληκίδης 2007, 2009) indicates that illustration was used in order to enforce the national consciousness and moral sense of pupils. In terms of the content of the text, apart from the (official) narratives that constituted the main body of each page, the use of (primary or secondary) sources was expanded as well as attention paid to a 'follow-up' part (usually at the end of each unit) which included revision questions and issues for discussion.

By the review that has been attempted so far, some meaningful conclusions can be drawn. The examination of textbook policies adopted by different political parties and systems since the establishment of the state identified that textbooks had a significant and unique place and were called to play an important role in Greek education. During the centuries that have been examined, the policies about textbook production did not vary considerably. The basic element that is common in all reviewed textbooks policies is state control over textbooks; the state had 'the first and the last word' in the issue of textbooks and education in general. This element constitutes an indicative example of what Apple and Christian-Smith had written (1991:2), however for the USA context: *'[...] education and power are terms of an indissoluble couple'*.

Through state control, school textbooks were called to be a multi-dimensional vehicle and served several purposes. More precisely, textbooks constituted a powerful political tool in the hands of each governmental system in order to diffuse and apply particular political and social ideologies to Greek society. Consequently, the school

textbook became the dominant means by which ‘authentic, true and uncompromising’ knowledge should be taught. They represented what Williams (1991), many years before, called ‘selective tradition’ meaning that from the huge amount of available knowledge and views the school curriculum and its textbooks is manufactured to include only values and principles considered to be significant by powerful groups.

Thus, as well as a support for teaching, it became something more. It constituted the core of teaching. Teachers and pupils and, in a sense, the whole teaching procedure were mainly aligned with textbooks, which set precisely what should be taught, when and how. In this way, the school textbook secured homogeneity in the Greek educational environments, but, it was used not only to provide knowledge and to contribute to pupils’ intellectual development but to influence moral aspects of pupils’ behaviour as well. So, in a way, the textbook was used to form the next generations, both intellectual and ethical.

The multi-dimensional role that the state wanted the textbook to play can easily be detected in history textbooks. Firstly, the state and each political power tried to manipulate the subject of history and consequently its textbooks and keep it in their asphyxiating control. As has been discussed, every time the political system and/or political orientation of the country changed, history textbooks were in focus in terms of appropriate amendments, changes or replacements in order to serve particular political ideas. Thus, school history, its textbooks and history education in general became an arena of different political ideologies as well as a tool in order that these controversial ideologies be served and expressed.

Additionally, through state control, the well-defined guidelines about the authorship of the history textbooks and the use of one textbook meant that history textbooks became the only authorised means which could be used in history classes. This was because they included and conveyed the ‘true’ knowledge about the (national) past. This kind of knowledge was based on chronological order of event-based narratives that promoted the continuity of the nation and feelings of patriotism. Simply, textbooks provided to students the belief that ‘*history is facts to be learned*’ (Loewen 1995: 23). In cases that other approaches were applied and presented, history textbooks of this kind were withdrawn or ‘suffered’ considerable alterations. History

textbooks that tried to employ a different approach to national narratives and past were thought to be a threat to the nation, its continuity, its pureness and its significance. For these reasons, these history textbooks caused substantial debates and history wars and brought up the issue of the role of school history and history in general in the Greek society.

Also, the policy of the sole textbook, which dominated the Greek education from the beginning of the 20th century, imposed a single view of historical events; the one defined by official guidelines and circulars. Thus, the authors of textbooks should adopt the official view and align their writing with it. Also, the buying up of the textbook copyright by the state seems to indicate that the whole writing attempt belonged to the state and not to the author(s). So, the state would be able to adjust it according to its will and priorities as it happened in cases of re-introducing the same history textbooks in different time periods. The commission of textbook authorship to particular authors by each government contributed also to this direction - a practice that was used very often especially in the second half of 20th century. On the other hand, the single textbook policy served another significant state objective: homogeneity. The particular policy did not seem to take into consideration differentiations in pupils' and teachers' backgrounds and competences and educational environments. It tried to convey dominant (elitist) ideas about society, culture and the world in general so as to form a common denominator in the formation of pupils' consciousness, regardless of the specific characteristics of each individual and/or social group (Μαυρογιώργος 1990).

The common element in all these attempts to define and re-define history textbooks was the emphasis on national consciousness and the construction of national identity, even in different ideological and time contexts. The relevant research developed in the field of the Greek textbooks after 1980 (Koulouri & Venturas 1994) indicates that history textbooks were very ethnocentric and promoted feelings of patriotism and national pride (e.g. Άχλης 1983, Xochellis & Toloudis 1998) in accordance with what has been stated for the history curricula which were examined in the previous chapter. In terms of the image of 'other' and 'us',

‘[...]the main foundation stones of the Greek national identity in the school textbooks discourse are set the categories ‘continuity, conservation, homogeneity, protest and superiority’ (Αβδελά 1997:55)

Also, they place *‘Western European culture above all others in the world’* while

‘the official Greek discourse offers to young generations proofs of their equality to the allegedly superior Europeans, based on the importance which Greek antiquity had in shaping the European civilization’ (Dragonas et al. 2005: 181,182).

Considering the structure, the content and the design of history textbooks, a gradual development can be observed in them which followed the evolution in textbooks in general. The initial history textbooks into which solely narrative texts are embedded were progressively replaced with textbooks which included more illustrations and graphic elements which, in their turn, were renovated by adding primary sources of any kind as well as indicative questions and issues for further discussion. This evolution in area of history textbooks and textbooks in general reflected the development that took place in the area of textbooks in general and was based on educational and psychological theories and technical advances which influenced the area (Choppin 1990).

In the early years of the 21st century, the whole Greek educational system -and consequently textbooks- are in the process of reform and innovation. In what follows, whether the policy of textbooks has been changed and in which points is going to be examined and how and to what extent did these alterations influence history textbooks.

3.3. The current history textbooks

3.3.1. The political context of their production

In the time period 1997-2007, the textbook area, apart from the influence of the state, was affected by the European Union as well. Both governments (PASOK and New Democracy) which ruled the country at that time agreed upon the issue of textbook renewal. The main reason for this renewal was their age.

The Greek Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical Institution in 1997 decided the task of textbook renewal would be embedded in and funded by the European Cofinanced Development Programmes. This decision had a number of consequences in the field of textbook authorship and production and altered the scene.

More specifically, the European Directive 92/50/EEC was embedded in national legislation in 1998 (Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 346/1998) and it aligned Greek legislation with European policy. This adjustment meant that the Greek government and its official bodies should follow the procedures entailed in the specific directive in order that the whole project would be funded by the European Union. Consequently, according to the European Directive, the practice of commission in textbook authorship which was used for over 40 years (Εξαρχάκος 2000) should be abandoned and its place should be taken by a competition of European range. Also, the state² should adjust its policy about the way textbooks were edited since until that time DBPO was in cooperation with printing offices that had been chosen by unspecified criteria and procedures.

On the other hand, the declaration of competition in the area of textbook publishing presupposed that legal entities and individuals as well as associations and cartels which were active in the field could enter into the competition (ΥΠΕΠΘ 2003). The declaration opened the field of textbooks to the private sector that had been excluded

² It should be mentioned that the state refused to be aligned with the European Directive with the excuse of 'emergency'. This caused a series of conflicts between Greece and the European Union and Greece was found a step away from the European Court (Καλλιέργης 2004, Μαγουλάς 2005)

from it for many years (since 1934) and moreover due to the letter of credit that was needed in order for someone to take part in the competition.

Additionally, the project of textbook renewal did not include the replacement of single books but the massive replacement of all textbooks used in primary and secondary education. Also, this project introduced a new dimension to 'textbook'. The notion of textbook was conceived more broadly and included, as well as the traditional pupils' book, separate exercise books, teacher's book and audiovisual materials (like educational CDs, maps, dictionaries etc.). The expansion of educational materials for classroom use and the massive production of them in conjunction with the time deadline set by the European Union worked against the real educational needs of the country since *'the 'nightmare' of the absorption of European funds became an end in itself'* (Καψάλης & Χαραλάμπους 2008:163).

The 'new' orientation in textbook policy had as a result another 'new' phenomenon related to the way textbooks would be submitted in order to be approved by the Pedagogical Institution. For the first time the Pedagogical Institution did not ask for a whole book to be submitted in order to be examined for its appropriateness but asked for a sample of writing. In contradiction with what happened until that time authors should present no more than 30 pages of the book. The Pedagogical Institution's intention was that as many individuals as possible should be involved in the competition. Also, the sample of writing gave more opportunities to private printing offices to participate in this competition with more than one sample of writing.

The project was carried out in a short time considering the number of textbooks which were written, printed and distributed³. The quality of some books did not meet the needs of textbooks' recipients due to the lack of a mechanism related to control or auditing (Τύπας 2005). In compulsory education, 125 new textbooks were written in 16 months, the maximum time available and entered schools in the school year 2006-2007 without a pilot scheme. Regarding history textbooks, 7 new textbooks were compiled which included a pupil's book, teacher's book, exercise book (for several grades) and audiovisual materials.

³ In total, the time period 1997-2007, almost 1150 new textbooks were written and introduced in all levels of education included vocational education. (ΥΠΕΠΘ/ ΠΙ 2000, 2004, 2007)

These particular textbooks are now in use. As stated before, the study focuses on the history textbooks of the 6th grade of primary and the 3rd grade of junior high school. However, one of the two history textbooks which are going to be examined is included in the 'new' generation of textbooks edited by the policy described above. The other one is a history textbook which was written in 1989 and re-entered in schools in 2007. This happened because, although a new history textbook was written, another history war broke out about this textbook which led to the new textbook's withdrawal and the re-entrance of the old one.

Next, the conflict that was caused over this history textbook will be briefly discussed because, I think, some meaningful conclusions can be drawn about history education and history in general in the Greek society in our days.

3.3.2. The ‘battle’ over the history textbook of the 6th grade

The new history textbook which was approved after the call of interest made by the Pedagogical Institution (2003) was written by a team of educators under the guidance of Repousi⁴. The new history textbook, as it was declared by the authors, had some innovative features. Basically, the textbooks introduced new methodological approaches in the procedure of history teaching. More specifically,

‘at the level of content, the main innovations were [...]the absence of national myths and stereotyped images [...] the introduction of new historical subjects such as the history of childhood, the history of everyday life or women’s history. An attempt was also made to introduce matters of European and world history as well as multiperspectivity in key moments of history. At the level of methods, the textbook supported a laboratory-style active learning environment with diverse historical sources in which pupils had to learn history by doing history (Repousi 2009: 58).

The book entered in schools in September 2006. However, the first reaction against it came from an article published on the web⁵ by a primary school teacher/ theologian in May 2006. The article attacked the history textbook and their authors, arguing that they suppressed the massacres, crimes, looting, humiliation, violent Islamization and levy the Greek nation suffered at the hands of the Turks. The authors were also accused of limiting the focus on military and political events, which involved the conspicuous self-sacrifice and heroism of the fighters of the Greek War of Independence and the relative references as well as the references to glorious battles were very limited. Additionally, the author of the article found it very strange that there should be a chapter dedicated to the civil conflicts which were seen as meaningless events and which might serve to undermine national cohesion and also underlined that liberating wars and genocides were completely absent in the textbook. Quoting Kundera, the article concluded that the nation is going to be annihilated (Νατσιός 2006). On this particular website, similar articles focusing on the same accusations were published in the next months which resulted in a resolution compiled by 541 Pontiac and Refugees Associations. This resolution launched a large

⁴ The authors are Chara Adreadou, Poutahidis Aris and Tsivas Armodios. They are historians and primary school teachers with many years teaching experience and specialized in history didactics. Maria Repousi is an academic historian and her scientific area of interest is history didactics.

⁵ On the website: www.antibaro.gr

scale petition of signatures demanding textbook's withdrawal from the schools. The textbook became a significant public matter and caused a considerable debate after its introduction at schools.

As might be expected, the debate divided public opinion, and academics in camps and people from different backgrounds participated in it. In a press conference, academics as representatives of historical journals⁶ were called to submit their ideas about textbooks. The academics supported the textbook claiming that

'The basic idea is that the book introduces a new educational vision of historical events, adds to the criticism of students, discourages memorization and makes the teacher the real educator'⁷.

They also stated that the criticism against the book revealed '*ideological implications originating from outside the discipline of history education*'⁸. They rejected this kind of attack and characterized the supporters of these ideas as 'a dangerous team'. Apart from these academics, there were many others who supported the book and the whole project of reform in this field⁹. However, there were many academics who fought the textbook and its methodological approach. They claimed that in the name of 'critical historical thinking', national history is deconstructed and separated into smaller pieces (local histories) which do not provide cohesion in national historical narratives and do not promote collective memory. The book, they continued, intends for the student to be a hybrid historian, exercised in the use of historical sources and methods, knowledge of history instead of focusing on the event-based history of the genealogy of the nation and on the personalities and the heroes who gave their lives to save the nation. By this way, 'excellence' which promotes moral examples and co-identity with a national ideal model is excluded; the common 'us' does not derive from the Greek soul and consciousness. In the end, they asked for the particular textbook to be withdrawn (Μαργαρίτης 2007).

⁶ In Greece there is no historical association. The journals that have been represented were: *Historia*, *Historica*, *Mnemon*, *Synchrona Themata* and *Epithorisi Politikis Epistimis*.

⁷ 'Sharpen the critical: Five academics defend the book *History of 6th Dimotikou*', available on www.in.gr, 06/03/2007

⁸ 'Sharpen the critical: Five academics defend the book *History of 6th Dimotikou*', available on www.in.gr, 06/03/2007

⁹ On the website of M. Repousi (<http://users.auth.gr/~marrep>) there is a list of the articles published in relation to the textbook.

The role of the Orthodox Church was also significant, under the leadership of Archbishop Christodoulos, who entered in the debate intensely. The Orthodox Church protested because it claimed that the role and the support of the Church during the Greek War of Independence was undermined and called the book shameful¹⁰ (Brabant 2007). The Archbishop, added that *'the truth is sacrificed on the altar of Greek-Turkish friendship'*¹¹.

Political parties also entered in the controversy. The left-wing parties as well as the right-wing ones agreed about the textbook's inappropriateness but for different reasons. The left-wing parties claimed that the book was an enterprise of globalisation and was incited by capitalistic powers¹². The position of right-wing parties became more explicit when the country entered a pre-election period. Two political parties of the extreme right wing [one formed by Papathemelis and the Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)] characterized the book as an insult for the nation and strongly attacked the government in order that the book to be withdrawn (Χαραλαμπίκης 2007). These parties also used the books as a basic element of their pre-election campaign defending in this way national glory and pride¹³. On the other hand, the Opposition (PASOK), as stated by Chrisohoidis, the deputy who was responsible for educational matters, supported the idea of textbook maintenance with the appropriate changes¹⁴.

All the time that the debate was going on, the Minister of Education, Marietta Giannakou, was asked several times for the official position of the government. The Minister of Education supported the book and admitted that some amendments and corrections should be made. She completely rejected the option of textbook withdrawal¹⁵.

¹⁰ 'Αντιδράσεις Χριστόδουλου για το βιβλίο ιστορίας της 6^{ης} Δημοτικού [Christodoulos Reaction to the book history of the sixth grade]' available on www.in.gr/18-02-2007.

¹¹ 'Θυσίες στο βωμό της ελληνοτουρκικής φιλίας [Sacrifices on the altar of Greek-Turkish friendship]' available on www.in.gr/31-01-2007

¹² see 'Αντικомуνισμός που γράφει...Ιστορία [Anti-communism which writes...history]' available on www.odigitis.gr

¹³ The elections took place in September 2007. One of these extreme right wing parties managed to enter the Greek Parliament in the elections that followed.

¹⁴ 'Ολοκληρώθηκαν οι διορθώσεις [Amendments are completed]' available on <http://www.forthnet.gr/templates/newsPosting.aspx?p=206132>

¹⁵ 'Απάντηση Γιαννάκου στις ενστάσεις της Εκκλησίας για την Ιστορίας της Στ' Δημοτικού [Giannakoy's answer on the objections of the Church on the history book of the 6th grade] available on <http://www.in.gr/news/article.asp?lngEntityID=773484>

In order that appropriate corrections be made the Ministry of Education forwarded the book to the Academy of Athens¹⁶ to evaluate it and come up with recommendations. The Academy of Athens compiled a report¹⁷ about the book after several months. According to this report, ‘the book had major weaknesses’ and in conclusion, the text of textbooks:

‘It does not contribute to strengthen the national memory and the Greek self-awareness.

It demonstrates sloppiness when approaching major issues of history and difficulty to distinguish the essential from the unessential

It includes a sufficient number of inaccuracies, errors and omissions often of essential importance’.

Also a number of needed amendments and additions to be made in each chapter were included in the report. The Academy of Athens recommendations were discussed in a special meeting that the Minister of Education and the Prime Minister had¹⁸ and were under consideration by the authors’ team. They later also admitted that some changes should be made of the book, but not to the underlying philosophy of the book (Lakassas 2007).

The participation of the media in the controversy was crucial to its outcome. There were many TV talk-shows in which political and social personalities, historians, academics and representatives of the Church were invited to discuss the issue and their viewer ratings reached a highpoint. Several interviews were given by the authors’ team (especially by the leader of the team Repousi) and published on the Greek and out of the country¹⁹ newspapers and transmitted by TV and radio channels²⁰. The issue was covered on the front pages of newspapers for several weeks and special columns were dedicated to the issue from the newspapers and articles written by ordinary people were hosted in them. Also, journalists employed oral history and testimonies in order to prove, in journalist-speak, the ‘mistakes’ of the

¹⁶ Academy of Athens is an institution aiming to advance ‘the cultivation and advancement of the Sciences, Humanities and Fine Arts, the conduct of research and study, and the offer of learned advices to the state in this area’ see its website: www.academyofathens.gr

¹⁷ See the report on www.academyofathens.gr/ecportal.asp?id=1002&nt=18&lang=1

¹⁸ Νασιόπουλος, Δ. ‘Μέχρι τον Καραμανλή έφτασαν οι διορθώσεις στο βιβλίο της Ιστορίας[The improvements in the history textbook arrived up to Karamanlis’ available on <http://www.tanea.dr/default.asp?pid=2&ct=1&artid=32880>

¹⁹ See for example Kremmidas, D. ‘Greek left and right unite against textbook’, *Turkish Daily News*, 19th June 2007

²⁰ There were also special programmes for the textbook issue on almost every channel.

book and, at the same time, there were special editions about what is written and how the Greeks and the way the Greek War of Independence and the Greek suffering in Smyrna were presented in Turkish books²¹.

The educational community (especially primary school teachers and history teachers in secondary education) was divided in two parts. The supporters of the book approved the philosophy of the book and admitted the need of changes²². The opponents ‘cried’ about the deconstruction of the nation and the emergency of textbook withdrawal. Both expressed their support and their protestation for the textbook on newspapers and the web²³. Also, parents entered into the debate and demonstrated their views. An extreme and indicative example is the request submitted by a parent to his son’s school and was forwarded to the Minister of Education asking for his son to be omitted from the history lessons as long as this particular book is taught in his son’s class. He also was determined to ask for compensation for moral damages if his decision would not be taken into consideration²⁴. The reaction of several associations such as refugees, regional bodies and veterans was intense and claimed that the history textbook falsified the past and left out many significant parts of Greek history. They insisted that the parts of history ‘represented’ by their associations must be included in the narratives of the book (Liakos 2008a).

During the summer of 2007, the authors’ team made all the necessary amendments with the agreement of the Minister of Education and the Pedagogical Institution. At the end of July the Minister said that the case of textbook was ‘on the right way’²⁵. However, the solution and the end of the particular history war came after the elections of 16th September in which a new government from the same party took the power. The former Minister of Education was not elected as deputy because of the

²¹ See for example, Φάκελος ‘(Δια)Γράφουν ξανά την ιστορία της Ελλάδας’ [File ‘They again delete the history of Greece’], *Πρώτο Θέμα*, 25 Μαρτίου 2007

²² See for example, Τζήκας, Γ. (2007) ‘Ο αντίλογος ενός εκπαιδευτικού στους επικριτές του βιβλίου [An educator’s reply to the critics of the textbook]’, *Κυριακάτικη Αυγή*, 24 Μαρτίου 2007

²³ Collections of what has been published can be found on www.alfavita.gr and www.antibaro.gr

²⁴ The request is available on www.antibaro.gr and is published on the newspaper ‘Πρώτο Θέμα, 25 Μαρτίου 2007

²⁵ ‘Σε οριακό σημείο για να είναι έτοιμο το βιβλίο Ιστορίας [Minor point for history textbook to be ready]’, *TA NEA Online*, available on <http://www.tanea.gr.default.asp?pid=2&ct=1&artid=31876>

book as it was underlined in the Greek and international press²⁶. The new Minister of Education, Stylianidis, announced the withdrawal of the book on 25 September 2007. The book that was used in previous years was reissued and distributed at schools. The decision to withdraw the textbook was welcomed from all the right-wing parties and the Church. On the website where the war started is stated: *'the book was withdrawn by the Greek people'*²⁷. The Opposition reacted by stating that *'Karamanlis [the prime minister] had handled the case this way for political benefits, without taking into account the responsibilities towards the next generation'*²⁸.

As the review of policies for textbooks has demonstrated, the particular history war was neither the first one for the Greek society nor for history education outside Greece. Several decades before, the country had experienced similar controversy about history textbooks. Also, 'history war' is not a Greek phenomenon; many history wars have broken out in many corners of the world (e.g. Linenthal & Engelhardt 1996, Haydn 2000, Macintyre & Clark 2003, Bickerton 2006, Yoshida 2006, MacNeil 2007). In this recent Greek history war can be found many common features that were embedded in similar cases and demonstrate issues of the field of history as discipline, a social construction and a teaching subject (MacMillan 2009). However, the objective is not to compare history wars in this study. It is mainly to highlight how 'history' is perceived and practiced in the context of Greek society.

So, the battle over the particular history textbook brought up on the scene the contradiction between two 'schools' of historiography. The traditional historiography that advocates a kind of history education in which the nation remains an unquestioned unit and which instils a proud and patriotic feeling, and the revisionist one which espouses a broad and inclusive view on the past and recommends a history education that educates critical citizens who are able to judge competing versions of history in a thoughtful way. In the Greek context, despite the objective stated in the

²⁶ More details about that issue can be found on http://www.minpress.gr/minpress/index/information/elections_2007/ekloges_2007_1-3/parliamentary_elections_xena_mme_20_09_2007.htm

²⁷ available on http://www1.antibaro.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72:antidraseis&catid=63:te xt&Itemid=109

²⁸ 'Βολές από την αντιπολίτευση, ικανοποίηση από την Εκκλησία για το τέλος του βιβλίου [Shots from the opposition, satisfaction by the Church for the end of the book]', *In.gr News*, 29-05-07, available on <http://www.in.gr/news/article/asp?lngEntityID=834707>

curriculum which defines that the aim of history education is to educate historically critical thinking pupils, the history war showed that Greek society insisted on the traditional form of history teaching in order that the national identity be defended, protected and promoted. This particular insistence is linked with the contradiction between the local and the global or as Liakos states (2008a:60):

“History” and “globalization” were set in contrast in a matrix where pastness, particularity and nationality are pitted against presentism, modernism and cosmopolitanism’.

It seems that the Greek politics prefer ‘history’ than ‘globalization’ in order that the ‘local’ not be suppressed by the ‘global’ and deconstructed.

But, the question of what kind of history should be taught derived also from the debate. The ‘scientific’ history that professional historians present, aiming to discard any historical myths and present the complexity of the human experience and historical events or the ‘practical’ history that people out of the field use and it includes the lived experience, the common memory, the historical myths and the ‘biography’ of the nation? The controversy and the way it ended advocates that ‘practical’ history seems more powerful than the ‘scientific’ in the particular context. As Repousi writes (2009: 60) *‘the game was unequal and the discourse of historians had little chance to be considered in the middle of fanatical cries’*. The ascendancy of the first kind of history responds also to the question stated by Foner (2002) ‘who owns history?’ which is transformed by Liakos (2008a) as ‘who is entitled to talk about history?’ This particular history war demonstrated that history is thought as a ‘public property’ and reminds us of what Becker said: *‘every man his own historian’* (Becker 1935:586). History belongs to everyone, the Church included and everyone has the right to contribute to history by his/her experience and memories. Διαμαντάκου (2007: 47/7), writing of the ‘historical hysteria’ of that time, notices that:

‘The calamity of this country is neither one nor two books which do not meet perceptions about the political use of history, but, it [the country] has reached the point where the debate about history is determined by populist TV programmes. Representatives of the Church who participate in TV panels, and TV-shows hosts whose career was based on the ratings of weepy programmes have opinions not simply about [the quality of the history] writing but got its teaching’.

By this quotation, the important role of the media and the web and their significant influence that they had on the shaping of common opinion are also underlined; an element that for the first time is answered in the issues of history war in Greek society. The fact that the whole campaign against the book begun on the web and was expanded by cyberspace indicates, on the one hand, how the web can be used as place for the development of history (individual aspects of it) and of how the online communities construct their own historical worlds (through blog, forum and websites) and reflect the past using all possible kinds of mirrors (Poster 2003-2004). On the other hand, it indicates how the web can stand against textbooks and ‘official’ knowledge. In the same way, this particular contest demonstrates how the media can be used by politicians (in this case, the Church as well) to profile themselves. So, as Clark argues (2003: 182), *‘contests over history textbooks are also political strategy’*.

Other interesting points that arose from the debate are the way the ‘skeletons’ of the national history can be handled and the history of gender. About the former, the opponents of the book pointed that there is no use for pupils to learn the ‘black pages’ of the national history. About the second, there was an objection about emphasis given to the contribution of women in the national history. For instance, in an article written by two academics, the comment about the ‘Chart of woman and female citizen rights’ presented in the book was:

‘This shows the persistence in reporting on women and the effort to distinguish her role in every possible way. References are continuous in the whole book and in many cases reach extreme levels²⁹’.

So, it could be assumed that the perception about the ‘gender’ of history is that history belongs to men (the same assertion was made in the examination of history curriculum). Another extreme example that espouses this perception is what Repousi describes about what tabloids, which were also involved in the history war, did:

‘Alongside this, the tabloids violated the private lives of the writers. Photographs in swimsuits taken without permission with long-lens cameras on beaches, in country houses, details of dress or personal lives, especially for the female members of the team - needless to say with many inaccuracies- adorned the political debate with generous amounts of sexism’ (Repousi 2009:61)

²⁹ Λυγερός, Ν. & Παυλίδης Α. (2006) ‘Συνοπτική κριτική προσέγγιση του νέου διδακτικού εγχειριδίου Ιστορίας της ΣΤ’ Δημοτικού [Brief critical approach to the new history textbook of the 6th grade] available on http://palio.antibarro.gr/society/lygeros_istoria.php

Finally, the end of this history war brought about a paradox. In current Greek education, a new history curriculum is in force which is applied, particularly in the 6th grade of primary school, by using the ‘old’ book which was written in the decade of 1980 based on a different curriculum and different standards. So, curriculum and textbook are not in accordance. But, as the history controversy showed, it was in accordance with the will of Greek society (Ανδρέου & Κασβίκης 2007).

3.3.3. Brief presentation of the history textbooks

The history textbooks for students which have been under examination in this study were the ones used currently in the 6th grade of primary school and 3rd grade of junior high school (school year 2009-2010).

More specifically, the pupils' textbook used at 6th grade of primary school has the title: 'In Modern times'. It was written by commission by an author team from different backgrounds (academics and teachers) under the leadership of Aktipis (Ακτύπης) (historian). It was initially published in 1989 and revised in 1992 and 1997 in order to be aligned with the Recommendation 1283³⁰ (1996) of the Council of Europe. The book was used from 1989 until June 2006 and re-entered at schools after the withdrawal of the 'new' history book, discussed previously, in September 2007.

The book is accompanied by a teacher's book which includes further suggestions, recommendations and instructions about each teaching unit as well as special objectives for each lesson. At the beginning of the teacher's book, a brief presentation of the history of historiography and the discipline of history are included. Also, as well as the pupils' book, an exercise book is used. Its aim is for pupils to practice and revise the knowledge obtained from each history lesson.

The particular historical time covered by the particular book starts from the capture of Istanbul by the Ottomans (1453) and ends in 1980. The periods covered and the pages that each unit takes are presented in the following table (table 26):

³⁰ The particular recommendation is available on <http://assembly.coe.int//mainf.asp?link=http://assembly.coe.int/documents/adoptedtext/ta96/erec1283.htm#1>

Pupil's history textbook for 6th grade (primary school)	
PARTS	NUMBER of PAGES
Introduction	7
Hellenism after the capture of Istanbul (1453-1821)	70
The Greek War of Independence (1821-1830)	80
Greece as independent state (1830-1980)	111
TOTAL	268

Table 26. Distribution of pages to the parts included in 6th grade history textbook

Table 26 demonstrates that there is no balance among pages, units and years. The first unit which covers 400 years is discussed in 70 pages while the second unit which lasted 10 years takes 80 pages and the third takes the space of 111 pages to describe the historical events of 150 years. Additionally, from the title of the units, it is clear that the emphasis is on the Greek nation and its historical course. This emphasis is in contradiction with the title of the textbook which refers to modern times in general, instead of 'the Greek nation's history in modern times'. I think that this title depicts more precisely the contents of the book.

Each part of the book splits up into chapters. The first and second unit include 14 chapters each and the third, 21 chapters. 'Introduction' includes 2 chapters: one revises what has been discussed at previous grades and the second refers to Europe in modern times. In total, the book is structured in 51 chapters. According to the authors (Ακτύπης et al. 2008, *Teacher's book*) the number of chapters is equivalent of the hours of history teaching embedded in the school year timetable of primary school.

Structural elements of the textbook are: text-narrative which encompasses usually a page and 1/3 of it, sources (primary and secondary) which are cited in separate blue coloured pages, illustrations (photos, art pieces, sketch) and maps. In this study, each of the above elements was examined and is discussed separately. The objective of the examination is to investigate whether the world as a whole is presented, which nations

are presented and what image is conveyed of the Greek and the other nations, and how. A glossary and a list of references are included in the last pages of the book. These sections were not subjected to content analysis.

For the 3rd grade of junior high school, the pupils' book which is used is entitled: 'Modern and Contemporary History. It is written by Louvi (Λούβη) (academic) and Xifaras (Ξιφάρης) (historian). It belongs to the 'new' generation of textbooks published in 2006. As in the case of the primary textbook, there is a teacher's book which supports the pupils' book and entails specific objectives, instructions, suggestions and guidelines for each unit. Again, the teacher's book is used in the context of this analysis as a reference point for conclusions.

The pupils' book is divided into three parts. The number of pages dedicated to each part is shown on table 27.

Pupil's history textbook for 3rd grade (junior high school)	
PARTS	NUMBER of PAGES
<i>'The World from the 'eve' of French revolution until the end of the 19th century'</i>	71
<i>'The world form the beginning of the 20th century until the end of World War II'</i>	55
<i>'The world from the end of World War II until the end of the 20th century'</i>	48
TOTAL	175

Table 27. Distribution of pages to the parts included in 3rd grade history textbook

Taking into account the title of the book and its parts, it could be said that they are in correspondence. In contradiction with the book for 6th grade, 'the world' seems to be the core of history teaching in modern and contemporary times as the title of the book demonstrates. Additionally, the distribution of textbook pages shows that the first part which covers a time period of two centuries (from the beginning of 18th century until the end of 19th century) is discussed in 71 pages while the 20th century is presented in 104 pages in total. So, it could be argued that the emphasis is on the historical course of the world during the last three centuries and special attention is paid to the present, to the historical events closer to present days.

The chapters included in each unit vary. In total, 65 chapters are included in the book. From the guidelines (ΥΠΕΠΘ 2008) sent to all junior high schools in the school years 2008-2009 and which are still in force, it becomes clear that all the chapters included in the book cannot be taught due to lack of time. So, the particular guidelines suggest that some chapters can be taught briefly but not excluded altogether. Each chapter encompasses from 2 to 5 pages. In these pages is embedded the structural elements of the book. These elements, which also were examined, are: text-narrative which usually divided into small parts with separate titles printed in bold letters, sources (primary and secondary) which embedded into the text, illustration and maps. At the end of each chapter, exercises/ activities are suggested as well and recommendations for further reading and watching relevant documentary films at some chapters' ends. At the end of the book, there is a page of indicative literature and a glossary. Finally, this particular set of textbooks (teacher's and pupils') is supported by a CD-Rom on the subject of history for all the grades of Gymnasium.

3.4. Analysis of the history textbooks

In the history curriculum, it is stated:

'It is self-evident that the use of school textbook is judged necessary, due to the potentialities it provides,' 'Basic teaching material is the content of the textbooks. [...] The content of school textbooks consists of, on the one hand, the text/narrative and, on the other hand, the supplementary supportive material' (ΥΠΕΠΘ 2003:211, 229).

Thus, the analysis is focused on the text/narrative and on the supplementary supportive material embedded in textbooks. Both are examined in order to identify questions similar to the ones imposed in the analysis of the history curriculum.

More particularly, the questions which were applied to the content of textbooks were:

- a) what image of the world is cultivated? Is the world seen as whole or are particular parts of it more emphasized than others and, if it is so, why?
- b) which nations/ ethnic groups and their civilizations are presented and under what scope? Are the references of other nations/ ethnic groups neutral or can some prejudices and stereotypes be found in relation to specific nations / ethnic groups?
- c) what kind of historical events are presented in general? Are some specific nations/ ethnic groups presented through specific kinds of historical references?
- d) how is the Greek nation presented in conjunction with other nations/ ethnic groups? What image is conveyed for the nation in question and how is this attempted? What about the other nations/ ethnic groups and their images?

As two history textbooks are involved in this examination, the analysis is presented in two parts. The first part reports the findings of the examination of the textbook taught at 6th grade whilst the second presents the analysis of the textbook for the 3rd grade. Also, each part is divided in two units. The first unit analyzes the textual material and the second the visual.

3.5. Methodology of the analysis

3.5.1. Methodology of the textual data analysis

Both textbooks include two kinds of textual data: ‘text-narratives’ and textual sources. ‘Text-narratives’ constitute the core of the books and history teaching. The objectives of the analysis of text narratives, as discussed above, indicate that this analysis aims to identify quantitative results (which nations are presented, how often they are presented, which are their features) as well as qualitative features (the quality of the image that is conveyed for a particular nation). Thus, this analysis is also based on the qualitative and quantitative methodological paradigm.

The technique that was employed for the analysis of the ‘text narratives’ of textbooks was content analysis, its quantitative and qualitative form. The quantitative form of content analysis was also used in the analysis of the history curriculum. The application of the same technique and its research design were judged as necessary and appropriate in order the analysis of textbooks to compare its findings with the outcomes of the curricular analysis. The qualitative form of the content analysis was used because a) it focuses on the language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Tesch 1990); focus which coincides with the investigation of the image of each nation conveyed by textbook texts b) it has come to wide use in textbooks analysis (Neuendorf 2002) and c) it was convenient for the study in the sense that the same research tool could be used in order to reveal quantitative and qualitative findings. Since the most significant details about the nature and the use of the particular research technique was presented previously, in this chapter, some particularities and expansions that were made are discussed.

The sampling source analysed was the two pupils’ history textbooks. The exercise book used at primary school, although it was studied, was not included in the sampling source because it does not provide pupils with new knowledge as it includes mostly revision exercises for each chapter. Teachers’ books were used in the phase of the discussion of the analysis outcomes in order to explain and/or provide further information when it was necessary. The audio visual teaching materials (CDs,

documentary films etc.) which accompany particular the textbook of junior high school was not analyzed, as well, because their use is at the teacher’s discretion and/or depends on the availability of the schools’ technological equipment.

The recording unit used for the analysis was again the symbolic unit: ‘theme’. The unit of the text which was considered as more applicable was the paragraph because text-narrative is structured in paragraphs. Each paragraph of both textbooks was numbered. Thus, 1070 paragraphs in total (330 paragraphs from the history textbook of the 6th grade and 740 paragraphs from the book of the 3rd grade) constituted the recording units of the analysis.

The classifications of the recording units were made at two phases. The first phase involve the quantitative analysis and the second the qualitative analysis. Firstly, the paragraphs were classified according to the protocol of analysis formed for the analysis of curricula (see Appendix 1). By this first classification, there was an attempt to define which geographical areas of the world were mentioned in history textbooks. However, the study of the textbooks showed that the references to geographical areas of the world included in them were more expanded than the ones in history curricula. For instance, there were discernible references to South and North America and to North Europe which were absent in curricula analysis. Thus, the protocol of analysis was expanded. The basic categories were modified as shown in

Categories	
Category 1.	<i>Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena</i>
Category 2.	<i>References to Greece</i>
Category 3.	<i>References to Europe</i>
Category 4.	<i>References to the Americas</i>
Category 5.	<i>References to Asia</i>
Category 6.	<i>References to Africa</i>
Category 7.	<i>References to events of world interest</i>

Table 28 . Categories of textbook analysis

table 28 and their subcategories were accordingly modulated (Table 29). The final modification of the categories and subcategories was made after a sample of recording

units (paragraphs) from both textbooks applied to the protocol in order to ensure that the categories are exhaustive, saturated, exclusive and disjunctive (Holsti 1969). The entire protocol of textbook analysis can be found in Appendix 3.

Structure of Categories	
Category 1.	Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena
Category 2.	References to Greece
Subcategory 2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 3.	References to Europe
Subcategory 3.1	References to Europe in general
Subcategory 3.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.2	References to West Europe
Subcategory 3.2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.3	References to South Europe
Subcategory 3.3.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.3.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.4	References to East Europe
Subcategory 3.4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.5	References to Central Europe
Subcategory 3.5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.6	References to North Europe
Subcategory 3.6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.6.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.6.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 4	References to Asia
Subcategory 4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 4.4	<i>Social history</i>

Category 5.		References to the Americas
	Subcategory 5.1	References to North America
	Subcategory 5.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
	Subcategory 5.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
	Subcategory 5.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
	Subcategory 5.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
	Subcategory 5.2	References to South America
	Subcategory 5.2.1.	<i>Political-economic events</i>
	Subcategory 5.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
	Subcategory 5.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
	Subcategory 5.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 6.		References to Africa
	Subcategory 6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
	Subcategory 6.2	<i>Military events</i>
	Subcategory 6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
	Subcategory 6.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 7.		References to the events of world interest
	Subcategory 7.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
	Subcategory 7.2	<i>Military events</i>
	Subcategory 7.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
	Subcategory 7.4	<i>Social history</i>

Table 29. Structure of categories

It should also be mentioned that the study of the paragraphs which were classified showed that in some cases, more than one nation is discussed in a paragraph. In these cases, the paragraph was split in sub-paragraphs which were classified accordingly.

As in the case of the analysis of curricula, aiming to ensure the objectivity and reliability of analysis and to achieve a non arbitrary and objective option of the recording unit clarification, inter-coder reliability was employed. As well as the researcher, two coders³¹ participated in the analysis of the textbooks. They were both educators - one teaches the particular subject in primary school and the other in junior high school- and were interested in and familiar with the content of analysed material (Riffe et al. 2005). They were acquainted with the employed approach. Nevertheless, the procedure was explained in detail, the protocol of analysis was provided and was studied by both coders. Additionally, special coding sheets have been edited for the coders and the researcher to classify individually the recording units. A sample of the coding sheet can be found in Appendix 2.

³¹ In the analysis of history textbooks, the coders who participated in it were different persons from the coders who participated in the analysis of curricula in order influences from the first type of analysis to be avoided.

The reliability of the analysis was measured applying inter-coder reliability³². Following the same procedure as in the case of curricula analysis, two consolidated files in which all categorizations were included were edited - one for each textbook. These files were uploaded on the same website www.dfrelon.org and the most popular coefficients were calculated. Tables 30, 31 show the outcomes of the inter-coder agreement calculation. The high inter-coder agreement³³ displayed in the particular tables (above 0.800) indicated the reliability of the results. Moreover, aiming for incidents of disagreement to be avoided, the following condition was employed for the final classification: a paragraph to be classified in the same category by at least two coders. Applying this condition, 10 paragraphs from the textbook for the 6th grade were left out and 45 from the textbook for the 3rd grade. 1015 paragraphs were finally classified.

As the study aimed to specify the identity of the nations presented and discussed in history textbooks not just the geographic context of the recording units, the paragraphs were classified for a second time. The second classification of the recording units aimed to define and name the nations referred in history textbooks as well as to examine the kind of references (political, military etc.). Additionally, another parameter was added in this examination: the ‘direction’ of the references³⁴. The ‘direction’ of the references is defined by Berelson (1952:150) as *‘the pro and con treatment of a subject matter. Basically, the question is: is the communication for or against the particular subject, or neutral toward it?’* and constitutes other category, apart from ‘theme’, into which a recording unit can be classified (Osgood 1959, Deese 1969, Riffe et al. 2005). Applying ‘direction’ in the context of this study, the references to all nations were examined in order to identify whether the references are for, against or neutral toward nations (the Greek nation included). Simply, it was aimed to be specified what is the ‘quality’ of image which is conveyed for each nation by textbooks.

³² For more details about inter-coder reliability see Chapter 2.

³³ See Cohen 1960, Fleiss 1971, Krippendorff 2004

³⁴ The second level of classification was not attempted in curricula analysis because the analysed material did not define other nations in a way that would allow a categorization of this kind to be meaningful.

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders
results for file "textbook 6th.csv"

File size: 2283 bytes
N coders: 3
N cases: 330
N decisions: 990

Average Pairwise Percent Agreement

Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
96.667%	96.667%	96.667%	96.667%

Fleiss' Kappa

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.96	0.967	0.159

Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.96	0.96	0.96	0.96

Krippendorff's Alpha

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.96	990	957	154884

***These figures are drawn from [Krippendorff \(2007, case C.\)](#)

Table 30. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (6th grade)

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders
results for file "textbook 3rd.csv"

File size: 6085 bytes
N coders: 3
N cases: 739
N decisions: 2217

Average Pairwise Percent Agreement

Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
94.046%	94.046%	94.046%	94.046%

Fleiss' Kappa

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.932	0.94	0.128

Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.932	0.932	0.932	0.932

Krippendorff's Alpha

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.932	2217	2085	627100

***These figures are drawn from [Krippendorff \(2007, case C.\)](#)

Table 31. Calculation of inter-coder agreement (3rd grade)

The protocol of the second level analysis was based on the categories modified for the textbook analysis. More particularly, the researcher and the coders analyzed the paragraphs which were classified into a particular category (a) naming the nation that is discussed in a particular paragraph, (b) specifying the kind of reference to the particular mentioned nation, (c) judging the ‘direction’ of the reference as negative/positive / neutral and (d) indicating the justification of a particular judgment by quoting linguistic indicators such as phrases, adjectives etc. that contributed to this kind of judgment. The last parameter was added in this classification for two reasons. Firstly, although a protocol regarding the ‘direction’ of references was edited, as Berelson (1952: 151) argues: *‘Many textual passages are not clearly pro or con or neutral; the borderline is often indistinct’*. Thus, the justification of the judgment aimed to identify the way each coder judged a paragraph/reference. Secondly, qualitative data was collected, so that a more well-defined view of each nation might emerge. For the second categorization, a special coding sheet was edited which included the parameters just mentioned for each category/subcategory, textbook and coder. In order for the researcher and coders to identify the ‘direction’ of the recording unit a protocol was compiled explaining how a reference might be characterized as positive/neutral/negative. The protocol of the category ‘direction’ was compiled in accordance with the protocol used in other previous studies on the same topic (e.g. Άλλης 1983, Xochellis & Toloudi 1998, Μπονίδης 2004). (The protocol is available in Appendix 1 and a sample of this coding sheet is displayed in Appendix 2). Moreover, the coders and the researcher, based on this protocol, practiced the application of the category ‘direction’ to a set of paragraphs taken from history textbooks for other grades. This practice enabled coders and researcher to define more precisely the linguistic elements that provide some form of emotional reflection. Also, in some cases, it was necessary for the coders to consider more than a paragraph in order to decide about the direction of a reference. After the practice, the examiners classified the paragraphs independently. The reliability of the classification for the category ‘direction’ was measured based on inter-coder agreement. The calculation of inter-coder agreement followed the same procedure as before. Tables 32 and 33 demonstrate the high agreement among the coders for the textbook of 6th and 3rd grade and give an indication of the reliability of the categorization.

Next, the researcher indexed these sheets by nation and edited separate sheets for each nation (called 'nation sheets'). 'Nation sheets' included the number of all paragraphs that were referred to a specific nation, the kind of references, the direction of references and the justification of judgments made by researcher and the coders. In order for 'nation sheets' to be compiled, the following condition was applied: at least two coders' classifications should agree in the first four columns of the coding sheets in order for an insertion to be made. The application of this condition strengthened the case for the reliability of the classification. Each 'nation sheet' provided as far as possible a clear picture of what is discussed and what image is conveyed about each nation. A sample of 'Nation sheet' is presented in Appendix 2.

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders results for file "Direction 6th grade.csv"			
File size:	2280 bytes		
N coders:	3		
N cases:	320		
N decisions:	960		
Average Pairwise Percent Agreement			
Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
92.604%	92.5%	93.438%	91.875%
Fleiss' Kappa			
Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement	
0.882	0.926	0.374	
Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa			
Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.882	0.88	0.895	0.87
Krippendorff's Alpha			
Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}$ ***	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)$ ***
0.882	960	889	343896
***These figures are drawn from Krippendorff (2007, case C.)			

Table 32. Calculation of inter-coder agreement for the 'direction' of references (6th grade)

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders
results for file "Direction-3rda grade.csv"

File size: 4865 bytes
N coders: 3
N cases: 695
N decisions: 2085

Average Pairwise Percent Agreement

Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
94.293%	94.388%	93.957%	94.532%

Fleiss' Kappa

Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement
0.902	0.943	0.417

Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa

Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.902	0.903	0.897	0.906

Krippendorff's Alpha

Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum_c o_{cc}^{***}$	$\sum_c n_c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.902	2085	1966	1811708

***These figures are drawn from [Krippendorff \(2007, case C.\)](#)

Table 33. Calculation of inter-coder agreement for the 'direction' of references (3rd grade)

Finally, the 'content validity' and the 'social validity' of the study were taken into consideration as well³⁵. The outcomes of the analysis which are related to other independent information, the high reliability and the empirical way³⁶ that the categories have been formed ensure as far as possible the validity of the findings. Additionally, the content (history textbooks) that was examined is taught in all Greek schools of compulsory education, involves the whole teacher and pupil population and is related to political, social and educational situations of contemporary Greek society. 'Social validity' was obtained by the involvement of the two coders who are familiar with and use history textbooks.

³⁵ About 'content' and 'social' validity see Chapter 2.

³⁶ The categories were formed after the sample of analysis has been studied. In this way, all paragraphs were classified.

The written sources of each textbook were numbered and examined according to the following criteria: a) the kind of sources (primary, secondary, literary) b) the sort of references included in them (political, military, cultural etc.) and c) the nation cited. At a second level, special attention was also paid to the 'nature' of the sources. More particularly, there was consideration of where the written sources were taken from (newspapers, oral history, diaries etc) and what kind of literary sources (poems, pieces of prose etc.) were embedded in textbooks. The examination of the written sources was made by the researcher. A sample of the coding sheet compiled for the examination of written sources is displayed in Appendix 2. In total, 288 written sources included in both textbooks were examined according to the above pattern.

3.5.2. Methodology of visual data analysis

Visual data embedded in both textbooks entail a variety of materials such as pieces of art, photos, maps and diagrams. At first, I had some difficulties in finding a proper approach for analysing the variety of visual data. As Levie (1987:26) comments,

‘research on pictures is not a coherent field of inquiry. An aerial view of the picture research literature would look like a group of small topical islands with only a few connecting bridges in between’.

Thus, as far as I am aware, relevant literature entails studies which try to identify: the role of illustration and the applicability of different kinds of visual representation in psychological terms (e.g. Levie 1987), the use of illustration in history teaching procedure (e.g. Rogers 1984, Βρεττός 1994, Burke 2007) and its role in relation to other subjects except history and mainly art education (e.g. Hodnett 1986, Chapman 1993, Theodoridis & Chalkia 2001). In cases that researchers tried to identify the role of illustration in the representation of the ‘other’ in textbooks (e.g. Fleming et al. 1989, Stugu 2000, Crawford 2001, Smart 2010), they used descriptive and/or quantitative approaches in order to draw their conclusions.

On the other hand, Rose (2001) in her book *‘Visual methodologies’* describes some methods on which research has been based but they mostly involve investigations of art pieces rather than illustration of textbooks. Additionally, Levin (1981, 1987) and Choppin (1990) tried to investigate the role of visual representations in books but mostly in relation to the text accompanying visual data. An interesting approach has been suggested by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) which focuses basically on illustration itself and, in a sense, does not pay much attention to the context into which the visual materials are to be placed.

For these reasons, I tried to develop an approach for examining visual data which will serve the objectives of my study. For example, if the paradigm suggested by Levin was adopted for my investigation, significant and meaningful insights embedded in visual material itself would be left out or if the approach of Kress and van Leeuwen was applied, the significant role of the relationship between text and illustration would not be examined. The approach I am going to present is not an arbitrary construction;

it tries to include as many as possible of the elements of the approaches applied and suggested by researchers who have previously been involved in visual data analysis, but also, taking seriously into consideration the aims of my investigation in order for meaningful conclusions to be drawn.

As a first stage of my analysis, visual data from both books were numbered. It was found that 179 visual representations are included in the history textbook of the 6th grade; 35 of them were maps and 144 were other kind of illustration as photos, pieces of art etc. The history textbook of 3rd grade has 333 visual data; 24 maps, 1 diagram and 208 visual representations.

The study of illustration in the scope of this research showed that each visual representation has some characteristics such as technical features: type and size of illustration and its subtitling and 'latent' features such as interrelation between text and illustration, sort and content of representation. Thus, I divided these characteristics into two categories: the external and internal features and I tried to examine the visual data through these characteristics in order to identify what kind of image is conveyed for nations referred in textbooks. Also, based on this distinction, I defined some criteria which correspond with and promote the objectives of my study.

The external features of textbook illustration were defined according to the following criteria and involve:

A) **visual representations subtitling**. Berger (1993) and Valls (1994) underline the significance of subtitling because it limits the 'polysemy' of images and brings forth the interpretation of the editor/author and his/her intentions of how an image to be seen and studied. On the other hand, Fourliga (1993) argues that subtitling should inform and educate the viewer, promote curiosity, impose questions as well as give answers, even to entertain and make the viewer to feel comfortable. Also, he argues that subtitling should define the identity of visual presentations and interpret them. Thus, there was an investigation into whether the subtitling of illustration serves the purposes just mentioned. Additionally, subtitling was significant for this study because it helped the researcher to understand to which nation the illustration refers. Otherwise, the researcher would have to guess which nation is mentioned and for what purpose. Subtitling was examined according to the following pattern:

- a) **Adequate subtitling.** A given subtitling was characterized as adequate, when creator's/producer's name, year of creation/production, title, source that is extracted and comments on illustration are stated
- b) **Inadequate subtitling.** In case only comments are given on a visual data, its subtitling was characterized as inadequate.
- c) **Semi-adequate subtitling.** Under this characterization was sorted subtitling that gave creator's/producer's name, year of creation/production, title and source that is extracted.

At this point of analysis, based on subtitling, the nation that each subtitling indicated was also examined.

B) the form of illustration. Choppin (1990:91) classified images '*according to the degree to which they truly represent an object*' and suggests three principal types of image:

'photographs, drawings, provided to be realistic and diagrams e.g. drawings designed with a high degree of abstraction. Charts, histograms and maps etc come into the last category'.

Levin & Mayer (1990:106) suggest classification which involves '*realistic illustrations, schematic illustrations, black and white photographs, colour photographs*'. Both classifications were insufficient for the form of illustrations embedded in textbooks under investigation. For this reason, I studied all visual representations and identified the following types: tableau, poster, postcards, sculptures, caricature, official documents, photographs, press and sketches. Next, all illustration were classified into these categories. The aim of this classification was to identify what forms of illustration are included in textbooks, which form has the greatest proportion and whether particular forms are related to particular nations.

C) the size of illustration. The choice of the size of illustration in the textbooks was made by the textbook authors. Choppin (1990: 92) underlines that:

'the author, too, plays an essential role, by choosing not only the document but also the scale, centring and the page layout and thereby orientating the way in which it is read'

So, the size of illustration constituted the third criterion and was sorted as follows:

- a) very big size: whole textbook page
- b) big size: half textbook page
- c) medium size: from ½ up to 1/5 textbook page
- d) small size: under 1/5 textbook page

Relevant research (e.g. Treisman and Gelade 1980) has shown that the size of illustration has a significant effect on viewers' attention and memory. Thus, this categorization aimed to define whether the specific size of illustration is related to specific nations and consequently to investigate whether the authors aimed to draw the viewers' attention to specific nations. For the systematic classification of the external features of illustration, a coding sheet was used which is presented in Appendix 2.

Regarding the internal characteristics of visual data, they were examined according to the following criteria:

A) Sort of representation. Based on content analysis which was also used for coding visual materials (see Lutz and Collins 1993) and according to the pattern used in textual data analysis, illustration was classified into the following categories: 1) political events 2) military events 3) everyday life events 4) intellectual pursuits (such as pieces of art) 5) technological developments (such as architectural achievements) and 6) portraits (images that present personalities). This classification aimed to identify, on the one hand, what kinds of representations are illustrated in general and on the other hand, whether specific representations are related to specific nations.

B) Interrelation between text and illustration. Hodnett (1986) stresses that an image in a book- not only a literary but an academic one as well- cannot be studied independently from the text which surrounds it. Also, Choppin (1990) determines several functions of pictures within a textbook: motivation, decorative, information, reflection and exemplary function. Having studied the textual data in textbooks, this criterion tried to identify the kind of relationship between the text and the illustration situated close to it under the scope of whether the illustration repeats the knowledge about nations provided by the text and/or adds new information, summarizes or

compares this knowledge. Four sorts of relation between text and illustration were defined:

- 1) Embellishment (illustrations are not discussed in text and provide new knowledge)
- 2) Reinforcement (information provided by illustration is repeated in text)
- 3) Elaboration (illustration not only repeat but also add new information)
- 4) Comparison (illustration included for readers to compare or contrast with early version of it).

C) Content of representation. This criterion focuses on the illustration itself and tries to interpret visual representation and reveal qualitative outcomes which, in the context of this study, entail what ‘message’ is conveyed for each nation. For the qualitative analysis of the content of representation the approach developed by Kress and van Leeuwen was employed. Next, I briefly present the theoretical foundations and the approach itself, underlining which part of it I employed for my research and why.

Kress and van Leeuwen in their book *‘Reading images: The Grammar of visual design’* (2001) suggest a methodological approach based on the movement of *‘social semiotics’* which developed in Australia in accordance with Halliday (1994) who developed a correspondence approach in the field of linguistics. According to the authors, visual images can be read as ‘text’, the metaphor of ‘grammar’ can be applied to the study of visuals. In this sense, ‘grammar’ is not a set of rules for the correct use of language but rather a set of socially constructed resources for the construction of meaning:

‘The visual, like all semiotics modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication. We have adopted the theoretical notion of ‘metafunction’ from the work of Micheal Halliday for the purpose of dealing with this factor. The three metafunctions which he posits are the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual’ (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:40 emphasis in original)

Ideational metafunction involves the way the represented ‘participants’ (they could be objects, places, persons) of an image can be related to each other. This relationship constitutes a narrative process which can be visually realized by vectors (Figure 1). The narrative process can be distinguished on the basis of the number and kind of

‘participants’ involved. If an image has two participants, the authors describe the one as the *actor* and the other as the *goal* and the relationship between them is characterised as *actional*. The actor is the participant from whom or from which the action originates. The participant to whom the action is done or is aimed to be done is the goal. This narrative process is described as *transactional* and can be depicted by vectors as shown in Figure 1. In case an image has one ‘participant’ is always the actor and the narrative presentation is *non-transactional* and has no goal. This kind of process is shown by vectors in Figure 1. When the vector creating the relation between two or more participants is the result of a look or gaze, Kress and van Leeuwen describe the process as *reactional*. In such process the ‘participants’ are named *reactors* (instead of actors) and *phenomena* (instead of goals). Apart from actions, ‘participants’ can be related to each other in a more ‘abstract’ way (*conceptual representations*) as *classificational* (tree structure) and *analytical* processes (a part-whole structure) (Figure 2).

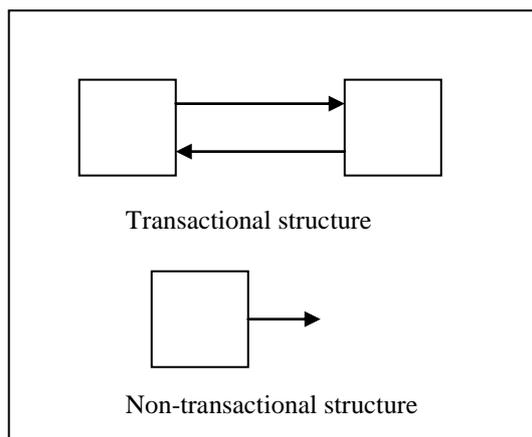


Figure 1. Actional representations

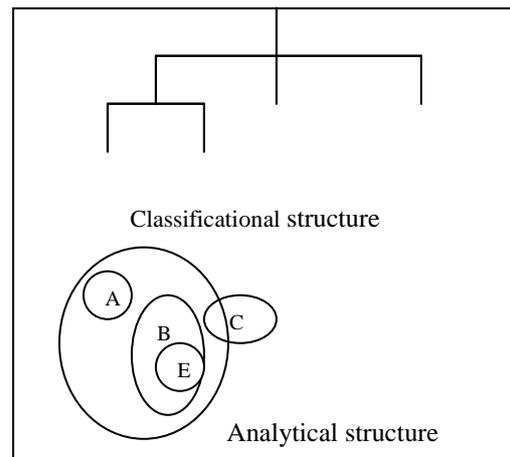


Figure 2. Conceptual representations

Interpersonal metafunction entails the interaction created by the image between the viewer and the ‘participants’ of the image and the position the viewer is called to take seeing a particular image. A number of parameters define this relation: participants’ gaze, social distance, perspective, lighting and colour. The participants’ gaze in an image is fundamental because

‘there is a difference between pictures from which represented participants look directly at viewers’ eyes, and pictures in which this is not the case. When represented ‘participants’ look at the viewer [...] the image wants something from the viewers- wants them to do something or to form a pseudo-social bond of a particular kind with the represented

participant.[...]we have called this kind of image a 'demand' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:122-123)

In cases of images where participants address the viewer indirectly, these kind of images are called an 'offer'

'it 'offers' the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 124)

Social distance refers to the varying degrees of familiarity the image addresses between the viewer and the represented 'participants'. If an image presents its participant(s) as a close shot '*the participant is shown as if the viewer is engaged with him/her/it [...] people are portrayed as though they are friends* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:134). At middle distance (middle shot which shows the full figure), the participant(s) are presented as within the viewer's reach, but not as actually used by him/her and at long distance (whole figures of a group of people are presented), '*there is an invisible barrier between the viewer and the participants [...] people are thought of as strangers, 'others''* (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:132).

Perspective has to do with the selection of an angle, a 'point of view' that the producer/creator of an image presents of the 'participants'. Significant for the determination of the point of view that an image can be seen by a viewer is the *horizontal* and the *vertical* angle from which an image is taken. More particularly,

'horizontal angle is a function of the relation between the frontal plane of the image-producer and the frontal plane of the represented participants. The two can either be parallel, aligned with one another, or form an angle, diverge from one other. [...] The frontal angle says: 'what you see is part of our world, something you are involved with (involvement)'. The oblique angle says: 'what you see here is not part of our world; is their world, something we are not involved with (detachment)' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:141, 143).

The vertical angle defines the nature of power relations between the view and the image.

'If a represented participant is seen from a high angle, then the relation between the viewer and the participants is depicted as one in which the viewer has power over the represented participant. If the represented participant is seen from a low angle, then the relation between viewer and represented participant is depicted as one in which the represented participant has the power over the viewer. If, finally the picture is at eye

level, then the point of view is one of equality and there is no power of difference involved (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 146).

The 'brightness' and/or the 'darkness' of a represented participant involves the effect lighting has on him/her/it which is conveyed as meaning to the reader. For example, shadows may suggest that something is being concealed and bright light might suggest a sense of hope or, when directed at a particular section of an image, it may highlight something significant, giving a dramatic feel to the image. Soft light may create a romantic feel.

The use of particular colour in a visual image may represent particular moods or feelings and attach a symbolic meaning to it. For example, red colour may suggest passion and/or danger. Colour can also be described in terms of tone and saturation. Tone is the degree of lightness or darkness of a coloured area and saturation is the degree of purity in a colour.

Textual metafunction involves the compositional arrangements of text and image in a page layout (visual space); the point (left-right, top-bottom) that an image is placed gives different meaning to the relation between text and image. Again, the horizontal and vertical (imaginary) axis of a page is used for the meaning of the relation to be revealed.

'When pictures or layouts make significant use of the horizontal axis, positioning some of their elements left and other different ones right of the centre the elements on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New'. For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer knows [...] For something to be New means that it is presented as something which is not yet known[...] as something to which the viewer must pay attention' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 187)

Regarding the vertical axis of a page, the elements (either text or image) that have been placed on the top are presented as the Ideal and what has placed at the bottom as the Real.

'For something (text or image) to be ideal means to be idealized or generalized essence of the information, hence also as its most salient part. The real is then opposed to this in that it presents more specific information, more down to earth information or more practical information' (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001:193-194).

Images can also be composed along the dimension of the centre and margin of a page layout. The centre is presented as the nucleus of the information, whereas the margin is subservient or ancillary. Figure 4 depicts the dimensions of the visual space as described before.

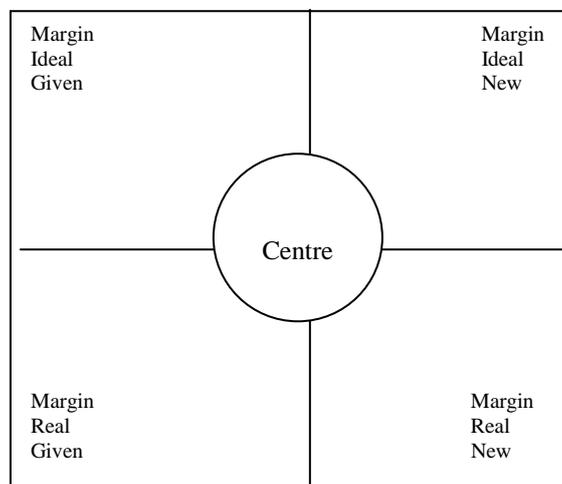


Figure 4. The dimensions of visual space

In Appendix 2, a coding sheet used for the internal characteristics of visual representation can be found.

However, as stated previously, not every part of the ‘grammar of visual design’ was applied to the visual data embedded in textbook. More particularly, the ideational metafunction was not examined since the focus of the research is not on the (inter)action between the ‘participants’ presented in an image of a nation but on the event (political, military etc.) that is presented, an element which is examined by the criterion (a): sort of visual representation. Also, the role of colour and lighting is not examined because the printing quality of the illustration was not quite good enough in order that these aspects to be examined. Moreover, before the final application of the approach I developed, the approach was applied to a sample of pictures in order to explore whether or not it was practicable. This test showed that the approach could be applied to the majority of the visual data. Nevertheless, there were several visual data where this approach was not thoroughly applicable, due to the kind and the content of visual representation. For example, maps could not be examined applying the interpersonal metafunction. In the same vein, pieces of art and/or a picture which represents, for instance, a Spanish ship or part of the Greek institution could not be examined by this approach because no relevant and meaningful conclusions for the

study could be drawn. For these visual data, the emphasis was placed on the external characteristics and on the first two criteria set for the internal characteristics. Especially, pieces of art such as tableau and sculpture were taken under consideration for the criteria set for their external characteristics and regarding the nation to which they referred, they are studied as representations of particular civilizations, for instance European and Greek civilization.

In the end, concerning external and internal characteristics, the outcomes of the classification were studied as a whole and the presentation of the findings referred to both kinds of characteristics.

3.6. Presentation of the findings

3.6.1. Textbook of 6th grade

3.6.1.1. Textual data

As stated above, the classification of recording units of the analysis was made at two levels. The first classification tried to examine which geographic areas are presented in each particular textbook. Using the first classification, the distribution of the recording units which were extracted from the history textbook of the 6th grade and were classified into the seven categories are shown in table 34.

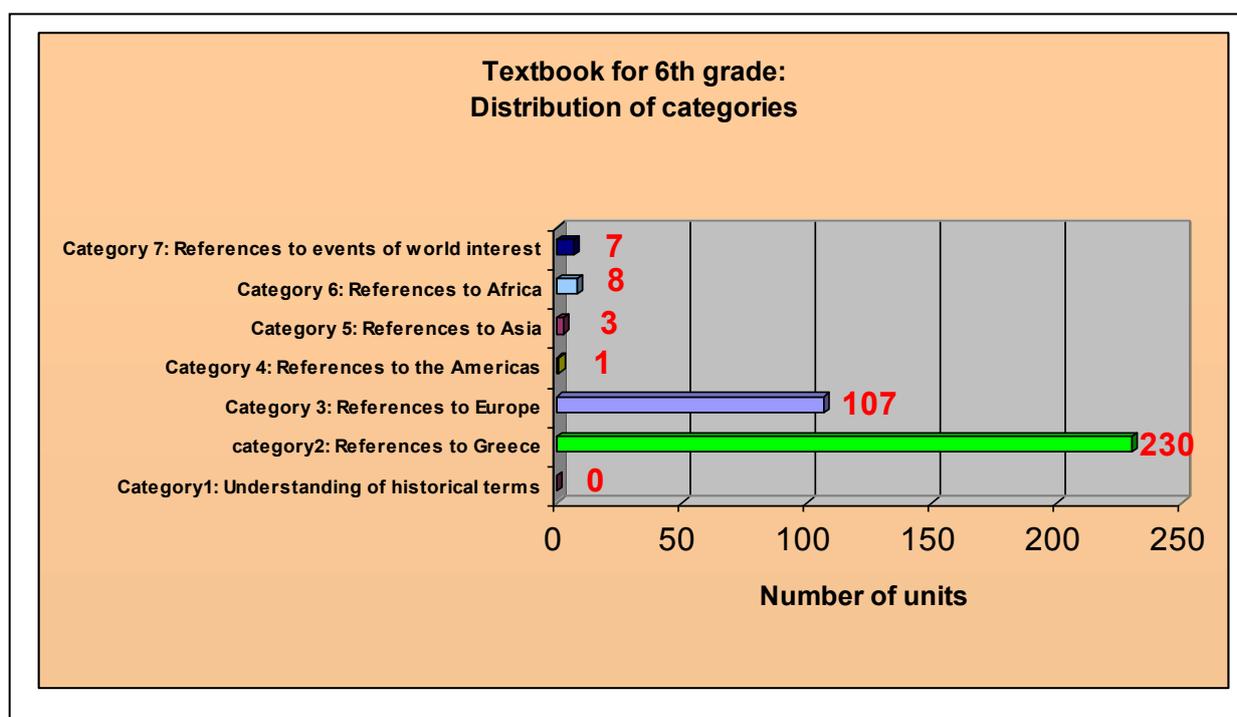


Table 34. Paragraphs distribution of history textbook of the 6th grade

According to table 34, the majority of paragraphs is categorized in the category 2: 'References to Greece' (230 paragraphs/ percentage 64,60%), followed by category 3: 'References to Europe' (107 paragraphs/percentage 30,05%). The rest of the recording units fall into the other categories as follows: 1 paragraph (0,28%) falls into category 4: 'References to Asia', 3 paragraphs (0,84%) fall into category 5: 'References to America', 8 paragraphs (2,24%) into category 6: 'References to Africa' and 7 paragraphs (1,96%) into category 7: 'References to events of world

interest'. There are no paragraphs regarding the understanding of historical terms, notion and phenomena (category1). The distribution of paragraphs demonstrates that the history textbook of the 6th grade initial focus is on national history. Although there are references to other continents, Europe and European history seems to be more emphasized. In relation to the events of world interest, the examination of the units falls into this category, showing that the two World Wars are the events which are discussed. These findings are similar to the findings of the corresponding curriculum (see Chapter 2) apart from the references to other continents, which were absent in it.

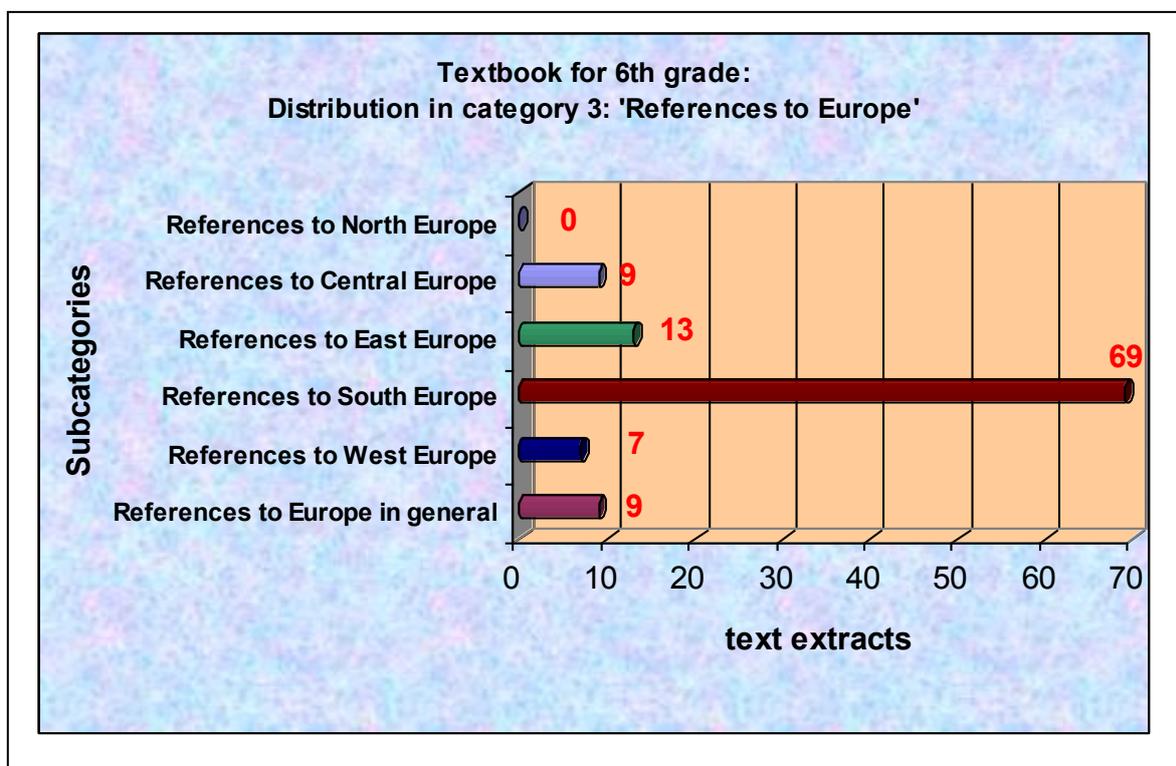


Table 35. Paragraphs distribution in category 3.

Table 35 shows the classification of paragraphs into the subcategories of category 3 and defines which geographic areas of Europe are most discussed.

Subcategory 3.3: 'References to South Europe' gathers the majority of the recording units that fall into this category (69 paragraphs/ percentage 64,48%). 9 paragraphs (8,41%) were categorized in subcategory 3.1: 'References to Europe in general' and 7 paragraphs (6,54%) in subcategory 3.2: 'References to West Europe'. The distribution of subcategory 3.4: 'References to East Europe' and subcategory 3.5: 'References to Central Europe' is 13 (12,14%) and 9 paragraphs (8,41%) respectively. There is no

mention of North Europe (subcategory 3.6). As in the case of the relevant curriculum, the outcomes indicate that South Europe and more particularly the Balkans is the area of Europe which is mostly discussed in the particular textbook. As it is also shown in the presentation of the textbook, over half of the syllabus includes historical events related to the Greek War of Independence and the Balkans Wars. Consequently, it can be stated that national history, which is central in history teaching, is mostly related to the developments which took place in South Europe. Studying carefully the paragraphs which fall into this category, it is found that the other parts of Europe are discussed in order that the European historical climate of each period to be outlined and for national history to be aligned with it. For instance, references involving Russia and its wars with Ottoman Empire aim to show mostly how Greece was influenced by these wars. There are few/no references to how Russia or the Ottoman Empire was influenced by the wars between them. So, Europe and its historical course are presented partially, and with the view to explaining or promoting national history.

Regarding the kind of history (for instance, political, military, social etc) that is included in this particular history textbook, the analysis, as in case of curriculum, shows that political and military events are mainly emphasized. More particularly, table 36 illustrates what kinds of references refer to Greece. The majority of references involve political-economic events (102 out of 230 recording units/percentage 44%). Military events follow (66 references /percentage 29%) while cultural references and social history are referred to in 62 paragraphs in total (percentage 27% in total). As in the corresponding curriculum, it is clear that the emphasis is given to political and military history than to cultural and social developments.

Similar findings can be found in the other categories as well. In category 3, the classification of paragraphs in its subcategories leads to the same findings. To begin with, table 37 illustrates the distribution in subcategory 3.1: 'References to Europe in general'.

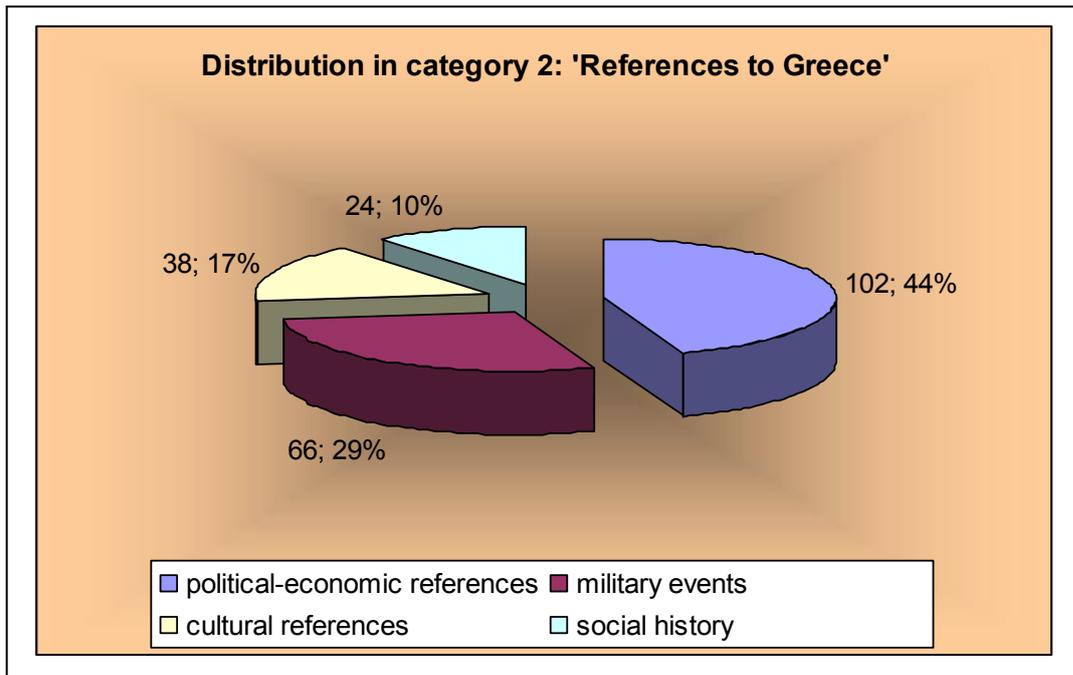


Table 36. Distribution of paragraphs in category 2.

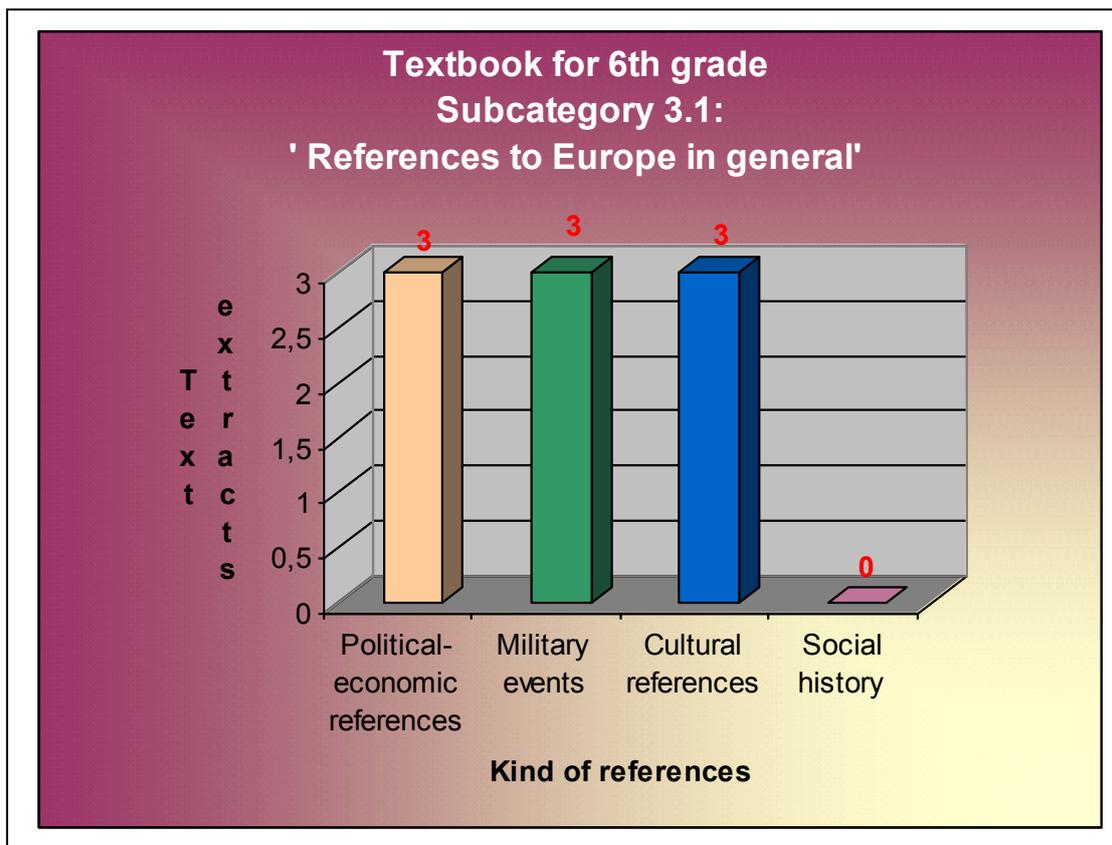


Table 37. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.1

In subcategory 3.1, 9 paragraphs, which fall in it, involve equally political-economic, military and cultural references (3 paragraphs in each subcategory) while references to European every day life do not exist.

Tables 38,39,40,41 present the distribution of paragraphs in subcategories 3.2: 'References to West Europe', 3.3: 'References to South Europe', 3.4: 'References to East Europe' and subcategory 3.5: 'References to Central Europe'.

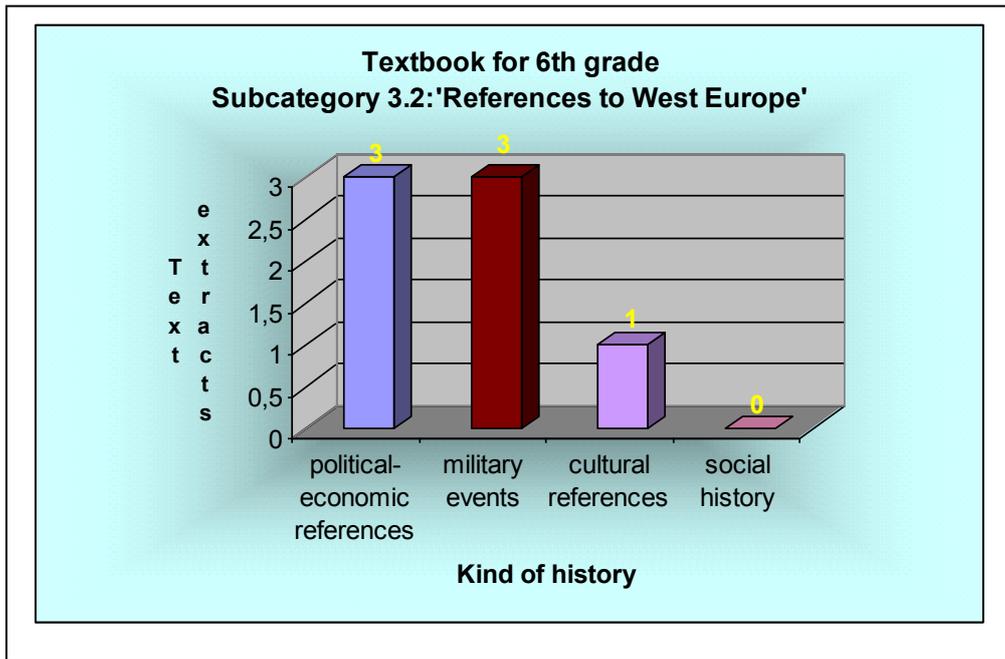


Table 38. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.2

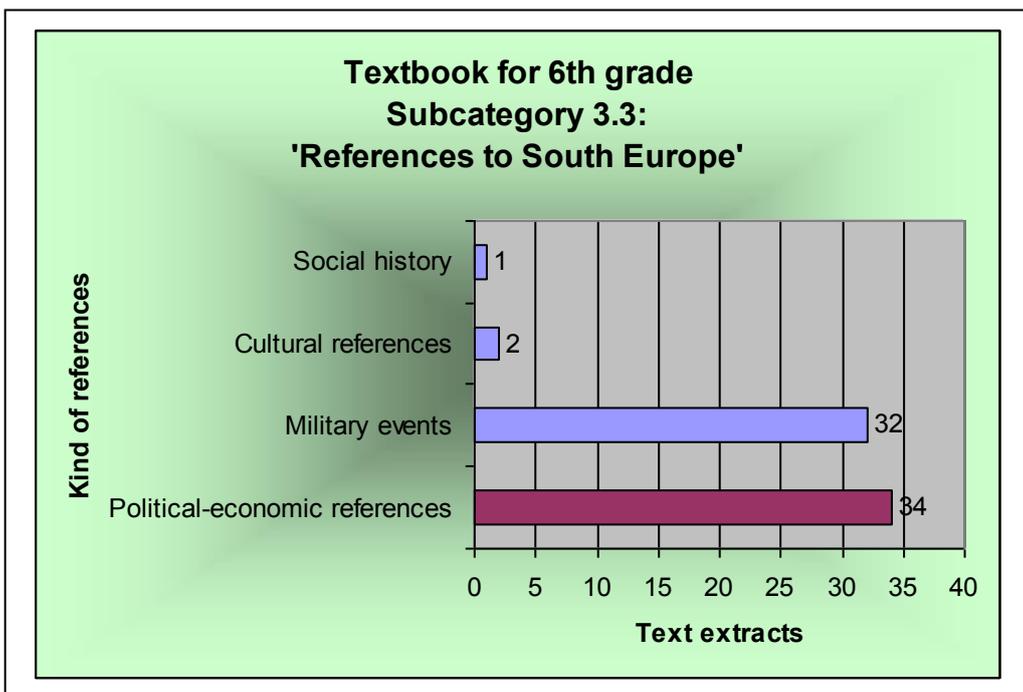


Table 39. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.3

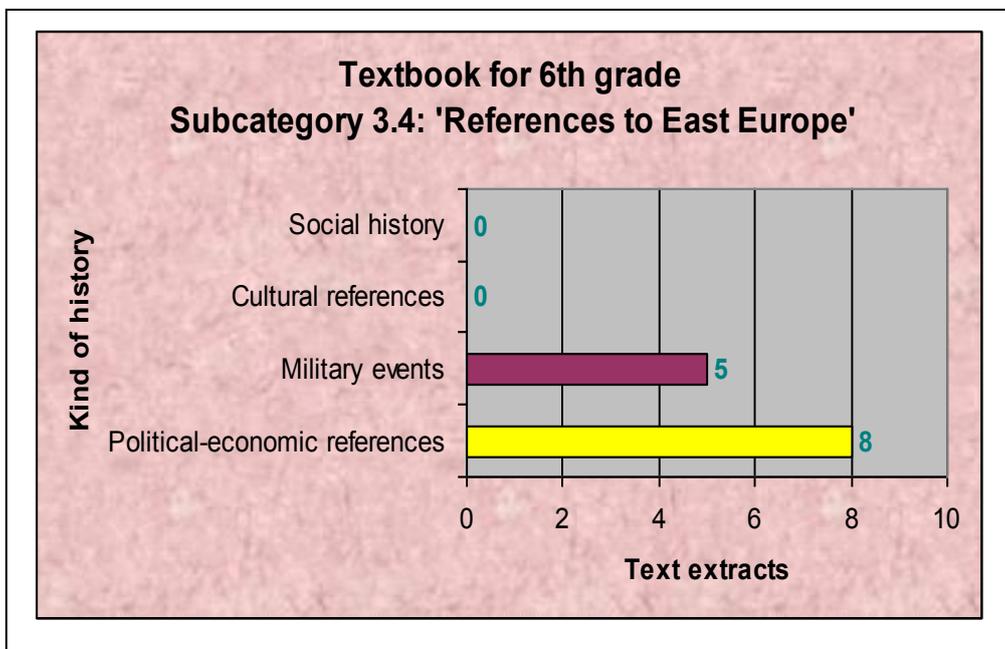


Table 40. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.4

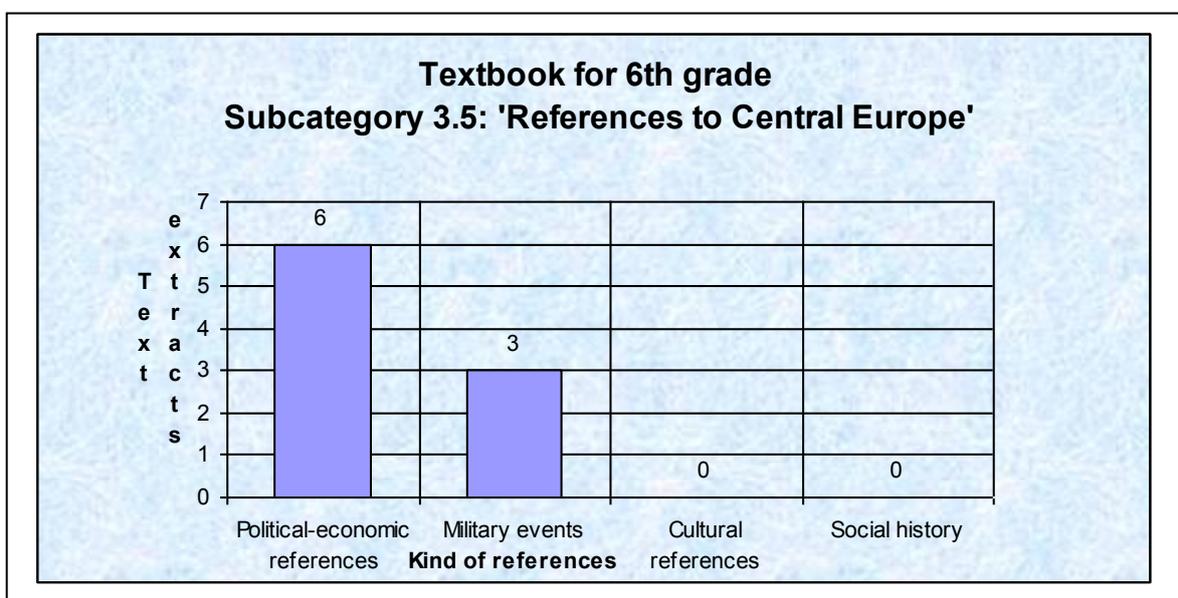


Table 41. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.5

As tables (38-41) depict, most recording units were categorized into subcategories which referred to political-economic and military events. Thus, in subcategory 3.2: 'References to West Europe', 3 out of 7 paragraphs mention political-economic events and 3 paragraphs refer to military events. 1 reference exists concerning cultural developments and there is no mention of social history.

On the same path, 34 paragraphs out of 69 (49,27%) and 32 paragraphs (46,37%) entail political-economic and military events in subcategory 3.3: 'References to South Europe' (Table 39). These kinds of references to the geographic area which is mostly

described in the particular textbook reach almost the percentage of 96% while cultural and social history references cover the percentage of 4% (2 paragraphs and 1 paragraph respectively). The study of the rest of the tables (40, 41) indicates similar findings. In subcategory 3.4: 'References to East Europe' 13 paragraphs that fall into it refer only to political-economic and military events as it happens in subcategory 3.5: 'References to Central Europe' which includes 9 references that involve the same kinds of events. North Europe is not mentioned at all in this textbook as if it does not exist. This omission probably occurs because national history is not very closely related to the historical developments which took place in that part of Europe. Also, it can be said that the absence of this part of Europe from the history textbook strengthens the idea that Europe and the other continents are presented only when they are involved in the political and military national history. This suggestion is also confirmed by paragraphs which fall into the categories which refer to other continents. More particularly, in category 4: 'References to Asia' (1 paragraph about a military event), category 5: 'References to the Americans' (3 paragraphs which referred to North America and involve political and military events) and category 6: 'References to Africa' (6 paragraphs concerning military events), as shown in tables 42, 43, 44, and thus the references are very limited.

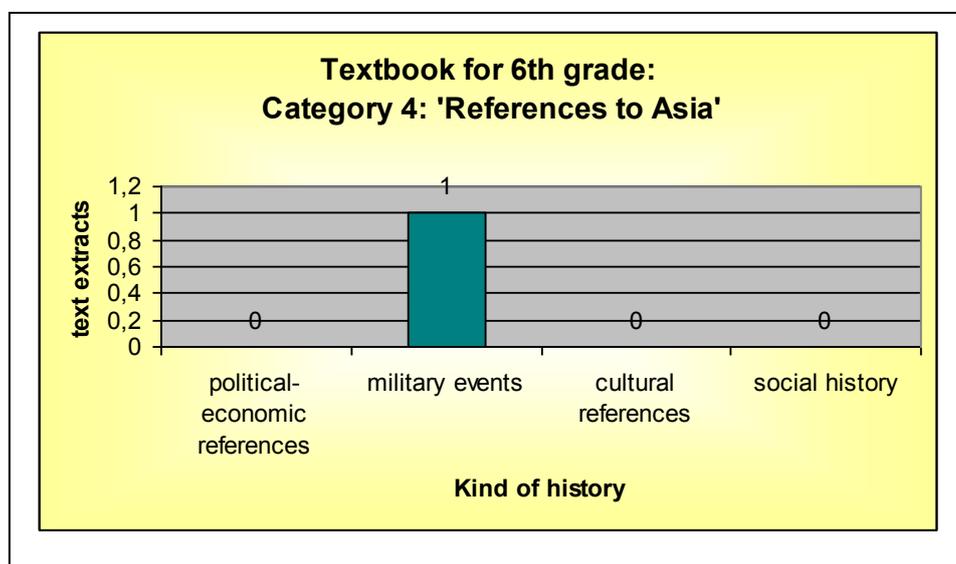


Table 42. Distribution of paragraphs in category 4.

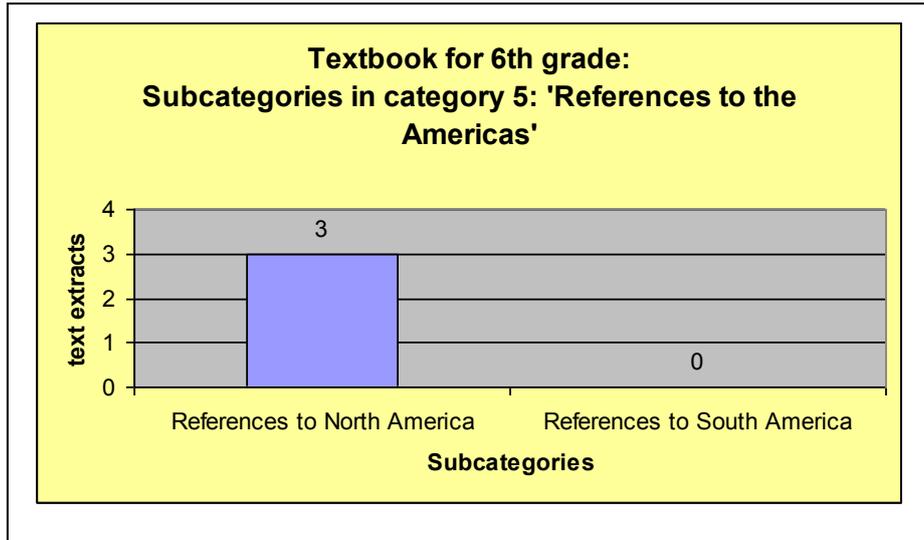


Table 43. Distribution of paragraphs in category 5.

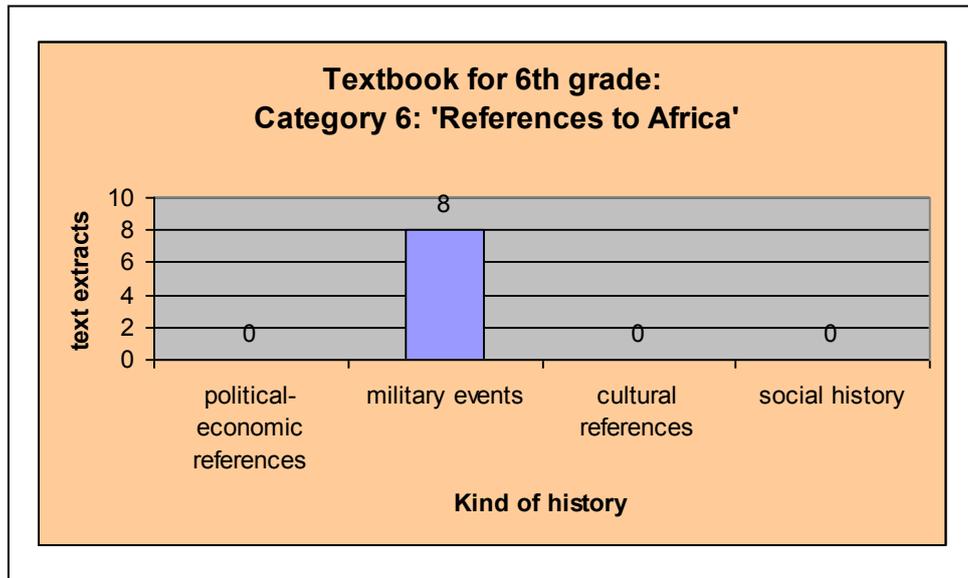


Table 44. Distribution of paragraphs in category 6.

The content of the paragraphs indicates that the continents that are mentioned– and all continents are not mentioned- are related directly/indirectly to national history. For example, Africa is mentioned due to the support which the Egyptians gave to the Ottoman Empire in order the latter to suppress the Greek Revolution of 1821. Thus, it could be stated that the presentation of the world is selective and aims to elevate national narratives.

Finally, regarding the events of world interest, as in case of relevant curriculum, attention is paid to World War I and II and to political and military events that took place during them (Table 45).

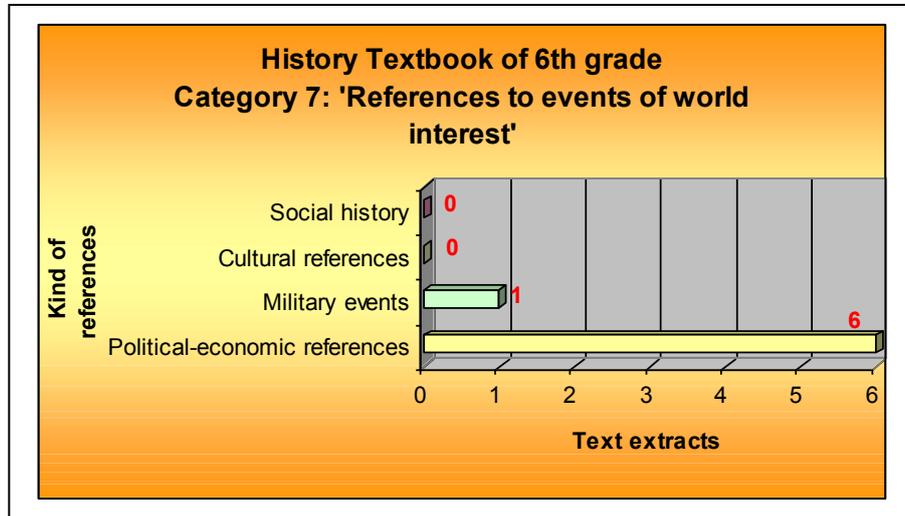
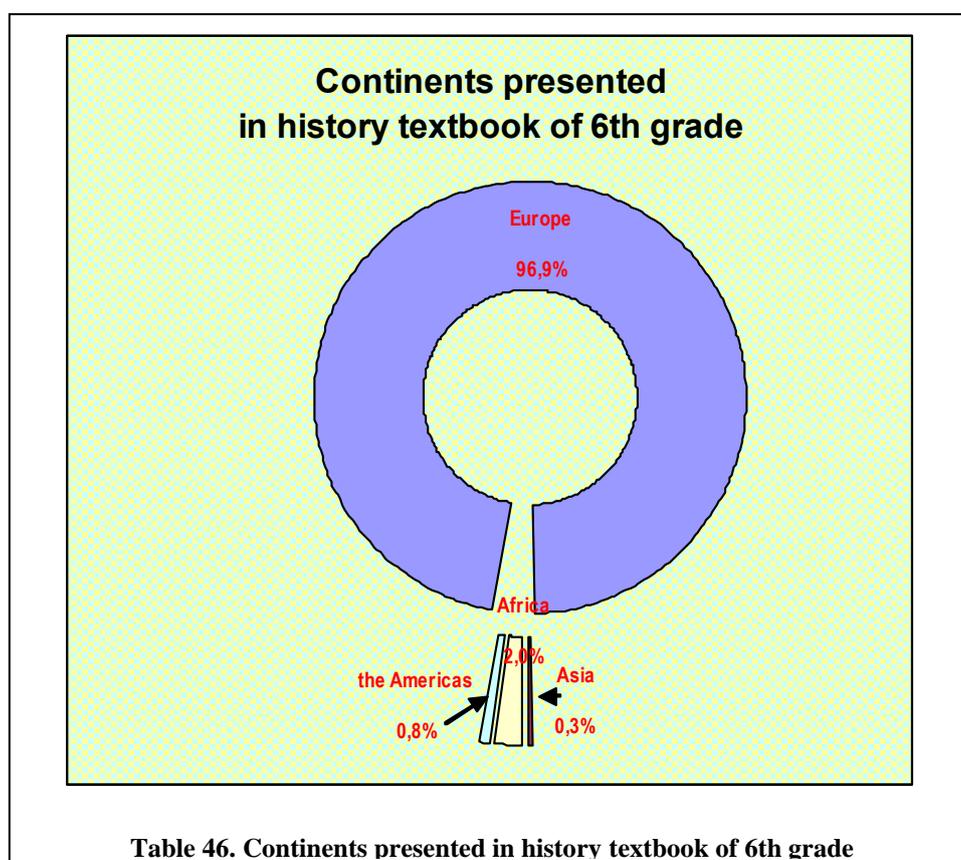


Table 45. Distribution of paragraphs in category 7

Concluding, the first categorisation of the paragraphs included in the history textbook for the 6th grade indicates that the emphasis of history teaching should be on national history and particularly on political and military events that took place during the periods examined at the particular grade. Europe and its history are also mentioned and they are stressed more than the other continents and their history. However, the presentation of Europe is not holistic but partial. It is mostly based on political and military events which took place mainly in South Europe and influenced national history directly and/or indirectly. Taking into consideration these findings, the questions which arise can be summarized as following: Are all nations from Europe and the other continents equally presented in the textbook? If no, which nations are discussed and under what scope? What image is conveyed for each of the nations presented? The presentation of the second classification that was attempted tries to answer these questions. Table 46 presents the geographical areas (continents) that the nation-states are coming from. Additionally, table 47 presents which nation-states are discussed in the particular textbook and how many references exist for each nation-state. The study of the particular tables demonstrates that the majority of nation-states

that are discussed in history textbook of 6th grade come from Europe and only three nation-states are presented from other continents.



It is also obvious that more attention is paid to nation-states situated in South Europe and less to nation-states from other parts of Europe. This finding strengthens the previously made suggestion that the history textbook is focused on Europe, in particular, on South Europe and the Balkans. Moreover, selective nation-states are presented either from South Europe and other parts of Europe. For example, from West Europe only England and France are discussed and from Central Europe more attention is paid to Germany. This is also the case considering East Europe (one nation-state is referred to: Russia). This finding is very closely related to the suggestion made in the analysis of history curricula and places emphasis on ‘high civilisation’ Europe within national history which attempts to locate and legislate itself.

Regarding the number of references related to each nation-state, table 48 illustrates the number of references to each nation. According to the table, Greece obtains the majority of references (230 out of 392 references) while the other nation-states

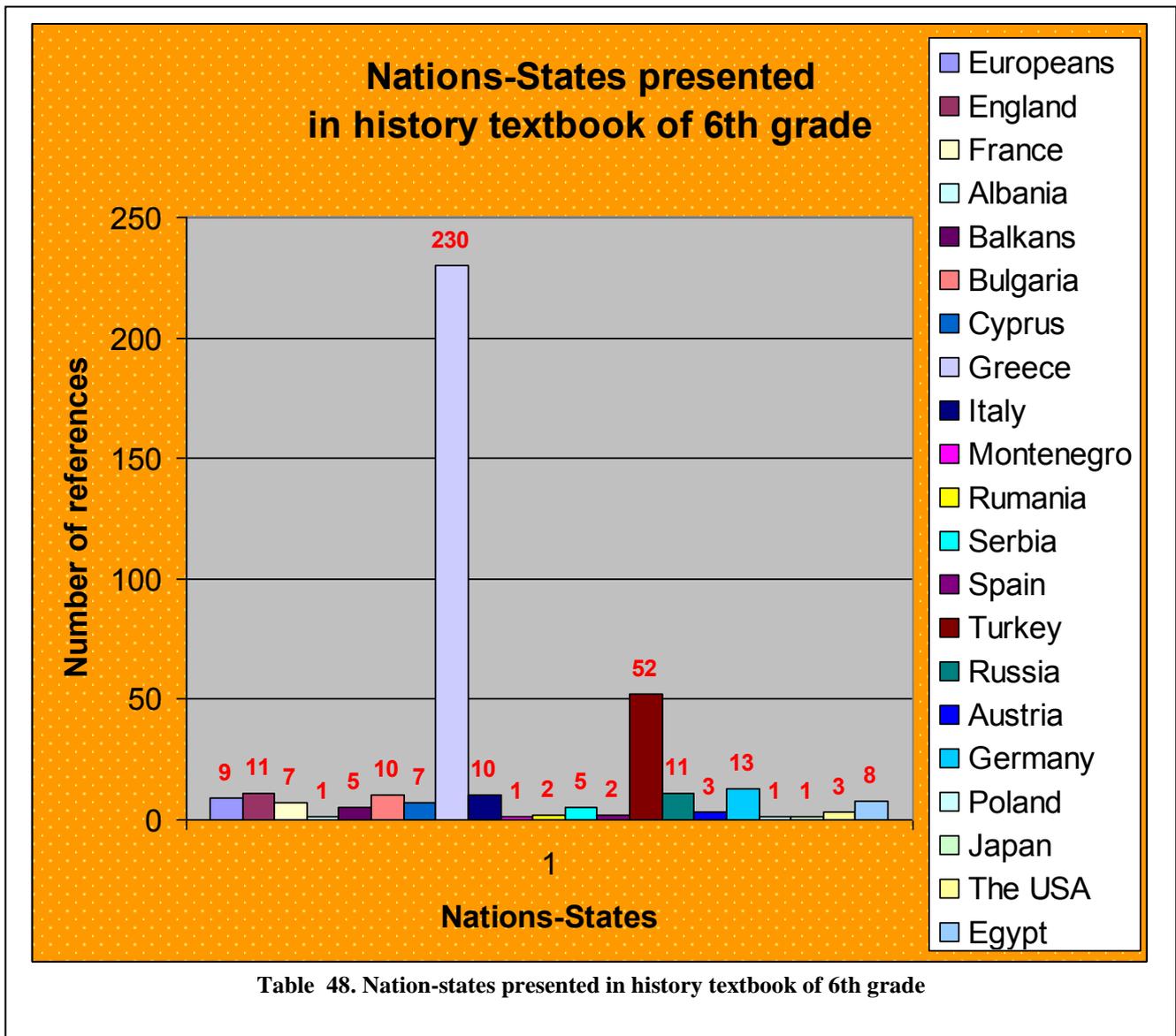
possess less references. From the data illustrated in tables 47 and 48, it is apparent that, apart from Greece, considerable attention is paid to another nation-state: Turkey. As it is showed in the presentation of history textbook contents, the syllabus is

<i>Continent- Parts of it</i>	<i>Nation-states</i>	<i>Number of references</i>
<i>Europe</i>		
<i>Europe in general</i>	Europeans	9
<i>West Europe</i>	England	11
	France	7
<i>South Europe</i>	Albania	1
	Balkans	5
	Bulgaria	10
	Cyprus	7
	Greece	230
	Italy	10
	Montenegro	1
	Rumania	2
	Serbia	5
	Spain	2
Turkey	52	
<i>East Europe</i>	Russia	11
<i>Central Europe</i>	Austria	3
	Germany	13
	Poland	1
<i>North Europe</i>	----	0
<i>Asia</i>	Japan	1
<i>The Americas</i>	The USA	3
<i>Africa</i>	Egypt	8

Table 47. Nation-states presented in history textbook of 6th grade

focused on the four centuries long occupation of Greece by the Ottomans and the Greek War of Independence against them. As a consequence, Turkey and its people are more discussed than other nation-states and their people. This also suggests that pupils are taught more about this nation-state more things than about other nations. But, what kind of knowledge do pupils obtain about this nation-state? The qualitative analysis which attempted by the coders and its presentation which follows will define what kind of knowledge and particularly what kind of image is conveyed for its nation. The references to other nations, except Greece and Turkey, do not seem to

vary considerably in terms of statistical significance. However, it can be stated that England (11 references), Bulgaria (10 references), Germany (13 references), Italy (10 references) and Russia (13 references) are nation-states more often presented than



other nation-states (their average percentage is approximately 4 references per nation-state). The questions which again arise are what kind of knowledge/historical events are discussed about other nation-states and mainly what ‘direction’ do these references have?

Table 49 presents the kind of events which refer to each nation-state. If the total references to all nation-states are considered, it is ascertained that political-economic and military history takes precedence over cultural and social history. Also, the table demonstrates that not all nation-states possess cultural and social references. These

sorts of references can be found in the references related to Greece, England, Bulgaria, Spain and Germany in different proportion. More particularly, references to every day history can be found in relation only to Greece and not to other nation-states. Also, it is interesting that military events are stressed more than political events in the references to Turkey and Egypt. This could be explained because teaching

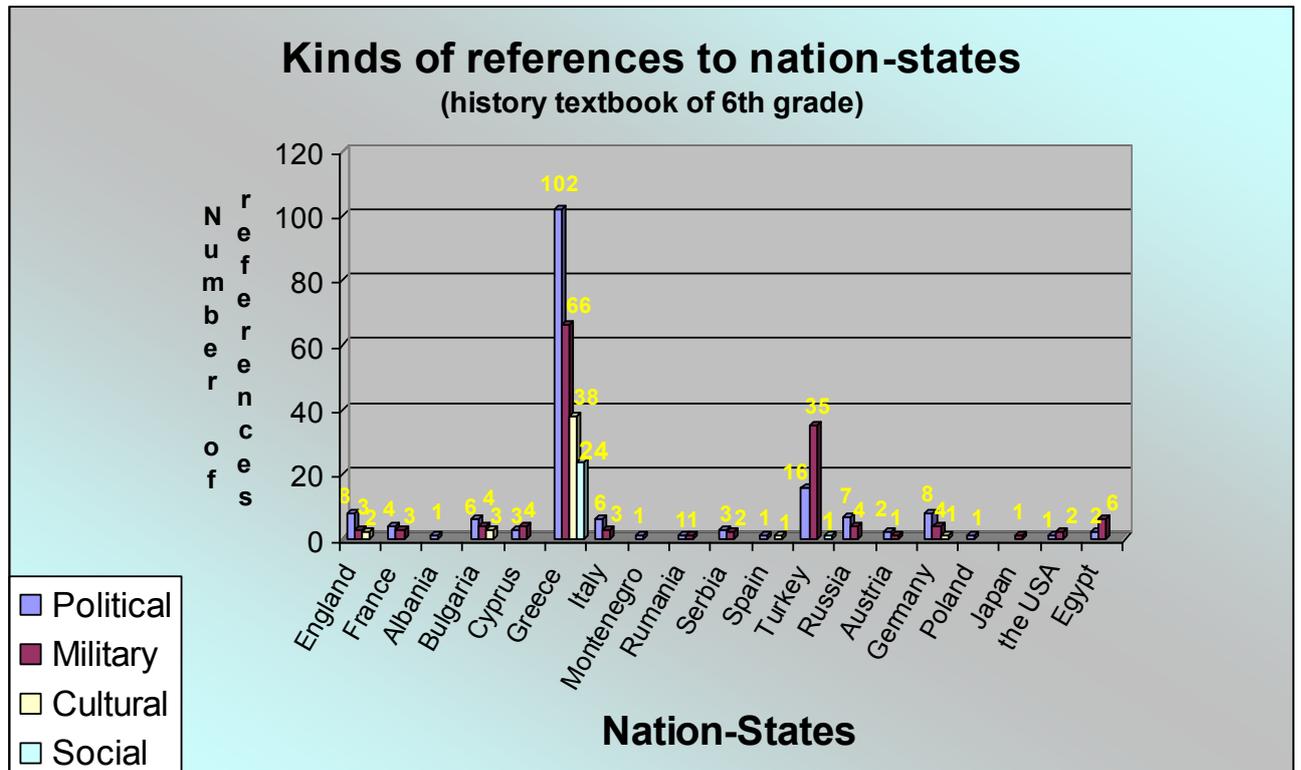


Table 49. Kinds of references to nation-states (history textbook of 6th grade)

syllabus gives emphasis on the war between them and the Greeks. So, it can be suggested that history teaching is focused on the one hand, on political-military history and on the other hand, to the development of the Greek nation-state. In other words, history teaching serves the aspects of traditional nationalistic history. A similar suggestion was made regarding the orientation of history curricula.

In terms of the image that is conveyed for each nation by the particular history textbook, table 50 depicts the ‘direction’ (positive, neutral, negative) of the references to each nation-state presented in the history textbook. Also, by ‘image’ is meant the characteristics discussed about each nation-state which form an idea and perception about it. Aiming to identify these characteristics, as discussed in the methodology section, it employed the qualitative analysis of the paragraphs in order for these

characteristics to be explicit and portray an identity of each nation-state. However, the analysis showed that the references to nation-states (apart from Greece and Turkey) are not many in order for a reliable rather than perhaps arbitrary ‘satisfactory image’ of these nation-states to be depicted. But given the significant role that textbook plays in history classes, I think, it is interesting to examine the features by which each nation-state is described, even with few references. This examination will also be useful in the part of pupils’ ideas about nation-states presentation in terms of comparisons which might be made.

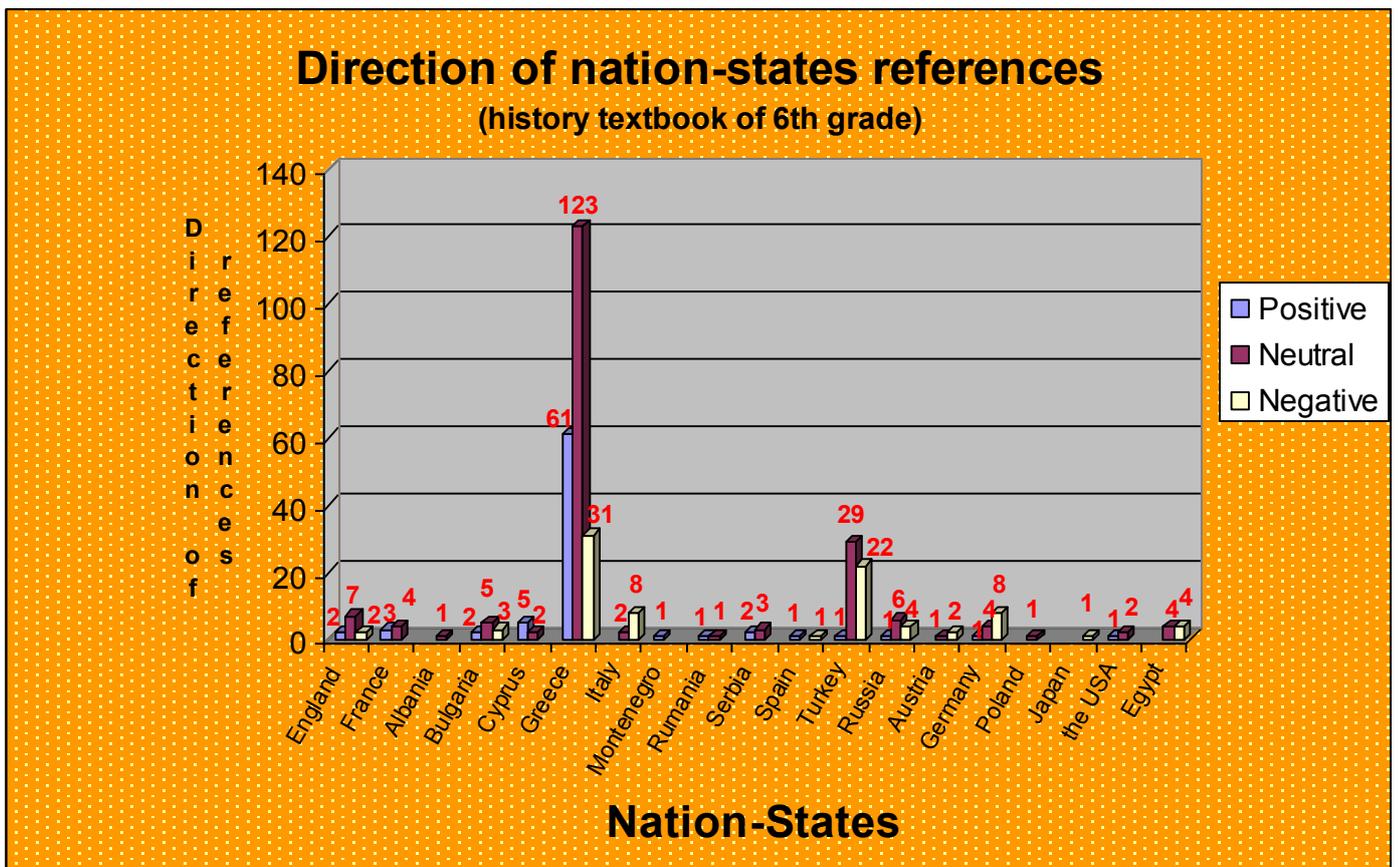


Table 50. Direction of references (history textbook of 6th grade)

To begin with, and based on table 50 and the coding sheets the coders filled in, the majority of references to the Greek nation-state are neutral (123 references out of 230). Despite whether someone would expect only positive references to the Greek nation-state, a considerable number of references to negative aspects of the nation-state in question appear. The positive references to the Greek nation portray a nation-state where:

- its people love their country, not only those who live in the country, as well as those who live outside of the country (Diaspora). Both feel '*passionate love for their motherland*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 55). Additionally, they cooperate and show solidarity especially in difficult situations.
- its people love and fight for its freedom no matter what its cost is. The struggle of the nation for freedom is characterised as '*ardour which burns Greek people's heart*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 97). Special attention is given to those who fought for their country. These people are characterized as heroes and they are honoured due to the generosity of their heart, bravery, free and high morale, decisiveness and national unity. They also gave '*an extremely significant example of self-sacrifice*' and '*coloured the battle fields with their blood*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 143, 93).
- its national identity is very close link with: its tradition/heritage and religion. Emphasis is given to the Greek cultural identity meaning '*the Greek manners and customs, myths and legends the nation based on its hope for freedom and cultivate the national feeling*'. Also, '*the maintenance of manners and customs contributed to Greeks to preserve their cultural identity*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 53, 47). Additionally, the role of the Church and its contribution to the nation in the difficult situations the nation went through is underlined several times. '*This contribution (of the Church) was invaluable since whoever kept his/her faith in God, (s)he kept also his Greek identity*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 27).
- is a maritime nation, very skillful at sea and with intensive commercial activities. Also, as a nation likes to celebrate and have fun even when they are suffering. For example, it is stated that '*the significant holidays of Christianity-Christmas, Easter- gave the opportunity to the enslaved Greeks to gather and to forget their suffering*'. In these celebrations '*they usually invited the Turks and many times the latter had fun with the Christians*' (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 47).

On the other hand, Greeks were mentioned negatively due to:

- their lack of understanding in peaceful periods. This derives from their struggles and rivalry for political power, and the fanaticism of political

opponents. *'The hatred of civil war had poisoned the relationships among the Greeks and continued to poison them for many years'* (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 249).

- also, this kind of rivalry led to thoughtless, unorganized and unsystematic political actions that caused catastrophes at a political and mainly social level.

To sum up, Greeks are described as a nation where people love its country and its freedom deeply. As a nation, it suffered from its conquerors a lot; they caused several catastrophes to its territory and people while Greeks tried to defend their country. Culture and Christianity are the two basic elements which form its national identity. Greeks like the sea and having fun but, at the same time, they battle for political power which, in some cases, causes unpleasant situations for the whole nation.

An interesting finding that derives from the study of table 50 is that the majority of references to Turkey were characterized as negative and neutral (41 out of 42) while only 1 reference was positive. This 'positive' reference mentions the benefits the Ottoman Empire leader conceded to the enslaved Greeks. However, throughout the textbook, the Turkish people and Turkey was identified with the Ottoman Empire and are considered as conquerors and consequently as enemies due to the almost four centuries long occupation of what is now Greek territory. Under this scope, the qualitative analysis relates Turkey and its people with a number of unpleasant actions and 'negative' adjectives. According to them, Turkish people were responsible for invasions, occupations, looting, horror, massacres, captivity, hanging, slave trade and pogroms. They are also characterized as intolerant, adamant, opportunists and imperious. In one case, they were described as cowardly: *'The Turks feeling cowardly entered the castles and the Greeks remained outside of the castles to besiege them'* (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 97); this picture derives mostly from the military events (mainly battles and wars) between the Turks and Greeks described in the textbook. As table 46 shows, the majority of references where Turks are involved are about military events and there is almost no other kind of reference apart from political and military events. Thus, Turks are thought of as 'tough enemies' who made the Greeks suffer a lot of difficulties.

Not only the ‘image’ of Turks but the ‘image’ of other nations is based only on political and military events as well. England is mainly mentioned because of her political involvement in the Greek revolution (8 references) and her military actions taken against the Ottoman Empire. However, the majority of mentions are neutral (7 out of 11 references). The two positive references are based on her friendly attitude to the Greek War of Independence and her efforts for peace to be established in the war area while, at the same time, the particular country is characterized negatively due to its interference in the Greek civil war which led to violent clashes and being conquered in the case of Cyprus, and its government did not accept the will of Cypriot people.

Based again on the same kinds of historical events, France is depicted through 3 positive and 4 neutral in direction references. The positive ones referred to ‘*The French revolution (which), with its slogan FREEDOM-EQUALITY-BROTHERHOOD, was a shining example for every downtrodden people*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 11), Napoleon’s victorious wars and the country’s efforts to bring peace during the Greek War of Independence.

Although the references to Bulgaria are few, these references are contradictory. The positive ones (2 references) describe Bulgarians as a people who had ‘*the same desire for freedom*’ and ‘*similar customs and manners, and religion*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 81) while the negative references accused Bulgarians of proselytism to the Bulgarian Church and Bulgarians’ efforts to weaken the Greek national identity. The particular references rely on political and military events which have to do with the so called ‘Macedonia conflict’ (1904-1908) where Greeks and Bulgarians were fighting for Macedonia.

There are also few references to Cypriots (7 references) but the majority of them are positive and present the Cypriots’ struggle against the British (1955-59) and the Turkish invasion in Cyprus (1974). More precisely, Cypriots are described as persons who ‘*did not lose their courage and hope for freedom*’, ‘*wrote new heroic and glorious (history) pages*’ ‘*fighting for their freedom*’, ‘*have an association with Greece*’ ‘*and are for a fair solution to the Cypriot problem*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 259).

Italians are described by ‘dark’ colours in the 8 negative references out of 10- the rest are neutral. Based on these few references, Italians and particularly Mussolini were responsible for fascism for which ‘*after a while, people ‘paid dearly’ for the dominance of fascism*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 229). Also, as conquerors, Italians were responsible for unbearable taxes, burdens, hunger and the impoverishment the Greek people suffered mostly during World War II. For the same reasons, a negative image is conveyed for the Germans who were conquerors during the same period. They were discussed (in 8 out of 13 references) for their authoritarian leadership of Greece in the first years of the establishment of the Greek state and the suffering of the Greek nation. ‘*The Germans reacted with fury: imprisoned, tortured (the Greeks), destroyed and burnt cities and whole villages. Thousands of people fought and sacrificed*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 242). The only cultural and positive at the same time reference is about the discovery of typography by the German Gutenberg. His discovery is described as ‘*a significant event*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 11).

Russia and its leaders, through political and military events and in the negative references (6 in number) to which they were mentioned, were presented as they look after their own interest and they betrayed the Greeks in several cases. ‘*Russia, which was in war with the Turks, in order to direct its competitor’s attention incites the Greeks to rebellion. But, revolutionaries were beaten and suffered many tragedies*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 77). The only positive references mention that Russia, as a member of the Great Powers, tried to stop the war between the Greeks and the Turks (1827).

Egyptians were allies with the Turks and help the latter in many military operations against the Greeks. Since the Egyptians are mentioned mostly for military events (6 references out of 8- the rest are about political events), the direction of the references are half neutral half negative. According to the negative ones which are four- ‘*Ibrahim (their leader) ‘sowed’ disaster wherever he passed*’ (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 143) and he and his forces were responsible for many catastrophes like the ruination of the island of Kasos.

The references to Spain (2 references: 1 positive and cultural –about explorations- and one political and negative- about dictatorship), to Rumania (2 references: 1 positive and military- about the same desire for freedom with the Greeks and one neutral and political), to Serbia (5 references: 3 political and neutral and 3 military and positive because Serbians are Christian and allies with the same desire for freedom), to Austrians (3 references: 2 political, one negative because of being hostile to the Greek revolution and one neutral, and one military and negative because the declaration of war against an ally country), to Montenegro (1 reference: military and positive because it is a Christian and ally country), to Poland (1 military and neutral reference), to the USA (3 references: 2 military and neutral and one political and positive due to the economic support the USA gave to Greece), to Albania (1 political and neutral reference) and to Japan (1 military and negative because this country's unprovoked bombing of the American navy) are very few in order for an image to be discussed.

Underlining again that in several cases the references to some countries are not many in order for well-grounded conclusions to be drawn, it can be said that the image conveyed for some nation-states (such as Turkey, Egypt, Italy, Germany, Russia) which were involved in war(s) with Greece is negative. A positive image is cultivated for Cyprus which is thought of as fraternal country due to its ancient Greek origins. I think, also, that the emphasis that is paid on political and military events contributes to the cultivation of a negative image. Since battles and wars in which the Greek nation fought heroically for its freedom and rights are discussed and analysed the most, in a sense, it could be logical the 'others' to be depicted with dark colours. But, what will be the case if more cultural events and aspects of everyday life of other nation-states were presented and discussed? This is an interesting question to be answered. Moreover, given the above discussed context of references to other nation-states (Greek included), it is worth exploring what is its influence and impact on pupils' ideas about these countries as well as about their own country. Also, does history teachers' way of teaching and presenting other nation-states and their own nation differentiate from the image conveyed by the textual narratives? These questions are addressed in the chapter of empirical research where the pupils' and teachers' ideas are discussed.

3.6.1.2. Written sources

The textbook includes 33 primary, 42 secondary and 70 literary sources. Focusing on the literary sources that are the majority in this book, three kinds of literary sources can be found: 24 pieces of prose, 28 poems and 18 folk songs. So, there is a variety of literary sources.

In relation with the sort of references (political, military, cultural etc.) the analysis (table 51) showed that at 6th grade the majority of sources present cultural developments as well as ‘moments’ and events from the ordinary life of the people at that time being. There are also sources of every kind which refer to and/or analyze political-economic and military events.

	Textbook of 6 th grade		
	Primary sources	Secondary sources	Literary sources
Political references	16	18	3
Military references	7	14	4
Cultural and every-day life references	10	16	63
Total	33	48	70

Table 51. Kind of events referred in written sources of textbook of 6th grade

Regarding the ‘nature’ of the written sources, it is found that there is a great variety of provenance that written sources come from in history textbook of 6th grade. More particularly, documents are taken from a French textbook, memoirs of fighters, political personalities, travellers, diaries, official statements of assemblies, quotations of institutions, economic information such as the prices of goods in a certain period and the range of taxes, official approvals for architectural constructions and testimonies of people who lived in different times. Although, apart from 5 written sources which refer to the French revolution, the colonialism of the Americas, the oral testimonies of a Bulgarian and Serbian soldier and statements made by English, French, German and Russian politicians, the rest of the sources relate the Greek nation

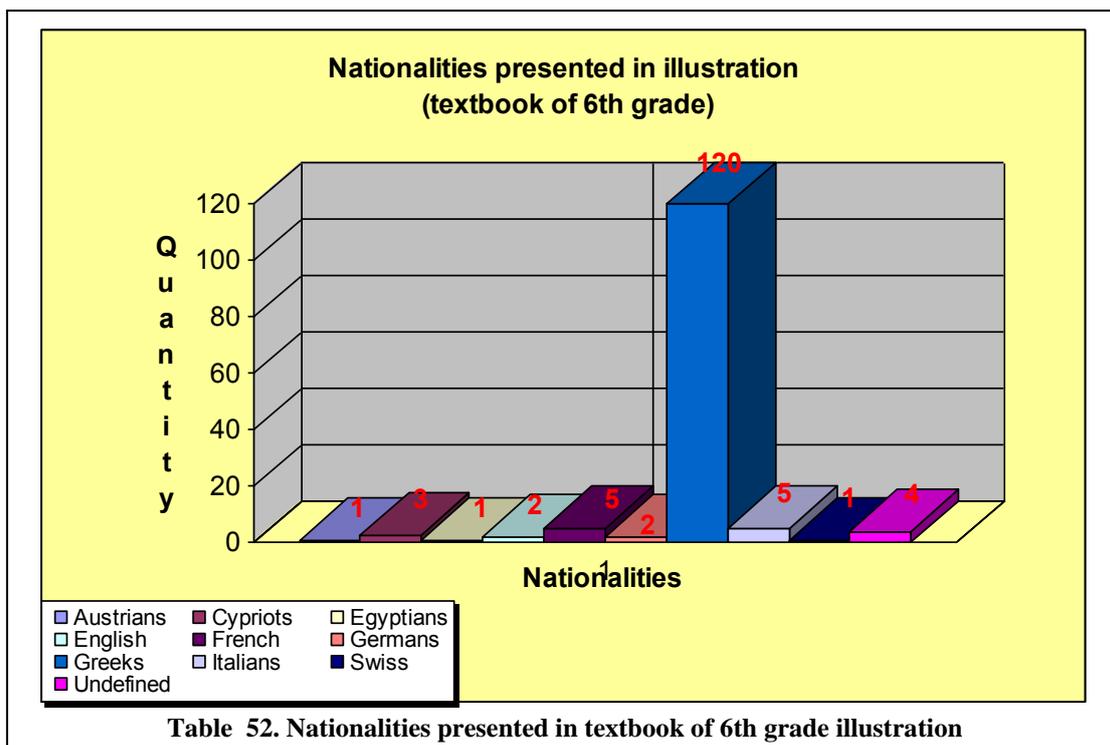
and emphasize the Ottoman occupation of Greece, the sufferings of Greek people from the Turks and the heroism of the Greek fighters.

Finally, it is noticed that the subtitling of the sources at the textbook of 6th grade is not sufficient. There are some sources that do not have any reference (obviously, they are written by the textbook authors). In the cases that the author of the source is written, only the title of the book is mentioned (not publisher and publication date).

3.6.1.3. Visual data

Subtitling, as stated previously, has to serve many purposes; initially, to define the identity of visual presentations and to interpret them. The analysis of visual data embedded in the textbook of the 6th grade indicates that the identity of the visual materials is not declared. The subtitling of 144 illustrations fell into the category ‘inadequate subtitling’ since only comments are given on the majority of them while only the name of creator/producer or the title of the visual work presented in several cases. The comments try to explain what is shown on each illustration and to ‘shorten’ the meaning of it and the way the viewer should study it. The creator/producer and especially other details that should accompany any kind of material that function as document/evidence are ignored. Thus, the inadequate subtitling that was observed indicates that comments are more valuable than the reference of visual presentation. How could pupils study and draw meaningful conclusions or impose questions when they are not informed about who creates/produces, for example, a particular image, the circumstances of production and his/her involvement with the represented event/issue/topic? On the other hand, pupils are supposed to be familiarised with the discipline of history and the way historians work. Both entail engagement with well defined historical materials as well as detailed study of other dimensions that surround a document/evidence such as creator’s background, the day/year of creation etc. So, how can pupils touch upon the principles of the history field when they are not exercised with the very basic way in which a document/evidence should be referenced?

Subtitling also constituted an indicator of the nationalities discussed in illustration of this book. In accordance with that was found in the examination of textual data, the focus of illustration is mainly on Greeks rather than on people of any other nationality (Table 52). The other nationalities have very few visual representation (from 1-5) and the countries presented are quite limited and are mainly from Europe. There are, also, 4 images that do not define the nation they are presented and were classified as ‘undefined’.



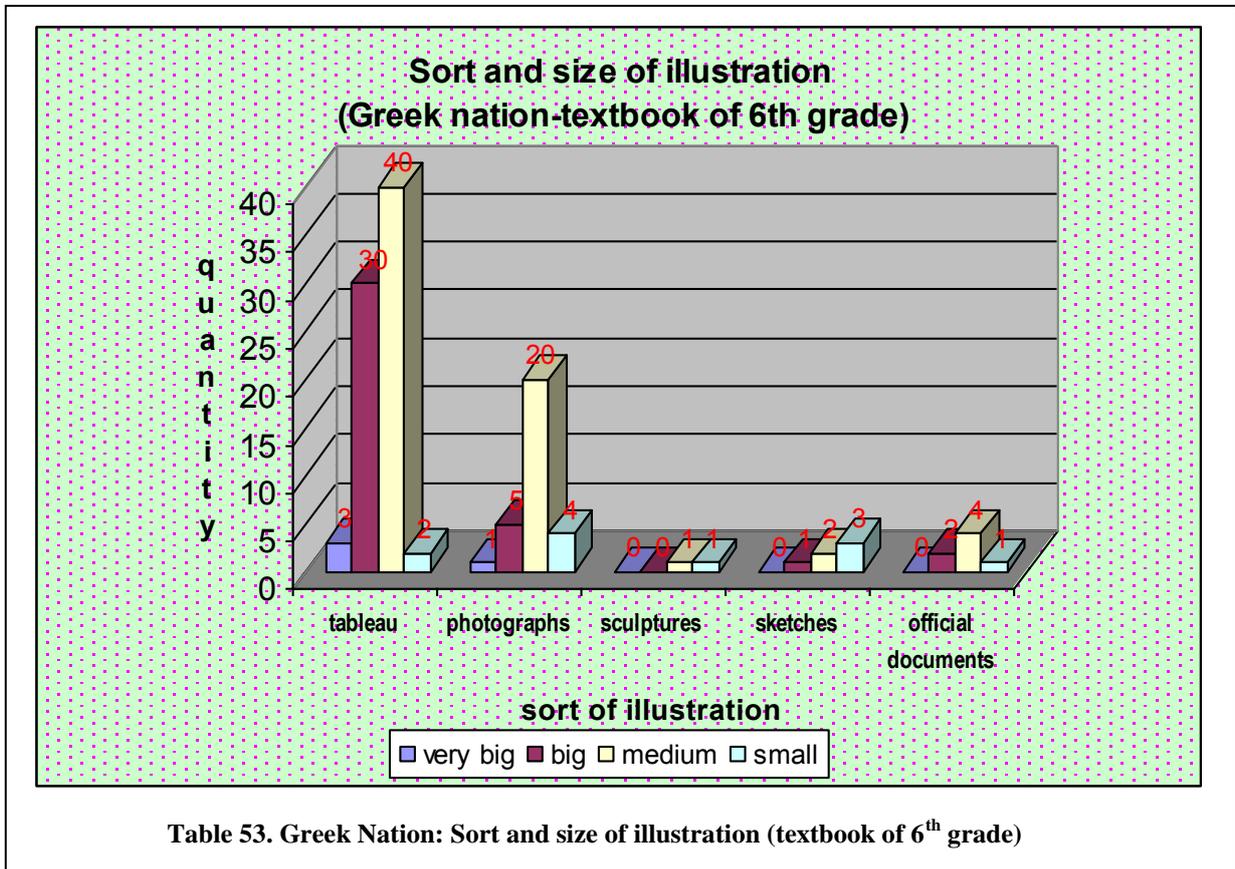
It should be mentioned that despite the great textual part dedicated to Turks, illustration of the textbook does not include any visual representation of the particular nation which, as it was discussed in textual data analysis, is seen as a ‘tough enemy’. The same is the case for other nations which are discussed in text such as Bulgarians but not presented in illustration. It seems that pupils are left to form their own visual images of them. For this reason, pupils’ visual representations which are going to be presented should be very interesting and illuminating.

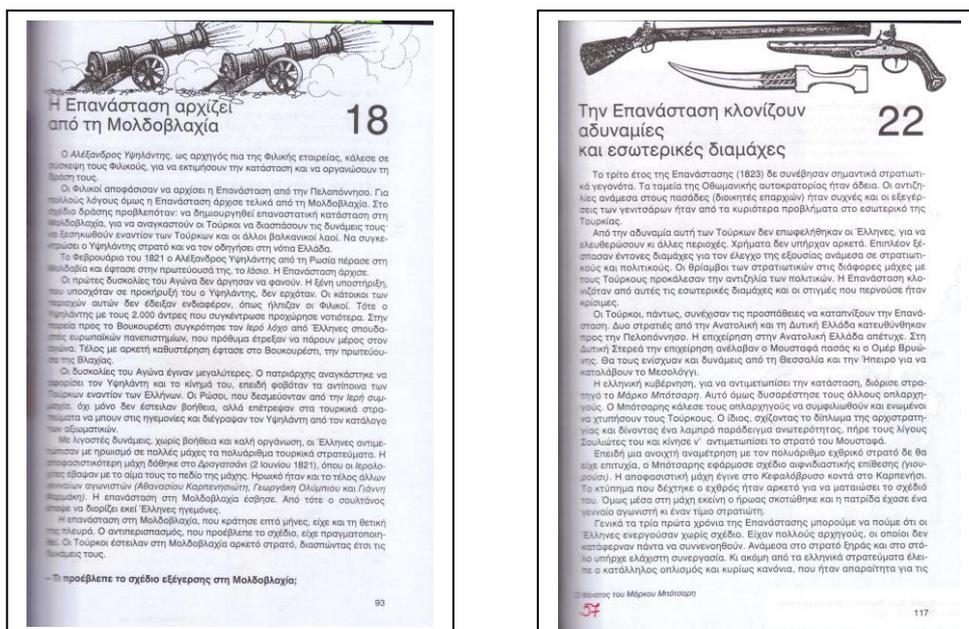
Next, the findings for each nationality (including external and internal characteristics) are presented in order that the ‘integrated’ visual image for each nation embedded in the textbook to be depicted. However, the visual data for other nations apart from Greek are very few for well founded conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless, these nations’ visual images are discussed aiming to give a sense of how visual presentations of these nations function as conveyor of knowledge and to compare them with the findings of textual analysis.

To begin with, the sorts and the size of illustration that present the Greek nation are mostly big and medium in size pieces of arts/paintings (tableau) (table 53). There are also 30 photos, 2 sculptures, 6 sketches and 7 official documents mainly medium and small in size. The high percentage of paintings depicting the Greek nation that are

included in the textbook could be explained due to the time period on which the textbook is focused and entails the beginning of 19th century. At that time, visual means were very limited and consequently the options of visual representations are very limited. At this point, it should be mentioned that the particular book has many images that function as decoration of pages without, in many cases, relevance with the text or the event discussed (picture 1).

Concerning the size of illustration, it was noticed that very big and big in size illustrations are only presented in regards to the Greek nation. By this way, it could be said that attention is attracted in relation to the Greek nation and not other nations even for a reader who leafs through the book.

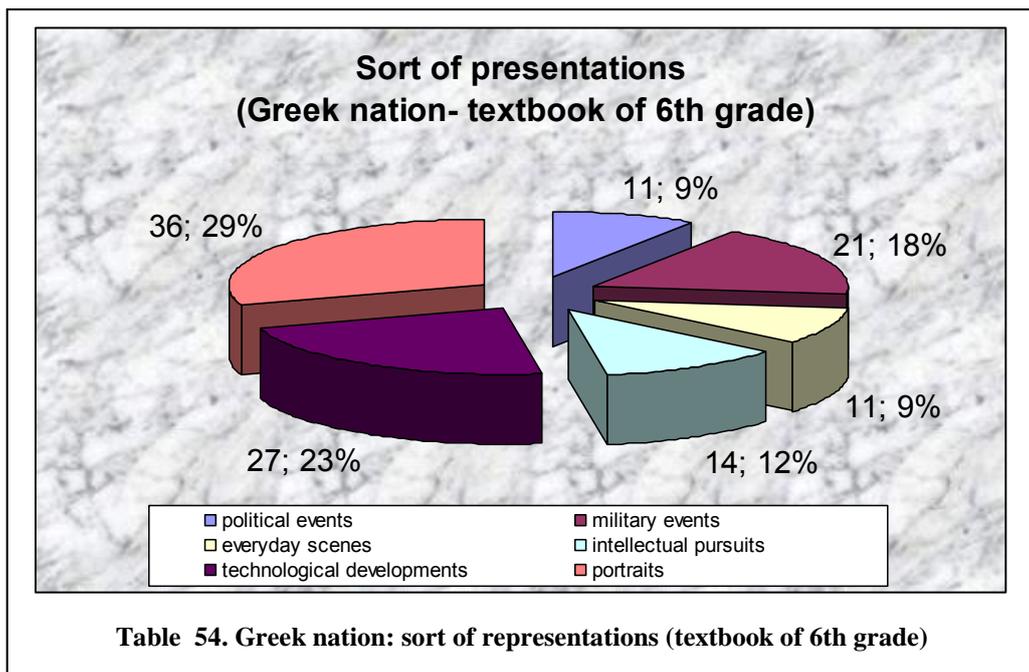




Picture 1. Samples of pages with decorative images (textbook of 6th grade)
 Notice the kind of decorative images selected to be presented (Guns, knives and cannons). All decorative images are not of this kind. It depends of the issues examined. (Ακτόπης et al. 2008: 93,117)

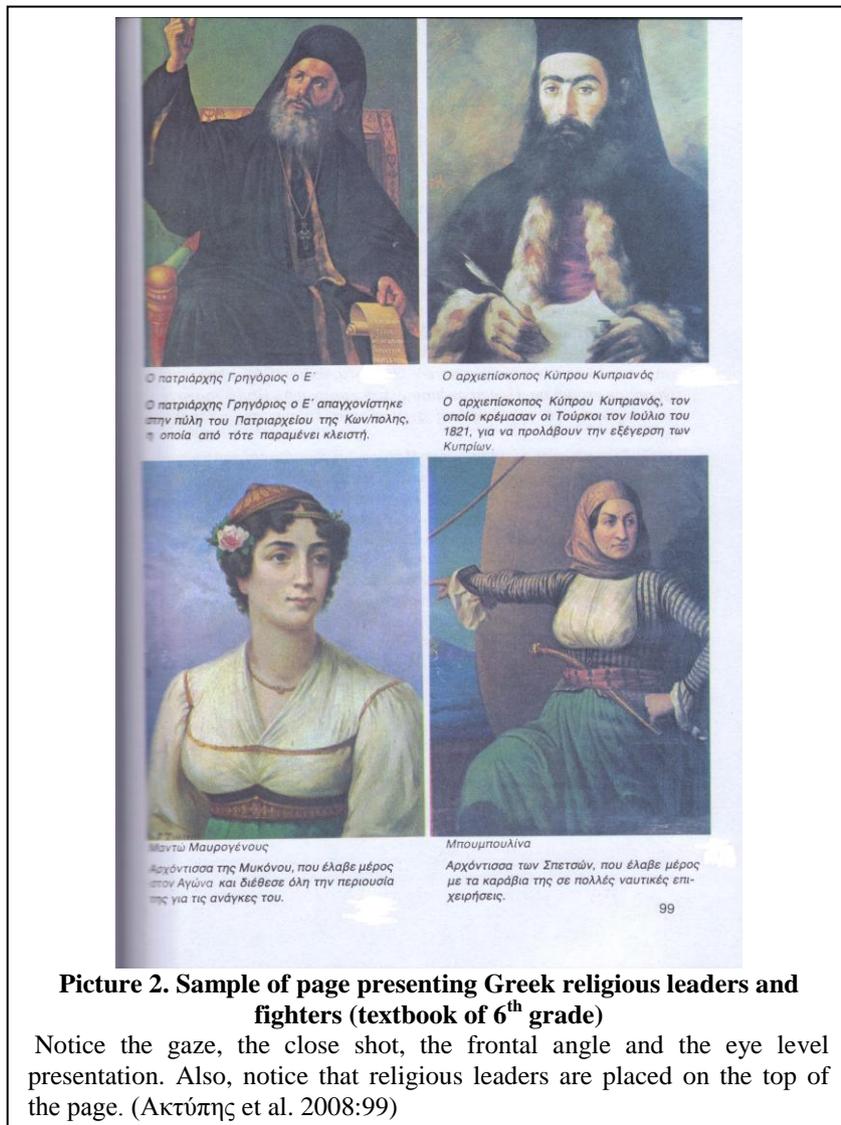
In terms of sorts of representation, visual representations involve mainly portraits (36) of Greek fighters and political and religious leaders of previous centuries (table 54). Political and military events are presented in 32 cases in total in very big or big size illustration- visual presentations are important to present scenes of everyday life (11), technological developments (27) such as architectural and intellectual pursuits (14) such as works of Greek artists. However, if we consider that portraits are indirectly linked with political and military events and add the number of visual representations which depict events of the same kind, we will lead to the conclusion that the majority of visual representations serve the political/military orientation of the textual part of the book. This inference is also strengthened by the examination of interrelation between text and illustration. This examination showed that 71 out of 120 pieces of illustration present knowledge which is repeated in text and 47 not only repeat but also add new knowledge but in the direction set by the text which involves mostly political and military events. Only 2 images were included for readers to compare or contrast with early versions³⁷.

³⁷ These images present the city of Athens. The viewer is called to compare how the city was in 1860 and how it was in the year of book publication.



Given the sorts of illustration and focusing on the content of interpretation, the analysis showed that people’s gaze presented in portraits creates a visual form of indirect address meaning that this sort of illustration aim to offer knowledge about the political and religious leaders and the Greek fighters who fought for the country’s freedom and to be ‘objects’ of contemplation (Picture 2). The social distance they are presented is the close distance which can be explained as politicians/religious leaders and fighters are within the viewer’s reach but the viewer is engaged with them. They stand mostly as examples to be followed. The frontal angle these portraits are presented, and the equality (eye level presentation) that exists between viewer and participants, in terms of power expressed in an image, declare, in the context of the subject, that viewer (pupils in our case) is involved with these people who are part of their world and are involved with them by what they offered to the country. ‘Participants’ also are equal with pupils (viewers) and as they stand as an example to be followed, it could be said that they try for pupils to get known with them and be inspired by them. Moreover, a difference can be noticed concerning the place that these portraits are cited in page. Political leaders and fighters are cited on the left side of the page which indicating that they are already known while religious leaders are cited on the right side showing that is about new knowledge and pupils should pay attention to the role of the Church. This attention can be understood if it is taken into

consideration what is already said for the place the Church had and has in the Greek society.



Picture 2. Sample of page presenting Greek religious leaders and fighters (textbook of 6th grade)

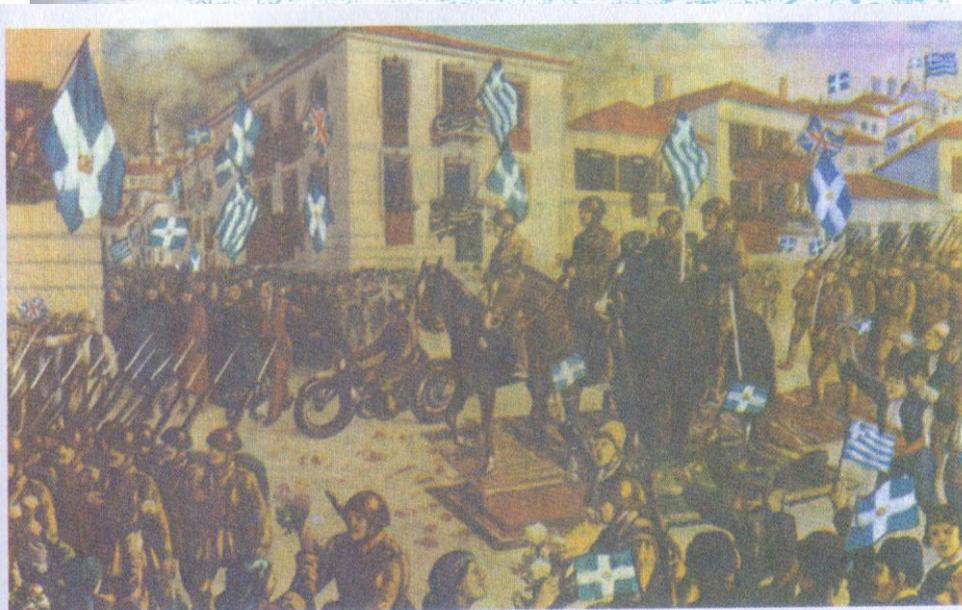
Notice the gaze, the close shot, the frontal angle and the eye level presentation. Also, notice that religious leaders are placed on the top of the page. (Ακτύπης et al. 2008:99)

Political, military and everyday life events presented in illustration have the following characteristics: offer knowledge about them, are presented at long distance spot, and from eye level point. Interpreting these features, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, the presentations of these kinds of events aim for pupils to know about the events which built through their presentations a barrier between events and viewer; the former happened years ago and people who were involved in them were equal with pupils. However, an interesting differentiation is found between political/military events and everyday life events. The first ones are presented at an oblique angle and the latter at a frontal (Picture 3). This alteration signifies that political/military events are not something pupils are involved with (part of their

world) while the everyday life is part of their world and an involvement is tried to be established with the viewer. Also, everyday life events very often are situated in the centre or the bottom of the page. This placement can be interpreted as these kinds of events are central (main information) or more practical information conveyed instead of a generalised (idealized) essence of the events that characterise political/military events.



Εσωτερικό
σπιτιού
στην Αττική



Οι Έλληνες της Κορυτσάς στη Β. Ήπειρο υποδέχονται τον ελληνικό στρατό ως ελευθερωτή (πίνακας).

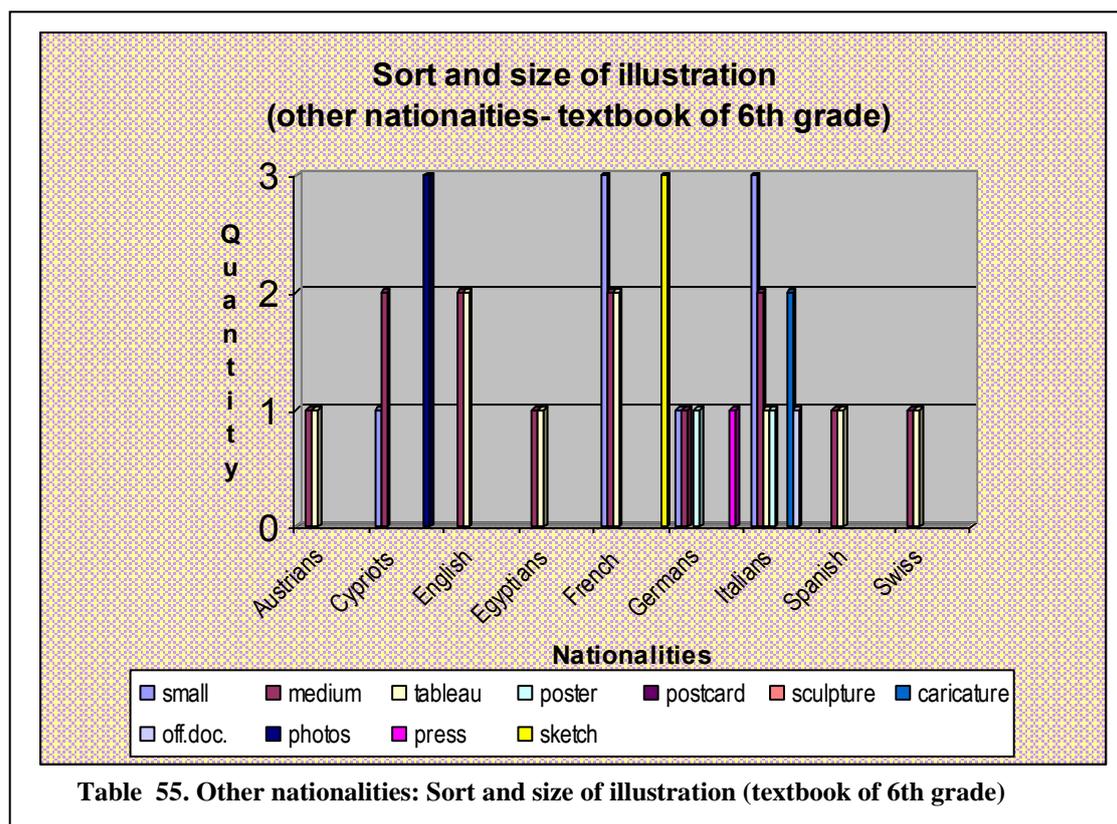
Picture 3. Comparison between an image of every day life scene and military event (textbook of 6th grade)

The picture on the top presents how a house was inside. The participants are presented at frontal angle. The picture on the bottom presents the Greek army advanced in North Epirus. It is presented at oblique angle. (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 49,245)

So, the illustration of the Greek nation aims to offer knowledge to pupils about people who played an important role in the historical courses of the country and to illustrate knowledge about political and military events that are discussed in texts. Illustrations offer new knowledge about technological and intellectual developments that took place in the country and try to engage pupils in aspects of previous centuries' everyday life.

The other nations presented in the illustration of the particular textbook are shown previously in table 52. Tables 55, 56 show the sort and size of illustration and the sort of representation in regards to each nation. Based on the results presented in the tables and considering the analysis of the internal characteristics found to illustrate each nation, the 'image' of each nation is formed as follows.

Egyptians, Austrians and Swiss are presented by a medium sized portrait of a political leader for each. Each political leader was involved in the Greek War of Independence. Each portrait aims to offer knowledge about him and to engage the viewer to think about him and his action (close shot). However, it is presented from an oblique angle which means that these political leaders are thought as 'strangers'/ 'others' and, since their images are cited on the right-bottom of the page, attention



and specific information about them are aimed to given. In the same vein, the Spanish are discussed in terms of their achievements in ‘The century of discoveries’. The analysis, based on internal features, shows the image tries to present knowledge which is already obtained by the viewer and about a nation which is thought as ‘other’ (oblique angle) and give a generalized essence of discoveries (placed on the top of the page). Two illustrations refer to Germans. One presents a technological development (the discovery of typography) and the other a political phenomenon- Nazism propaganda, although the quality of the poster that is embedded in the textbook was not particularly good in order for it to be studied (half of it is cut).

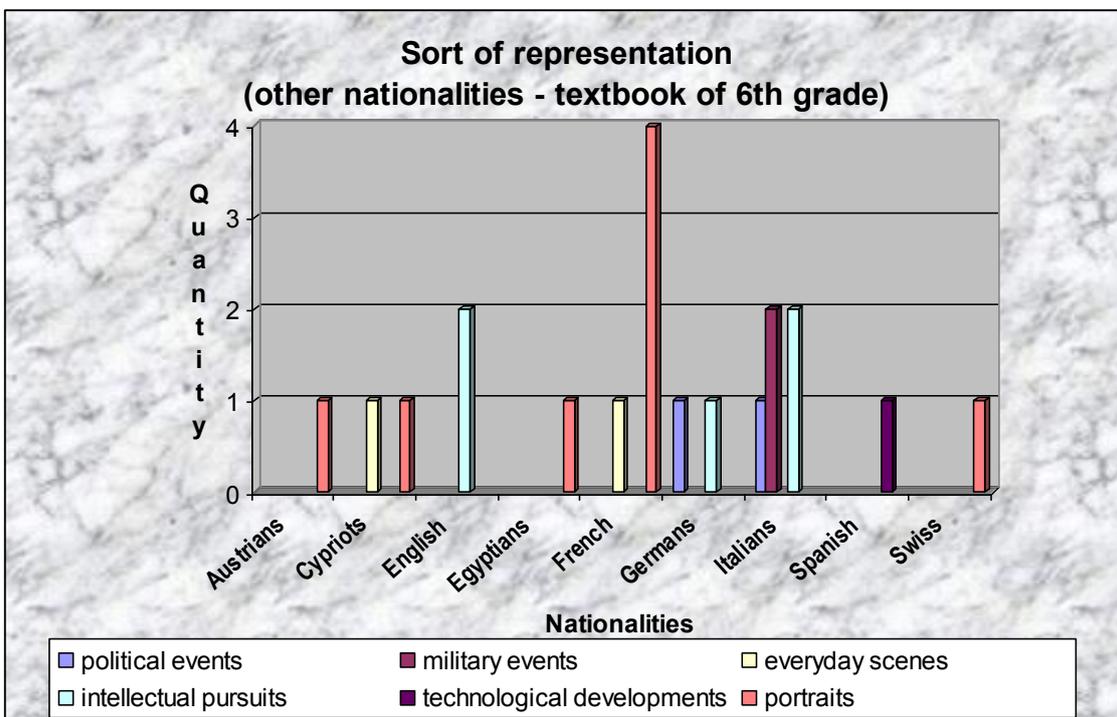
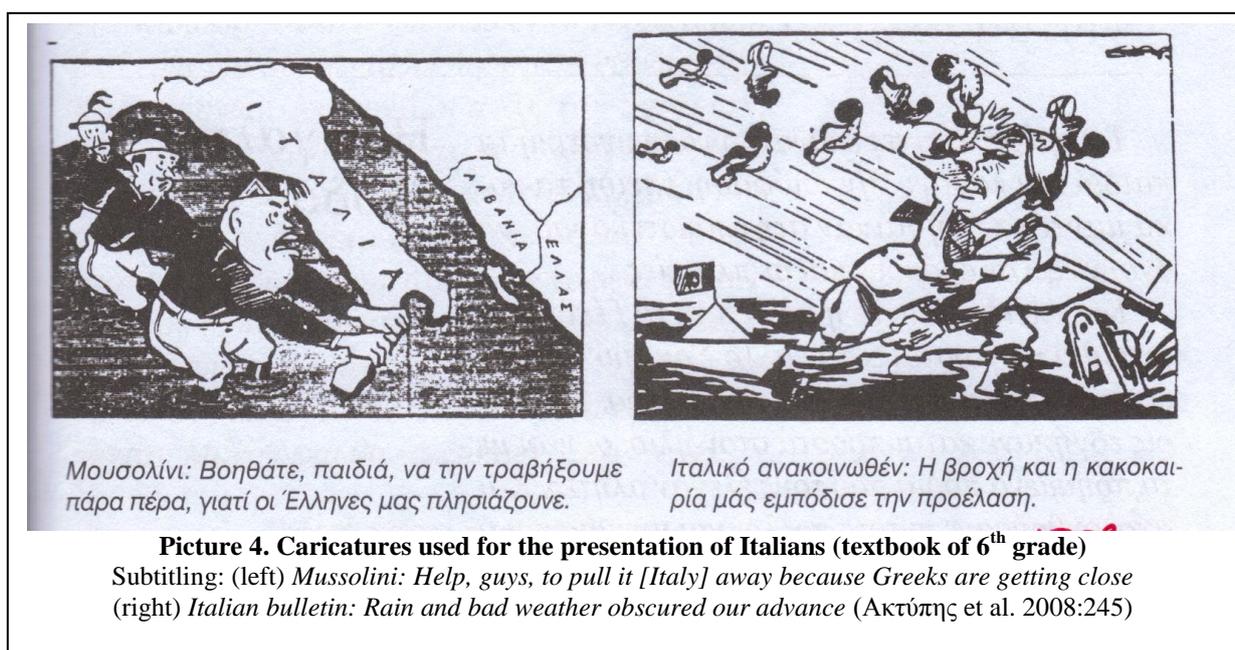


Table 56. Other nationalities: Sort of visual representation (textbook of 6th grade)

Italians, French, English and Cypriots have more illustrations in the book than the nationalities referred to above. Italians are discussed in terms of their intellectual pursuits achieved during the Renaissance, and about fascism and the invasion in Greece during World War II. The aim of the way they are presented is to offer knowledge about the issues mentioned. They are thought of as ‘strangers’/ ‘others’ and consequently they are not part of the viewer’s world. The two caricatures which were selected to present the Italian invasion in Greece and are situated in the centre of the page, aim for pupils to understand what happened during their attempt to conquer

Greece in an ‘absurd’ way (Picture 4). About fascism, a generalized sense of is conveyed (top of the page).

The portraits of French intellectuals (Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo) and Napoleon as well as French fund raising for the Greek revolution are presented in the French related illustrations. All of them offer knowledge for a nation which is depicted as ‘stranger’/ ‘other’ (oblique angle). The portraits of intellectuals are taken from a close shot which means that they invite the viewer to be engaged with them while these is a



barrier between the way Napoleon is depicted and the scene of the fund raising (long shot). Accordingly, portraits are placed in the centre which shows that they are the significant information and the other images in the top (an idealized sense of them).

Two portraits of British intellectuals (Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley) are included in the book. They are presented with an indirect gaze, from close shot, oblique angle and are cited in the centre of the page. These features can be translated as pupils should have information about, and be engaged with, these people who are ‘other’ and not part of pupils’ world because they support Greece in its struggle for obtaining its freedom.

Cypriots are presented through the suffering they were/are going through due to the Turkish invasion in the island (1974). Their political/religious leader is portrayed and two social scenes which could be characterized as very emotional are shown. One

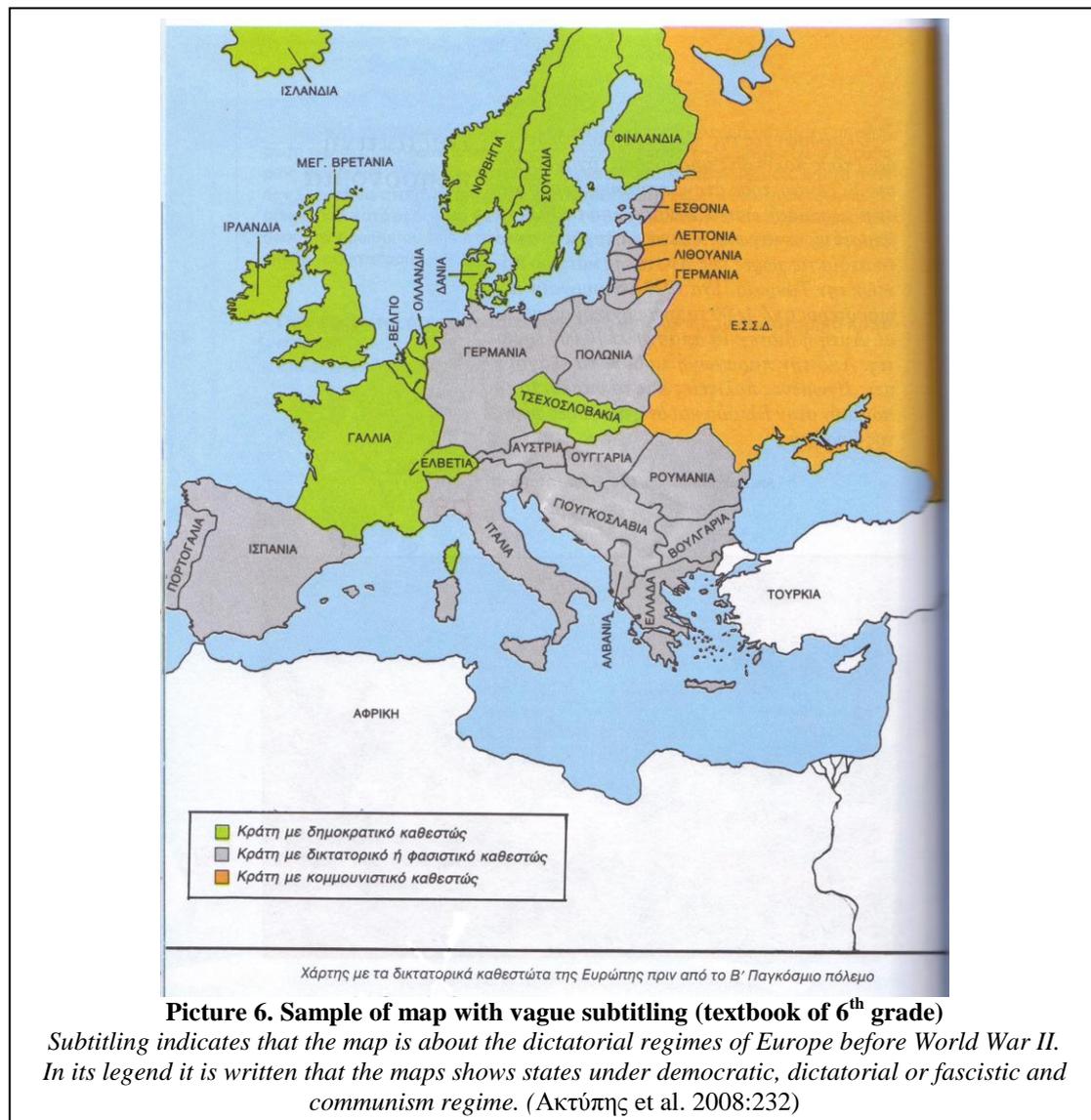
presents the attempt of a Cypriot refugee man to save the picture of a saint from the Turkish invasion and the other a very young refugee boy holding the picture of his missing parents (both based on subtitling) (Picture 5). So, this illustration of Cypriots tries to inform pupils about the tragedy they suffer(ed) which is the main information that pupils should know (cited in the centre) and viewer is engaged especially with the young boy ('demand' gaze).



Comparing the illustrations of the nations discussed above and the information given about them in text narratives, it is found that they are in accordance, meaning that

visual representations are used to visualize, as in case of the Greek nation, what is already written.

Additionally, this particular book contains 35 maps. 21 of them show Greece and its borders and how they were formed during the centuries, 5 illustrate Europe, 1 is a world map, 2 present the Balkan Peninsula and 2 Asia Minor and 1 sketches the borders of Byzantine and 1 of the Ottoman Empire. Again, it is obvious that the emphasis is on Greece. The examination of their subtitling showed that not only it is inadequate but it causes also many problems to the viewer. For example, there are maps with no subtitling at all, with vague and pointless subtitling (picture 6). Some of them are not updated (picture 7) or not easy readable. All maps have very big and big



size and visualize mostly the military events (historical maps) which took place in

Greek territory during the centuries under examination. So, they function as diagrams summarising what is written in the text which are very closely related.



Picture 7. Sample of map which has not been updated (textbook of 6th grade)
 The map presents the states of European Union. However, the European Union has nowadays more states that the ones presented in this map. (Ακτύπης et al. 2008: 264)

To sum up, the textual and visual data collected from this textbook and analysed show that the emphasis is on national history and follows the paradigm of traditional history. Greek history is presented through its heroes who are mostly presented as examples to be followed and political/military events which contributed to the

country's freedom. Apart from Europe, other continents are rarely mentioned. Also, from Europe selected parts are discussed; mostly countries which belong to so called 'high civilization' Europe. The textual and visual references to these nations are limited and related to the history of the country. Although, based on this limited sample, it seems that the 'image' transmitted for the other nations varies and is not neutral for some of them. Visual presentations are used to enforce the information embedded in the text and the 'image' conveyed for each nation.

3.6.2. Textbook of 3rd grade

3.6.2.1. Textual data

In the first classification, the distribution of paragraphs extracted from the history textbook of the 3rd grade into the categories is illustrated in table 57.

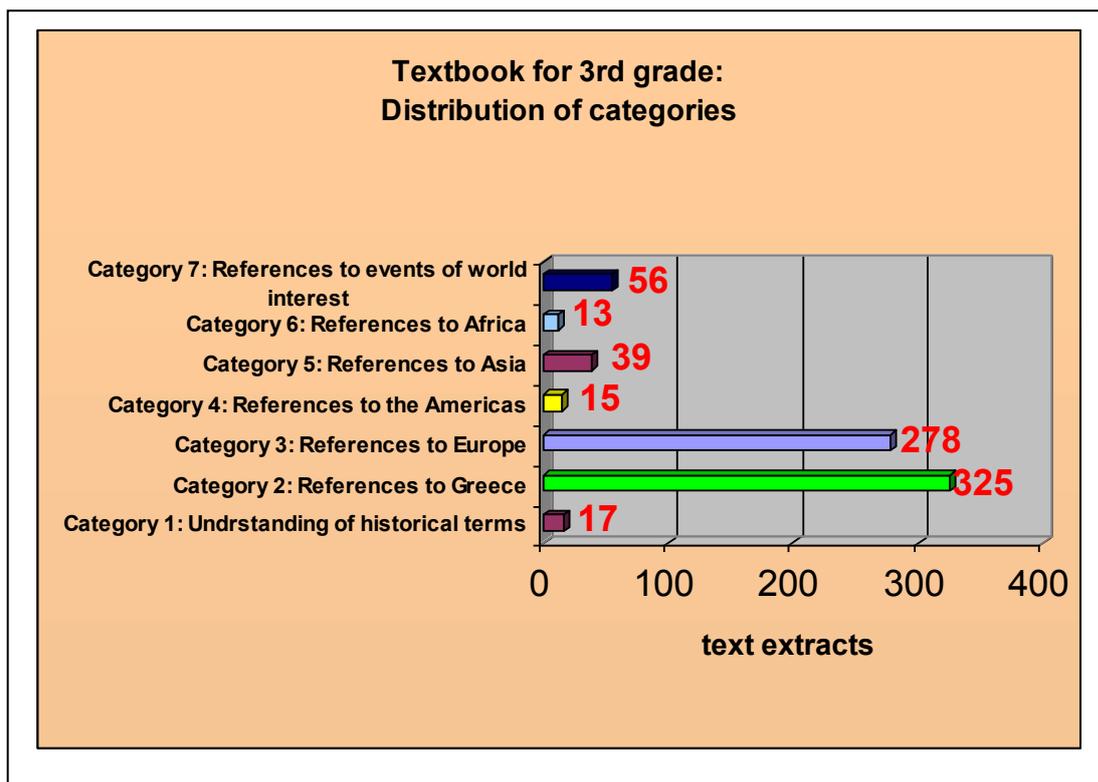
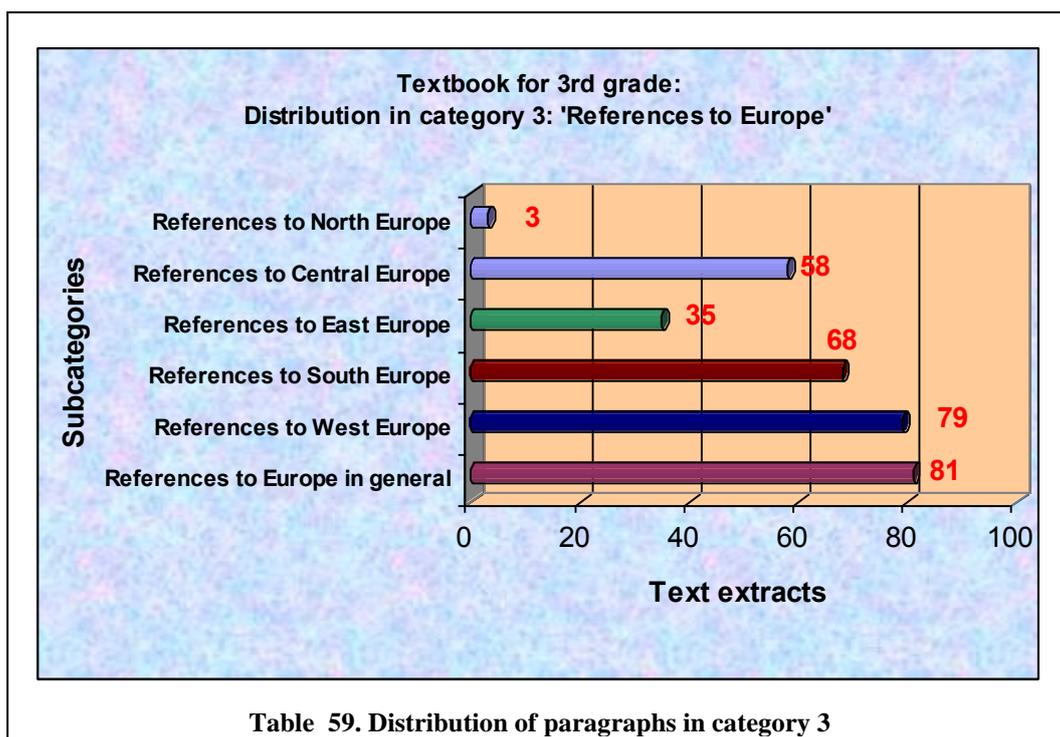
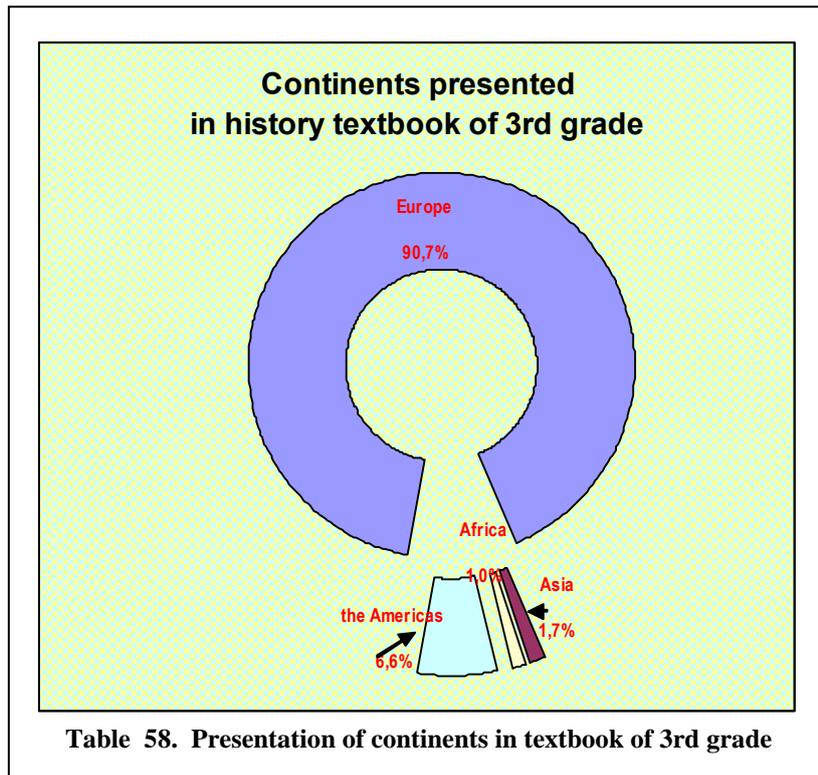


Table 57. Distribution of paragraphs of history textbook of 3rd grade

In table 57, category 2: ‘References to Greece’ and category 3: ‘References to Europe’ gather the majority of references (325 paragraphs in category 2 (43,21%) and 278 paragraphs in category 3 (36,96%)). So, it can be stated that emphasis is paid on national and European history, a finding that is in accordance with what is found in the relevant analysis of the history textbook of the 6th grade. However, in this textbook the presentation of national and European history seem to be more balanced than in the textbook examined previously. The other continents and their historical course are also examined since into category 4: ‘References to Asia’ fall 15 paragraphs (2,12%), into category 5: ‘References to the Americas’ 39 paragraphs (5,45%) and into category 6: ‘References to Africa’ 13 paragraphs (1,72%) but not in the frequency that Europe is examined. Table 58 depicts the percentage each

continents gathers in this textbook. Comparing table 58 with table 46, which both illustrate the percentage of each continent, it can be supported that this book is more interested in other continents than the textbook of 6th grade, especially in the Americas, but both are more interested in the historical course of Europe. Also, in this particular book, there are references to events of world interest which, as it will be shown, do not only involve political and military events but cultural as well.



However, does the balance which is noticed between national history and European history apply to the parts of Europe as well? Table 59³⁸ shows that all parts of Europe are presented in this textbook, even North Europe, that was absent in the previous textbook but this particular part has considerably less references (only 3 paragraphs, 0,92%) than the other ones. Also, most references fall in subcategory 3.1: ‘References to Europe in general’ (81 references, 25%). The number of references that fall into the other subcategories is significant as well: subcategory 3.2: ‘References to West Europe’ has 79 references (23,38%), subcategory 3.3: ‘References to South Europe’ 68 references (20,98%), subcategory 3.4: ‘References to East Europe’ 35 references (10,80%) and 58 references (17,90%) fall into subcategory 3.5: ‘References to Central Europe. Thus, it could be said that the particular textbook tries to convey more ‘balanced’ presentation of Europe and more attention is paid to Europe as a whole than in particular parts. In comparison with the textbook of the 6th grade, this textbook does not only pay more attention to Southern Europe, but emphasis, more or less, is given to other parts to Europe as well. This suggestion is also in accordance with the findings from the analysis of the corresponding curriculum.

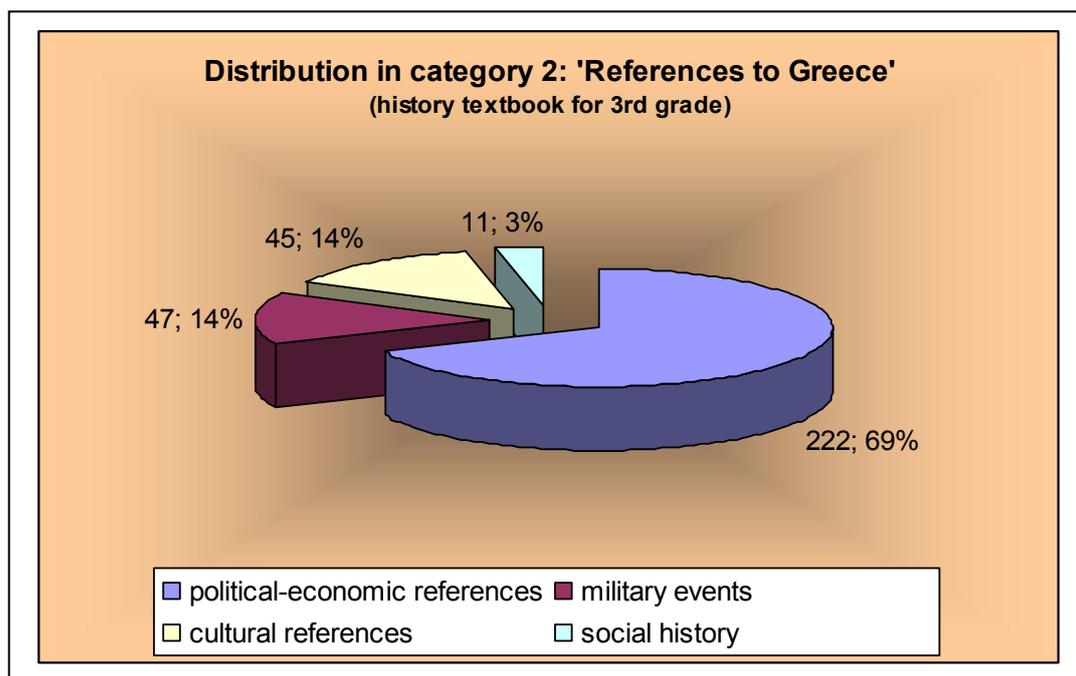


Table 60. Distribution of paragraphs in category 2.

³⁸ The difference in total between the number of references to Europe in table 57 and in table 59 exists because, in the first table, paragraphs which mention Europe were calculated as one reference although in some of them there were separate references (subparagraphs) which mentioned different part of Europe. These references were taken into consideration as distinct in table 55.

Regarding the historical events presented in this textbook, the analysis shows that political-economic events are more emphasised than military, cultural references and every day life history in general. More particularly, classification of the references to national history (table 60) illustrates that political and economic history gathers over half of the references in total (222 paragraphs, 69%). The references that fall into military events are almost the same in number with the references to cultural developments (47 and 45 references respectively). Nevertheless, only 3% of the total references are about social history. From these findings, it is obvious that military events, which mostly involve battles and wars, are not discussed in the depth and the length noticed in the textbook of 6th grade and more emphasis is given to political events. This suggestion also applies to the other categories and subcategories. Tables 61-66 depict the distribution of paragraphs in category 3: ‘References in Europe’ and in its subcategories. Thus, in table 61, political-economic references are considerably more (59 references) than military ones (4 references) and the latter are less than cultural (14 references). Every day life references are 4. So, it can be said that Europe in general is examined through political and cultural aspects.

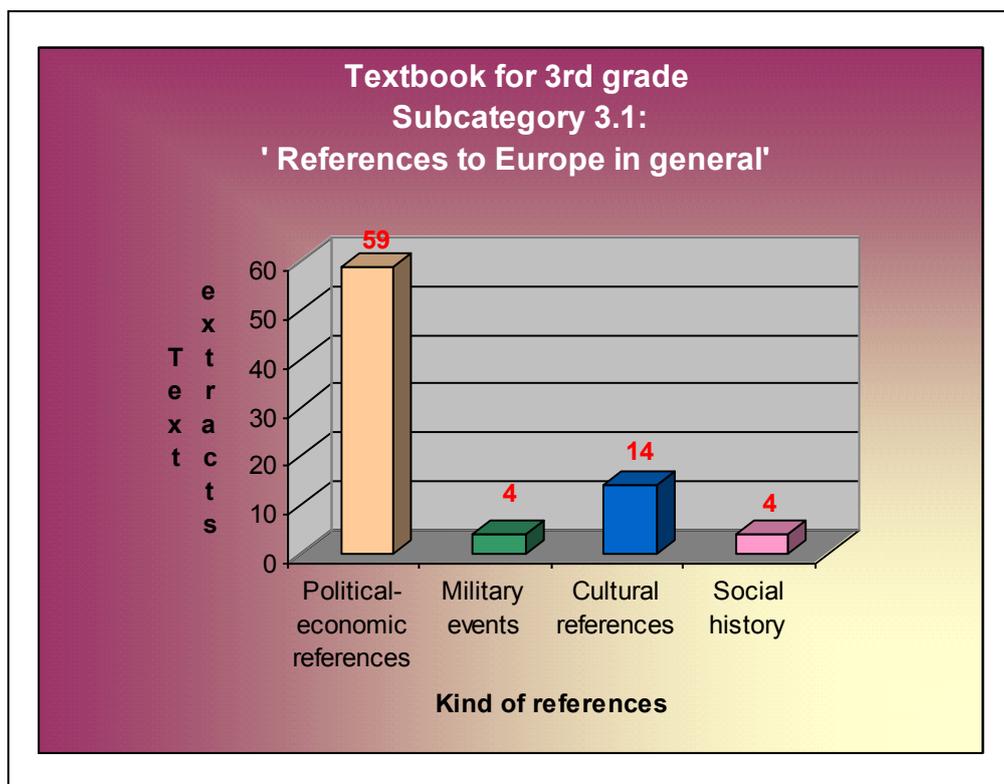


Table 61. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.1

Similar is the case in subcategory 3.2: ‘References to West Europe’ (table 62) into which political-economic references are the majority while military and cultural references have almost the same number of references (14 and 11 references respectively). No references to everyday life in Western Europe are found.

It is also interesting that the finding which derives from the distribution of references to South Europe (table 63) that cultural events and social history are not mentioned at all. Attention is paid to political-economic events (46 references) and to military events (22 references). As in the case of the textbook of the 6th grade, the historical events that are examined in relation to South Europe entail mainly the Greek War of Independence and the Balkan Wars. Taking into consideration that nation-states in South Europe have many cultural elements in common, it is worth mentioning that there is no reference about these, especially, seeing that these commonalities are referred in the history textbook of the 6th grade (Ακτύπης et al. 2008).

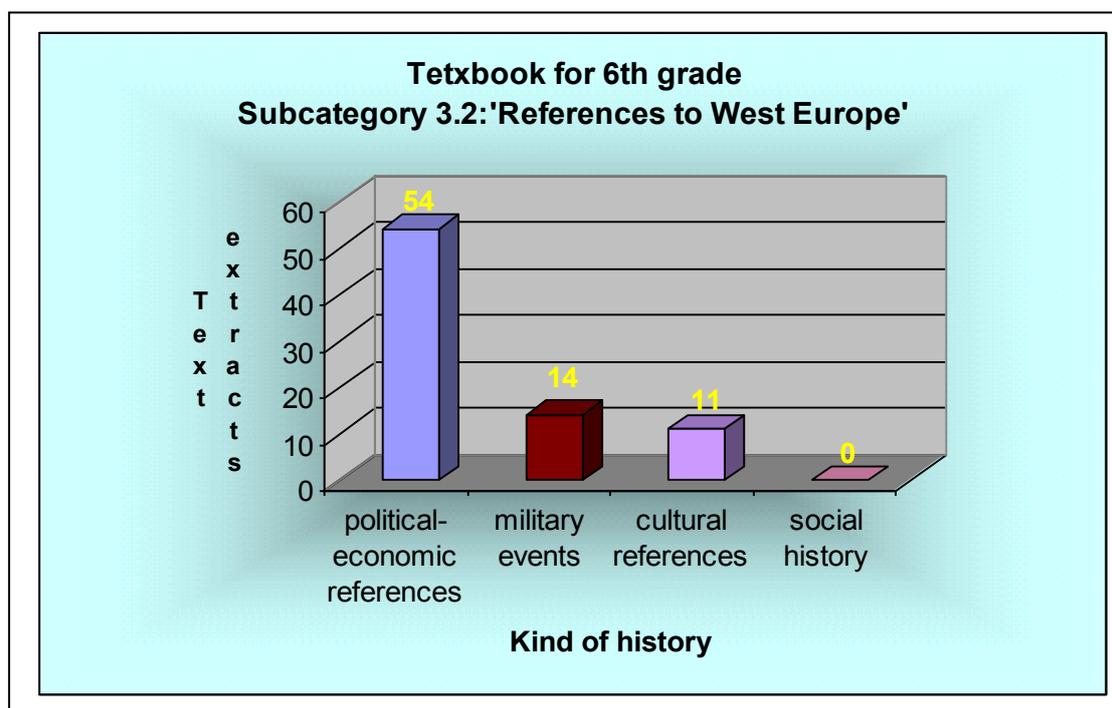


Table 62. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.2

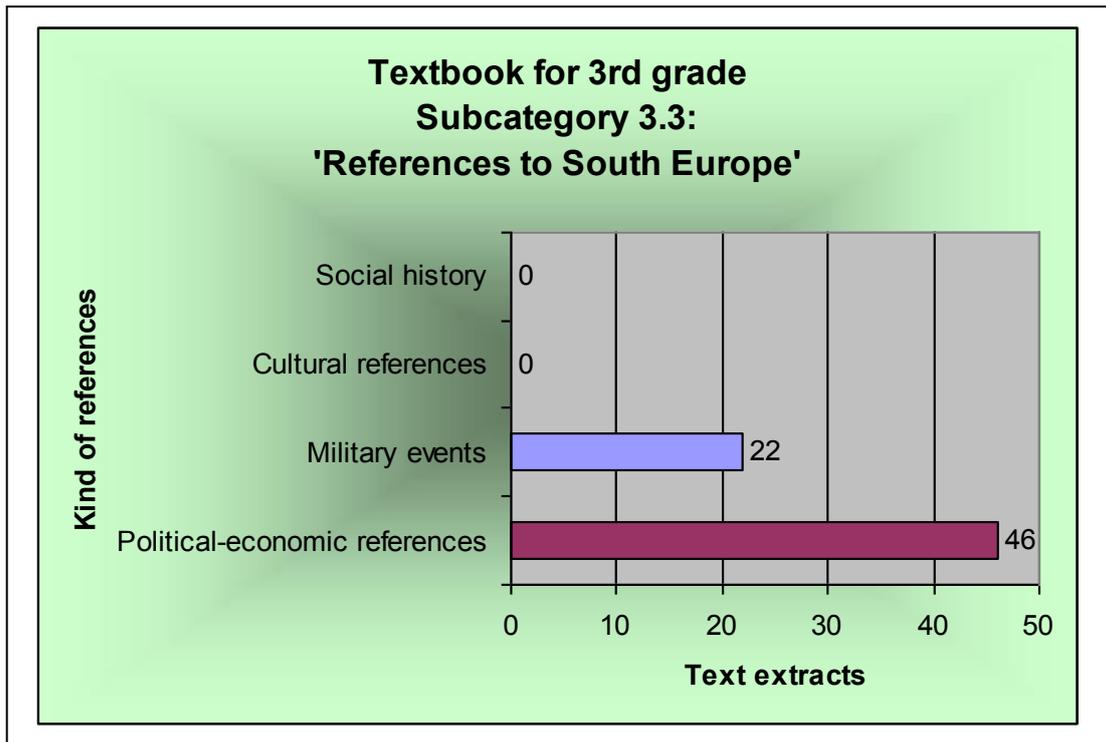


Table 63. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.3

The stress on political-economic events is also present in subcategory 3.4: 'References to East Europe' and subcategory 3.5: 'References to Central Europe' (Table 64, 65). In these subcategories, references to political events (28 references/ 35 references) outnumber the references to military (5 references/16 references) and cultural events (2 references/6 references) while social history is almost not mentioned (no reference/1 reference).

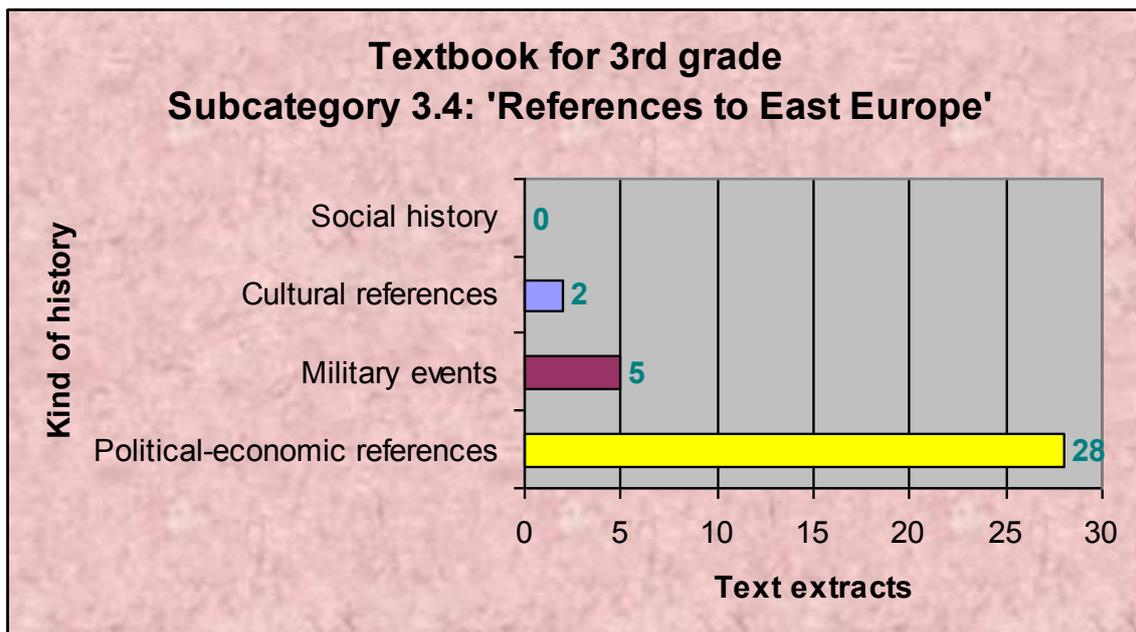


Table 64. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.4

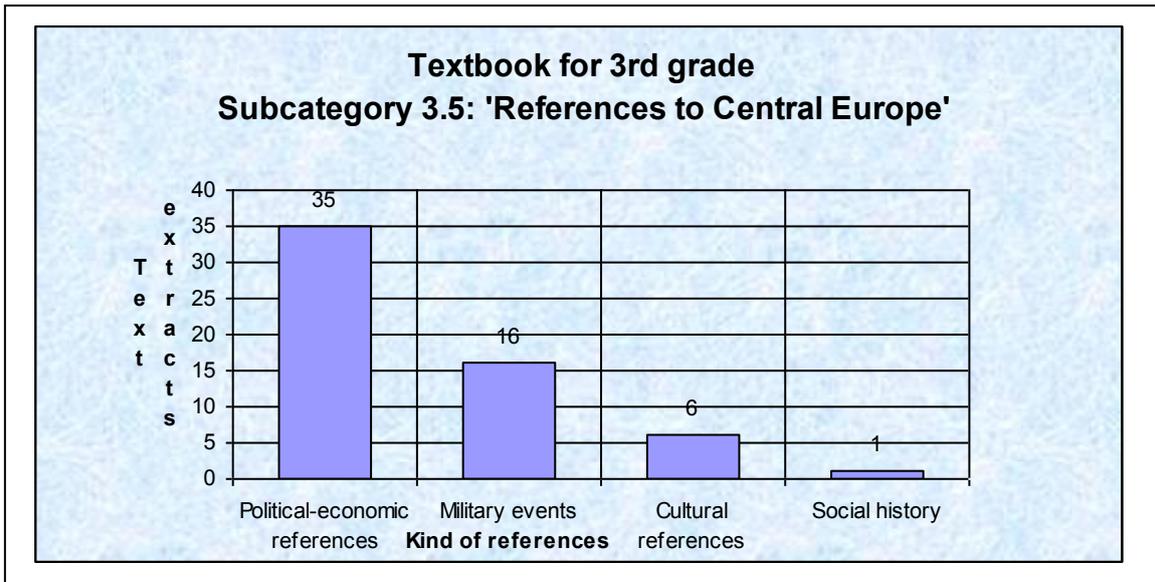


Table 65. Distribution of paragraphs in subcategory 3.5

References to North Europe (Table 66) are very few and entail 2 references to political events and 1 reference to cultural developments.

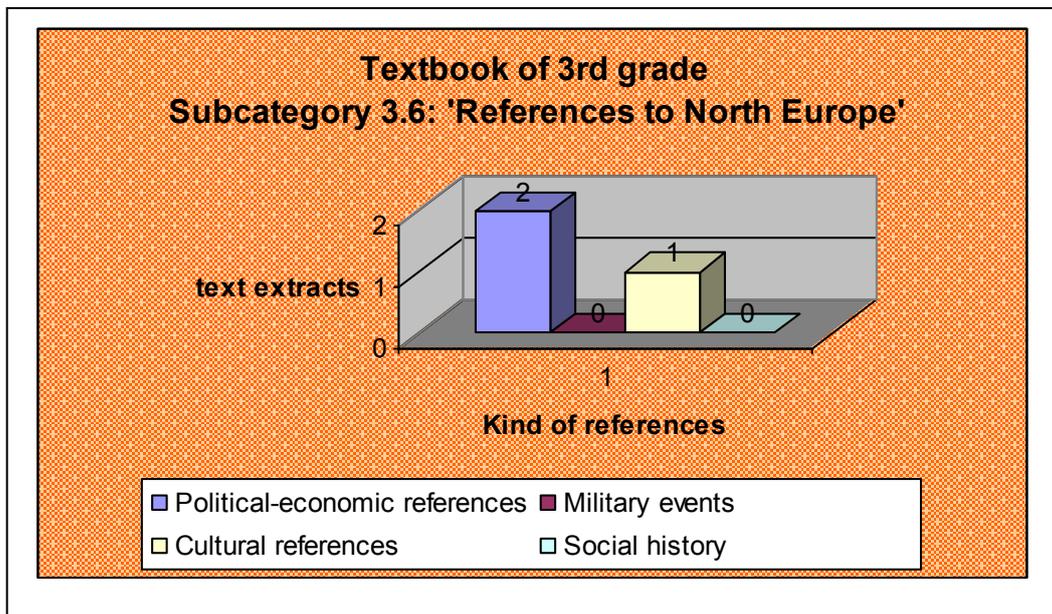


Table 66. Distribution of references in subcategory 3.6

Taking into account what has been presented so far, it can be supported that history teaching that involves Greece and Europe is mostly based on political history. But, is political history applied to the other continents as well? Tables 67-69 confirm this suggestion. More particularly, Table 67 shows the distribution of paragraphs in

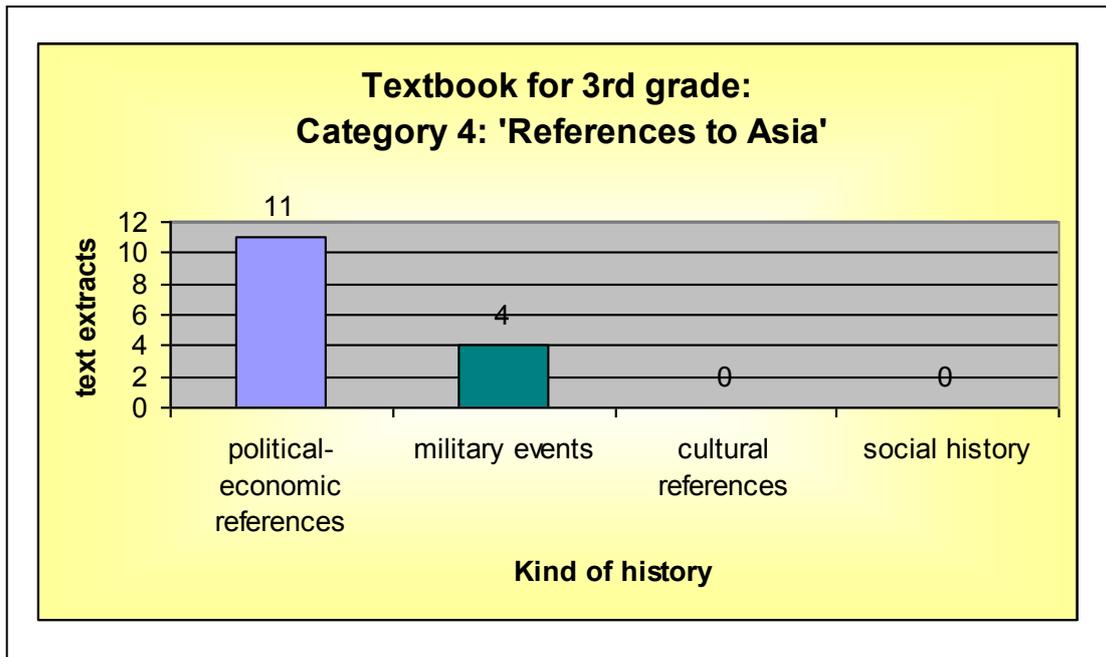


Table 67. Distribution of paragraphs in category 4.

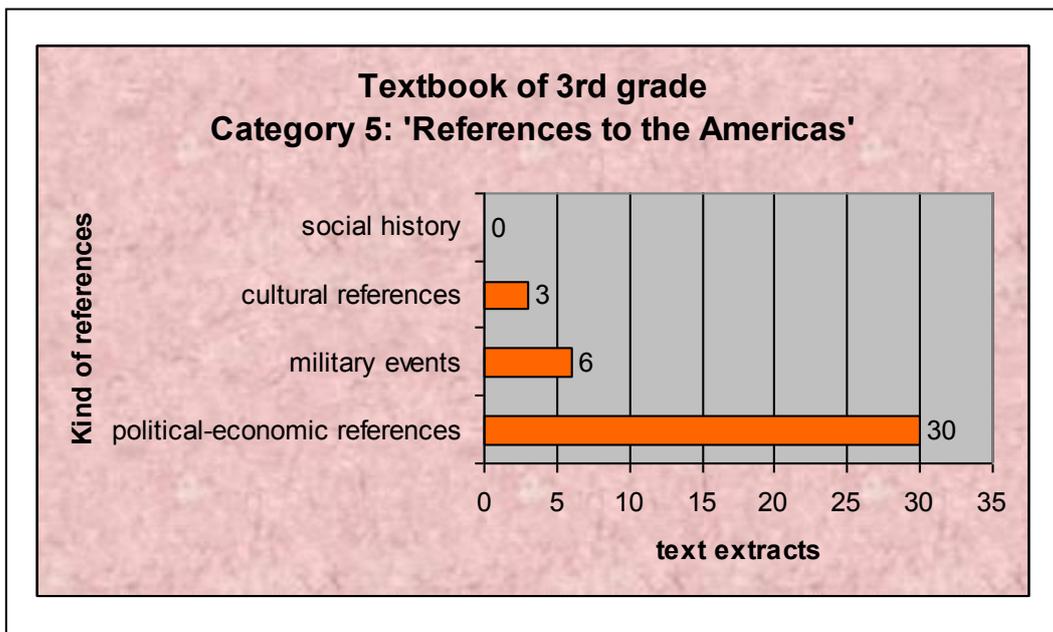


Table 68. Distribution of paragraphs in category 5.

category 4: ‘References to Asia’. Again the political-economic references (11 references) are more than those referring to military events (4 references). Cultural and social history references are not mentioned. Similarly, in category 5 and 6 (Tables 68-69) the references to political events are considerably more than the references to other categories.

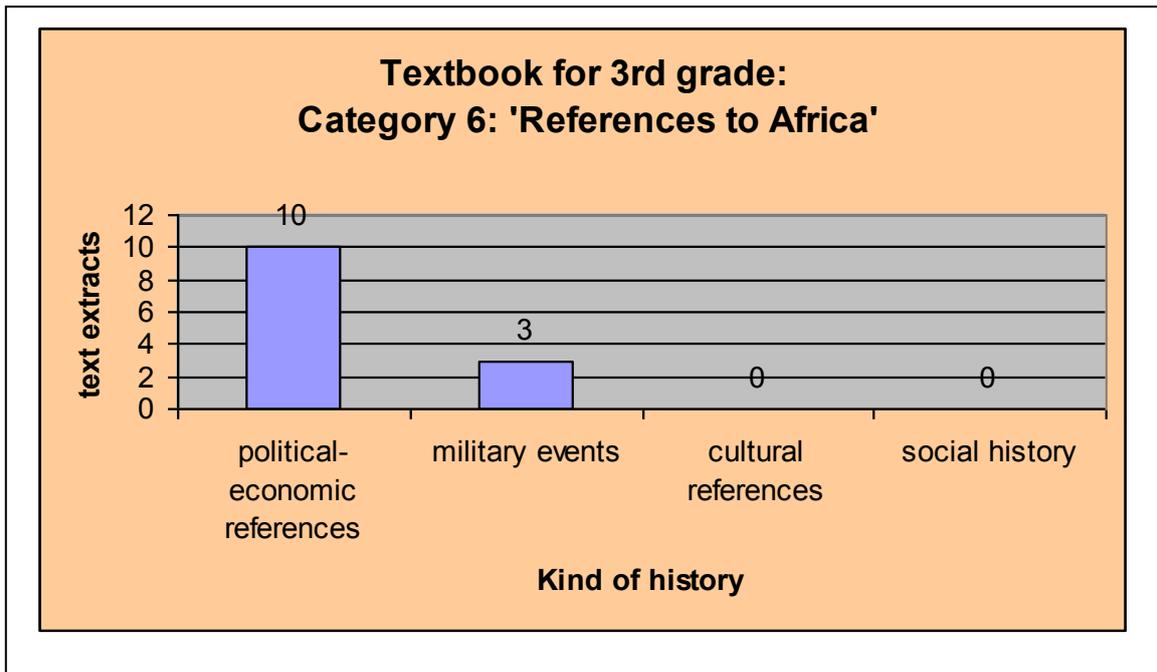


Table 69. Distribution of paragraphs in category 6

Regarding the category 5, it should be mentioned that the paragraphs that fall into this category are distributed in its subcategories as shown in table 70. The majority of paragraphs entail North America while South America is only referred to for the conflict which took place between the parts of America.

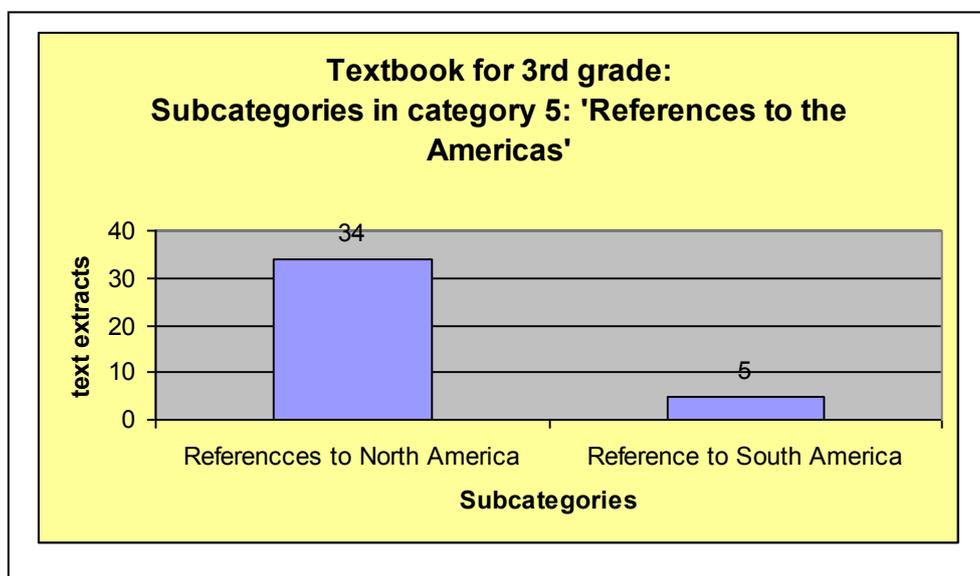


Table 70. Distribution of paragraphs in the subcategory of category 5

In relation to the events of world interest, in contrary to what is found in the analysis of the primary school history textbook, the focus is on cultural developments. As table 71 illustrates, 39 references are about cultural events and 14 references discuss the

two World Wars. Military events, although present, are not of much interest since only 3 references exist. This happens because at the end of the textbook there is a separate chapter which is entitled: ‘Disciplines, Spiritual and Artistic Creation during the 20th century’. In this chapter, the developments in connection with sciences, art and literature which took place in the world during this century are presented.

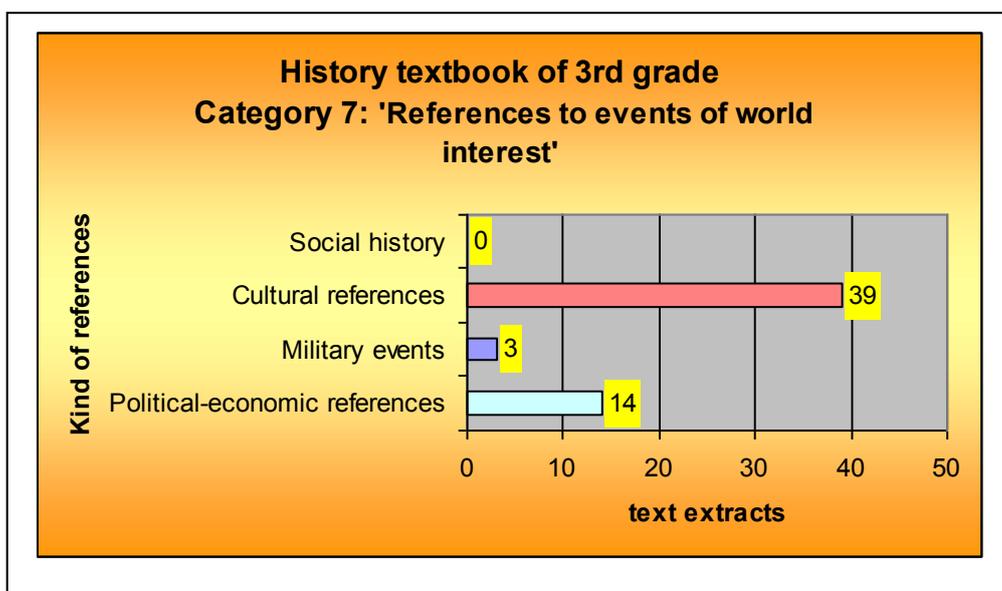


Table 71. Distribution of paragraphs in category 7

Concluding, the analysis of the history textbook of the 3rd grade shows that history teaching in this grade involves national history and European history in almost equal proportion. All the parts of Europe are presented, however, some more than others. There is an attempt for Europe to be seen as a whole. The other continents- but not all continents- are also discussed but not to the extent that this happens regarding Europe. So, the focus of the textbook is on national and European history. Additionally, political-economic history is more stressed than other kinds of history. Military events are presented but not to a great extent. In parallel, cultural developments mostly entail progression in the human thinking in a European and universal context and are not limited to particular territories. Social history, on the other hand, does not constitute a significant part of the history syllabus at this particular grade.

Comparing the two textbooks, after the first categorization of their content, it can be stated that they have commonalities and differences as well. Both textbooks have at their core the national narratives. National narratives are about political and military events that took place in the 19th and 20th century. Attention is also paid to cultural

events and development but not to the extent of political events. Europe is another area that history lessons should examine according to both books. Nevertheless, the primary school textbook is concentrated more on the part of Europe to which Greece belongs (South Europe/Balkans) than to the other parts. In contrast, the textbook of junior high school tries to cultivate a more expanded image of Europe and describes the historical events that took place in it as interactive events which influenced, more or less, all nation-states. The rest of the world seems to be present in both textbooks. But this presentation is selective, in the sense that not all continents are presented, not all parts of each continent (as in the case of the Americas in which North America is stressed more than South), and mainly political events are presented which have direct and/or indirect connection with national history. In order to discuss the image for each nation-state conveyed by both books and comparison to be made, the presentation of the findings which derived from the second classification of the content of the textbook of 3rd grade should be made.

The second classification of the content of the particular textbook led to the creation of the following table (table 72) which lists which continents, parts of them and nation-states are presented in the book. Table 72 shows that more nation-states are presented in this particular book than in the previous one examined. The majority of references are related to Greece (325 references) and the nation-states that possess many references are: Europeans in general (64), France (57), Russia (45), England (41), Germany (39), Turkey (35), and the USA (34). Less than these are the references to Italy (21), Bulgaria (14), Austria (12), Africa in general (10), Asia in general (9) and Serbia (9). Finally, the references to many nation-states such as the Netherlands, Belgium, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Czechoslovakia, Cyprus, F.Y.R.O.M., Montenegro, Rumania, Slovakia, Spain, Yugoslavia, Armenia, Hungary, Poland, Norway, Sweden, China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam and Egypt have references which vary in number from 1-5.

<i>Continent-Parts of it</i>	<i>Nation-states</i>	<i>Number of references</i>
Europe		
<i>Europe in general</i>	Europeans	64
<i>West Europe</i>	England	41
	The Netherlands	1
	Belgium	2
	France	57
<i>South Europe</i>	Albania	3
	Bosnia-Herzegovina	1
	Bulgaria	14
	Czechoslovakia	2
	Cyprus	3
	F.Y.R.O.M	1
	Greece	325
	Italy	21
	Montenegro	3
	Rumania	3
	Serbia	9
	Slovakia	1
	Spain	4
	Turkey	35
Yugoslavia	3	
<i>East Europe</i>	Armenia	1
	Russia	45
<i>Central Europe</i>	Austria	12
	Germany	49
	Hungary	4
	Poland	3
<i>North Europe</i>	Norway	1
	Sweden	3
<i>Asia</i>	Asia in general	9
	China	2
	Japan	5
	Vietnam	1
<i>The Americas</i>	North America	34
	South America	5
<i>Africa</i>	Africa in general	10
	Egypt	3

Table 72. Nation-states presented in textbook of 3rd grade

The kinds of references to each nation-state are depicted in table 73. Political references exist to every nation-state apart from Egypt which has 3 military references in relation to the involvement of Egyptian troops in the Greek War of Independence.

So, the suggestion made before, that history lessons at that grade are mainly about political events, is confirmed by this analysis. Military events, although there are discussed, are not mentioned in relation to each country. Military events are found in countries which were in war with Greece (such as Turkey, Egypt, Italy, Germany, Bulgaria) and in countries which were involved in World War I and II. Also interesting, a reference to the war between North and South America exists. Interesting also is the point that cultural developments are related to specific countries. Apart from Greece (there are separate chapters about the cultural developments which took place in Greece in the 19th and 20th centuries), exceptional scientists and artists are mentioned from England, France, Germany, the USA, Norway, Sweden and Poland. For these people, the countries of their origins are indicated while, in the chapter where the developments of arts and science are discussed, there are many references to exceptional people but not to their origins. On the other hand, descriptions of everyday life are very few. Except for Greece which gathers some references of this kind, social history is mentioned with regard to Germany (after the World War II), Asia and Africa (about the problems people from these continents suffer (Third World)).

The examination of the image conveyed of each nation-state, as it is illustrated in table 74, shows that the particular book tries to adopt a neutral attitude to way the countries are presented. The majority of references to every nation-state, according to the judgement of coders, are neutral and no adjectives, verbs and/or phrases that transmit a particular characterization are included. The historical events, no matter to which nation-state referred to, are described as a sequence of facts which are interrelated on the base of causality. Nevertheless, there are some references to some countries which have a positive or negative direction and, I think, are worth discussion despite the overall neutral picture.

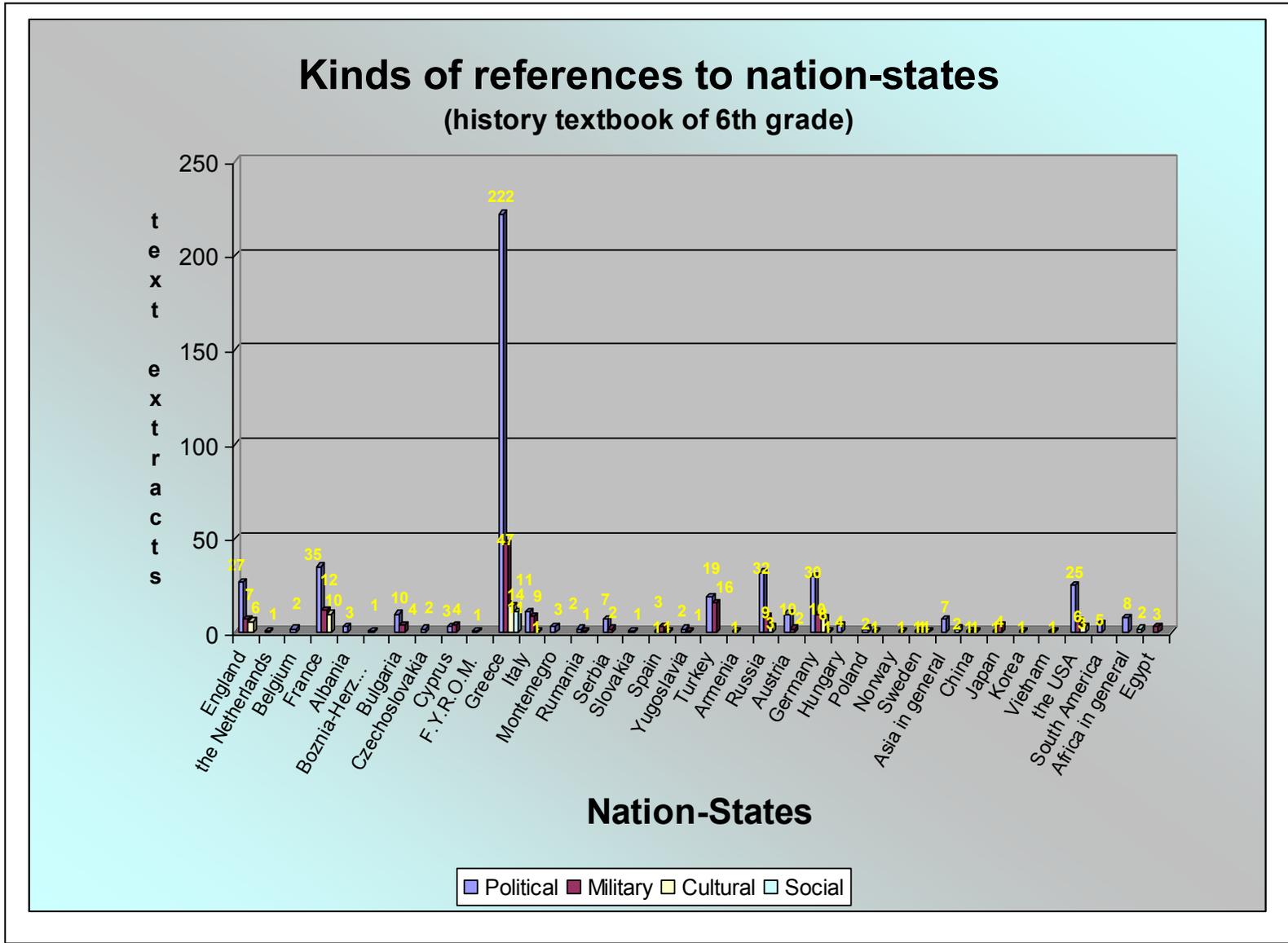


Table 73. Kinds of references to nation-states

Direction of references (history textbook of 3rd grade)

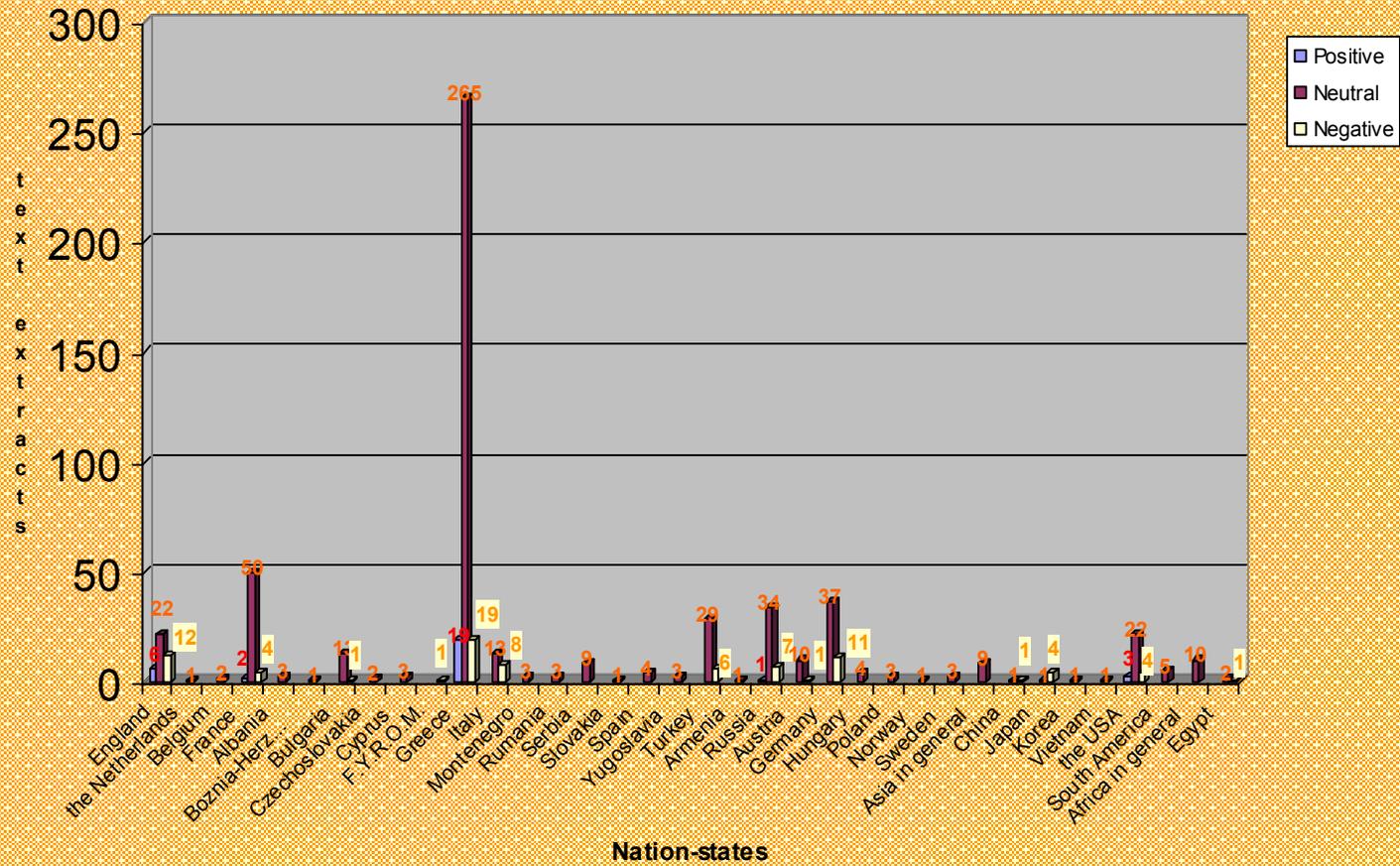


Table 74. Direction of references to each nation-state

Focusing on the references to the Greek nation, there are positive and negative references as well which, more or less, depict the nation in the same way discussed in the previously examined textbook. The positive references describe the struggles of the nation to obtain its freedom from conquerors. These efforts are characterized as ‘heroic’ and ‘daring’ because of the audacity they presupposed and which, in many cases, ‘caused a stir either in Greece or in Europe’ or ‘wrote with blood their own page of the history of resistance’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:64, 133). Also, the significant role the country tries to play in the Balkans and in Europe is stressed. The support that comes from the Greek Diaspora, when the country was in difficulty, is again mentioned. The disadvantages of the nation are derived from political power and the desire of the Greek people/politicians to exercise power no matter at what cost; incidents of vote-catching policies, falsification in elections, discord arising from conflicts about power which led to attempts of murder are discussed. Also, worth mentioning is the way that the Greek identity was constructed at the beginning of 19th century. According to the book, the Greek identity was structured based on three elements. Firstly, ‘special attention was given to history and folklore’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:77). Searching for national continuity, historians of the 19th century claimed that

‘the continuity of Hellenism from antiquity was uninterrupted and, in order to strengthen this position, they turned to the study of Byzantium. By this way, the triptych of the Greek history is formed: ancient, Byzantine and modern. This structure dominates the Greek historiography until today, especially school history. [...] ‘The same needs for the support of the Greek national identity led to the study of contemporary ordinary life and customs’. Also, the book narratives continue, ‘the acquisition of cultural identity, common for whole Hellenism, should be based on a united, vernacular language’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:77).

In regards to school history, this quotation, on one hand, distinguishes school history and its periodization from other ‘views’ of Greek history and forms the foundations of the history pupils are taught. On the other hand, these comments limit history, meaning that they do not provide to pupils with information about other ways Greek history is seen and, at the same time, adopt the ‘dominant’ historical time form. It is really worth asking how will these kinds of text narratives which ‘aim not only to knowledge but mainly to the development of critical thinking’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008: 7) promote in pupils this kind of thinking when only selected and dominant aspects are discussed?

Other nation-states which gather a variety of references in ‘direction’ are the nations which have the most references apart from Greece: England, France, Turkey, Russia, Germany, Italy and the USA. Mentioning again that the number of references to these nation-states is not sufficient for sustained conclusions to be drawn, next, it is attempted the image that is conveyed about them to be discussed. With references to England and France, there are 6/2 positive, 22/50 neutral and 12/4 negative references respectively. The positive ones entail the contribution of both nation-states to the development of science and scientific thinking and to the establishment of human rights as well as the significant role the British/French people (politicians) took during the Greek War of Independence. Special attention was paid to the French Revolution which is characterized as ‘*new departure for the European and the world history*’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:21). In the cases that British/French policy tried to interfere in the Greek state and/ or tried to take advantages of the difficult situations Greece was in is described, according the coders, usually with a negative meaning. For instance, in page 35 of the book it is written:

‘During the first two years of the Greek Revolution, the British kept a negative attitude to it. [...] In 1823, though, the new British Minister of Foreigner Affairs John Canning, estimating that a dynamic Greek nation could constitute a useful collaborator with England in the South-Eastern Mediterranean, reviewed the policy of the country and saw the value of Greece as a militant state’

and in page 60: ‘*Almost immediately, English and French armed forces captured Piraeus demanding from the King Otto of Greece that he remain strictly neutral*’ (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008).

Both countries were also described negatively when they are referred as strong colonial powers.

In regards to Germany and Italy, 11 negative references to Germany and 8 to Italy involve the period of the rise of Nazism and Fascism in these countries and the consequences of these policies to the Europe and the world:

‘The fascistic nation aimed for the complete control of the state. The only legal party was the fascistic one, while the ‘most dangerous’ politicians were imprisoned. Great emphasis was given to the manipulation of the youngsters through the control of education and the obligatory membership in the fascistic youth’ [...] Nazis organized gatherings in order to fanaticize the German people. Books which were not liked were burnt in public spaces and many intellectuals were forced to leave the country. Practicing an aggressive

racism policy, limited or extinguished people who were different (political opponents, gipsies, homosexual). Jews got treated with extraordinary aggressiveness and were forced to get around with a yellow star³⁹, (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:117)

Negatives are additionally in the references to these nations when it is discussed the occupation of Greece by them.

‘Also, suppression measures were imposed (traffic circulation forbiddance, censorship, arrests, sufferings, executions). The conquerors blocked every financial resources of Greece with the result the lack of primary necessities and the emergent of black market’ (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:132)

Incidents of burning whole villages and hundreds of people, as well as, massive executions of civilians by Nazi are discussed.

Turks were also conquerors of Greece. The analysis showed that there is no positive reference to this country but the majority of references are neutral. However, 6 references were negatively characterised and entail the sufferings of the Greek population from Turks. As in case of previous textbook, Turks are responsible for horror, massacres, hangings and pogroms.

‘Turks, because they want to ‘sow’ horror, occupied Chios and massacred the Greek population (23.000 dead and 47.000 captives), an event that caused a great stir in Europe’ (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:31)

Russia is mentioned in relation to her role and involvement in the development of the Greek Revolution and the Cold War. The references are also neutral. 6 negative existing references mention how this country acted for its own interest and tried to promote this interest taking advantages of the Greek War of Independence. The description also of Stalinism and the political circumstances that occurred at that time were also characterized negatively.

The USA is the country that is mostly mentioned from this continent. Although the references to it are limited, 3 positive and 4 negatives references were found. The positive ones entail this country as *‘all-powerful country’* in the sense of economy and

³⁹ This comment about Jews is the only one which exists about the Holocaust as well as the meaning that these kinds of actions can have for humanity.

military, rich country with ‘a *dynamic agricultural economy*’ and an area from which new ideas are spread. It also tried to control regimes of the countries which belonged to the same continents and, during World War II, used unfair means even against civilians (War of Vietnam). A worthy to be mentioned comment about this country is a paragraph that is found in page 155 and discusses about the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974):

‘It’s worthy to be mentioned, also, the fact that, while European Community postponed the procedure of Greek membership, the USA cooperating with (Greek) dictators, put the feelings of the Greek people about it to the test by this way (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008).

As can be understood, this comment, which is unique about the feelings of Greek people, has a latent meaning: Greek people used to have good feelings towards the Americans but this cooperation created doubts in Greek people’s mind. There are no further explanations for the USA’s political attitude. It is interesting to know, I think, what the authors’ intentions were by commenting like this and more interesting is to investigate how pupils understand this quotation and what teachers teach about it.

Concluding, the analysis of the ‘direction’ of references indicate that the book tries to convey a neutral picture of other nation-states stating simply facts and events in a chronological order underlining causes and results. How interesting is this kind of history for pupils? Do pupils have this neutral picture in their minds for other nation-states? Bearing in mind what has been discussed in the analysis of the previous book, it is worth examining whether or not this textbook manages to displace any negative images that were cultivated by the book pupils were taught in earlier years. Another issue that turns up is why pupils in primary school are taught by a book which gives a variety of images in relation to other nation-states, and a few years later they are taught by a book which tries to neutralize these images? Should both textbooks have the same orientation since the history curriculum for both grades relies on the same objectives, principles and aims? These issues are going to be discussed later on.

3.6.2.2. Written sources

The textbook has an almost equal number of primary (66) and secondary (69) and only 2 literary sources (137 in total). The majority of sources discuss and/or present political-economic events (100 references). Military references and presentation of cultural and ordinary life developments exist as well but less in number (37 in total) comparing with political references (table 75).

	Textbook of 3 rd grade		
	Primary sources	Secondary sources	Literary sources
Political references	46	54	
Military references	3	11	1
Cultural and every-day life references	17	4	1
Total	66	69	2

Table 75. Kind of events referred in written sources of textbook of 3rd grade

Regarding the ‘nature’ of the written sources, the textbook of 3rd grade does not include the variety of provenance of the previous book. Its written sources involve mostly ideas, thoughts about and aspects of political systems and doctrine, but from a variety of intellectuals not only from the Greek side. Views of political leaders of Africa, the USA, different countries in Europe are presented as well as thoughts of intellectuals of the Enlightenment. Interesting is also the fact that two ‘sources’ are often used in order for quotations of this kind to be drawn.

The first involves the website: www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk⁴⁰ and the second the works of Hobsbawn⁴¹. There are also extracts from a variety of countries politicians’ speeches, institutions and official documents.

Additionally, subtitling is sufficient since all the details that a reference should include are written (publication, year, and pages).

Comparing the findings of the study of written sources of both textbooks, some contradiction is indicated which raises some questions. To be more specific, the written sources of the textbook of the 6th grade are mostly literary and focused on culture and ordinary life. In the other textbook, primary and secondary sources take a higher proportion of space than the literary sources which are few and related to political events. Thus, it is worth asking why so many literary sources are included in the textbook of 12 year old children and almost none in the textbook of older pupils. Does this occur because pupils of early age are not so able to study and understand the other kinds of sources in relation to the pupils of older age? Or are literary sources thought more close to this age, meaning that this kind of source can more easily be understood, or does this selection have a special aim to cultivate, for instance, empathy for the past in order for young pupils to come closer to the past? If this the case, why do pupils of 15 years old not need to study this kind of sources and, the same time, culture and ordinary life? Are political events more important at this age? How will historical awareness, consciousness and critical thinking be developed in

⁴⁰ 14 written sources are taken from this website which entail views of politicians and intellectuals about the nation and its origins and the political system on which a nation should based and organized.

⁴¹ The works of E.J. Hobsbawn which are referred to are: ‘*The Age of extremes: the sort twentieth century 1914-1991*’, ‘*The Age of Capital: 1848-1875*’, ‘*The Age of revolution: Europe 1789-1848*’ and ‘*The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*’ and based on the Greek translations of the books.

pupil's mind if they have to deal mostly with a specific kind of sources and events that are seen from a specific national angle (especially at 6th grade)? From a different aspect, does the partial study of political events or cultural events help pupils to become active, thoughtful and responsible citizens? Or is it thought that since pupils having studied more literary sources at 6th grade, they are familiar with them, and there is no need to study them again at the next level? Further, could literary sources be considered as historical evidence? Μαξούρης (2008:280) who has studied the book of the 6th grade claims that:

'[...] the rest are utilized as literary sources obfuscating, nevertheless, the meaning and the function of historical sources since the literature interference becomes historical evidence'.

The textbook as well as the teacher's book does not indicate how these sources are supposed to function in the teaching and learning procedure of history. However, in the teacher's book of the item studied, the comment about all kinds of sources is:

*'If time is enough, these texts are read at school. Otherwise, pupils can read them in their free time with **no other requirements** (Ακτύπης et al. 2008, Teacher's book: 24, emphasis embedded).*

So, sources are for 12 years old pupils' free time and for some activities as indicated in the teacher's book. In the introductory notice of the textbook of 3rd grade is written that:

'Written sources, photographs, maps, diagrams and, in general, the supportive materials that accompany the narration constitute supplemental or alternative ways in order past to be attached and is worthwhile to make the most of them' (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:7).

It becomes understandable from the above paragraph that sources (and other materials) have a secondary role in history teaching at this grade since narration comes first. In this case, how will pupils be familiar with the methods that historians use in order to approach the past? How will pupils be introduced to a scientific study inasmuch as not even subtitling is sufficient (particularly at 6th grade)?

Additionally, there is another issue concerning the sources. Both books include a big number of sources no matter of which kind. Are all sources studied in the classroom given that the Ministry of Education, especially for 3rd grade, had sent

a circular (YΠEΠΘ 2008) to junior high schools saying that the time is not sufficient for all units to be taught and suggests some of them to be taught briefly? If there is a selection of the sources in relation to which ones are going to be taught, how is this made by the teachers? In the same vein, how do history teachers select, use (if they do so) sources and for what purpose? Do pupils welcome the study of sources or they are thought that is an extra in the learning process in which they are not quite interested? These kinds of question are addressed in the empirical part of this study.

3.6.2.3. Visual data

There are many common features between the illustration of this book and that of the 6th grade studied. Nevertheless, there are differences in some characteristics such as subtitling. In total of 208 visual presentations are embedded in the particular book, inadequate as well as semi-adequate subtitling was found. The majority of the collected visual data (167) have only comments on what is presented. These comments try to establish links between text and illustration. Differentiation appears in cases where illustration demonstrates pieces of art (mainly paintings of well known artists) (41). In this kind of illustration, subtitling was semi-adequate meaning that creator/producer name, year of creation and title was provided. Thus, it can be assumed that, in this book, there is an attempt for subtitling to be seen in a more scientific context in terms of references.

Illustration also related mainly to text under the scope of reinforcement: visual representations repeats what is written in textual narratives, especially when

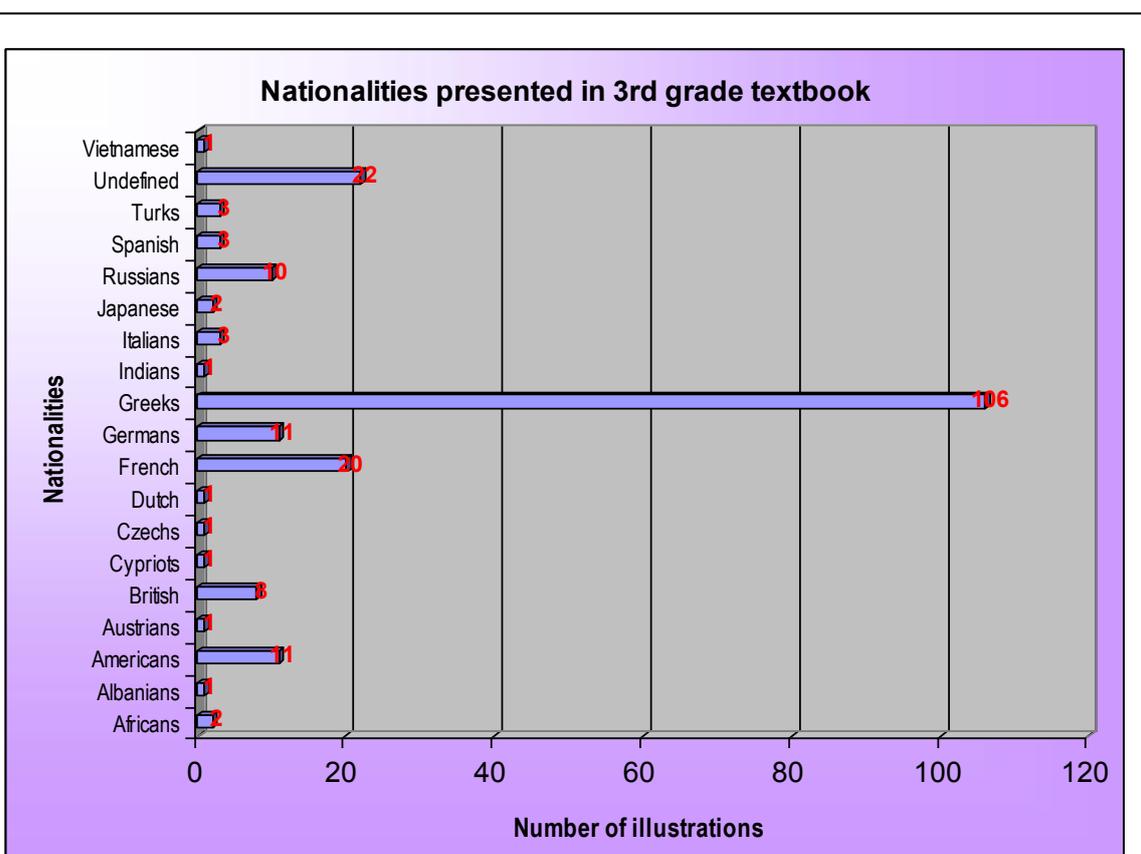


Table 76. Nationalities presented in illustration (textbook of 3rd grade)

political and military events are presented either in text or images. When technological and intellectual developments are presented, in many cases illustration is not discussed in text and add new ‘visual’ knowledge. The two kinds of interrelation between text and illustration do not vary from nation to nation. Only 2 photos are embedded in the textbook in order for comparison to be made⁴².

The nations that are visualized by images are much more than the ones presented in the 6th grade textbook. The same finding was also discussed in the analysis of textual narratives. Table 76 presents the nationalities of people who are illustrated.

As shown in table 76, the majority of illustration entails the Greek people (106). The illustrations depicting other nationalities are limited. However, comparing the number of illustrations of other nationalities, several of them gather considerably more visual presentations than others. More particularly, Americans (11), French (20), English (8), Germans (11) and Russians (10) are more often illustrated than the other nationalities which have no more than 3 visual presentations. In accordance with what was found in textual analysis, an extended variety of nationalities appears in this book which is not limited to Europe- which continues to be central even in illustration- but includes nationalities from other continents as well. However, all nation-states, which are discussed in text, are not presented in illustrations. Further, the nationalities that are embedded in visual presentations of this book are mostly from the West and Central Europe. Also, the same nation-states that gather the most paragraphs in the textual parts of the book (for instance England, France, and Germany) are the ones which are mostly demonstrated in illustration. The Balkans are almost entirely absent (this was the case in the textbook of the 6th grade); there is only 1 photo presented of Albanians and 3 photos of Turks. Concerning especially Turks who were completely absent in the visual data of textbook of the 6th grade, this textbook visualizes Turks in very few images. Finally, 22 illustrations were found without specification of the

⁴² These photos involve Greek people reactions to the activities designed by the Greek King Konstantinos in 1917.

nationality of people presented (picture 8); for this reason they were classified as ‘undefined’.

In contradiction with what is found in textbook of the 6th grade, this particular book does not contain very big images in size. Visual presentations are usually of small and medium size and only 6 big images are found. This finding indicates that the text covers the major part of page layout and consequently plays the most important role.

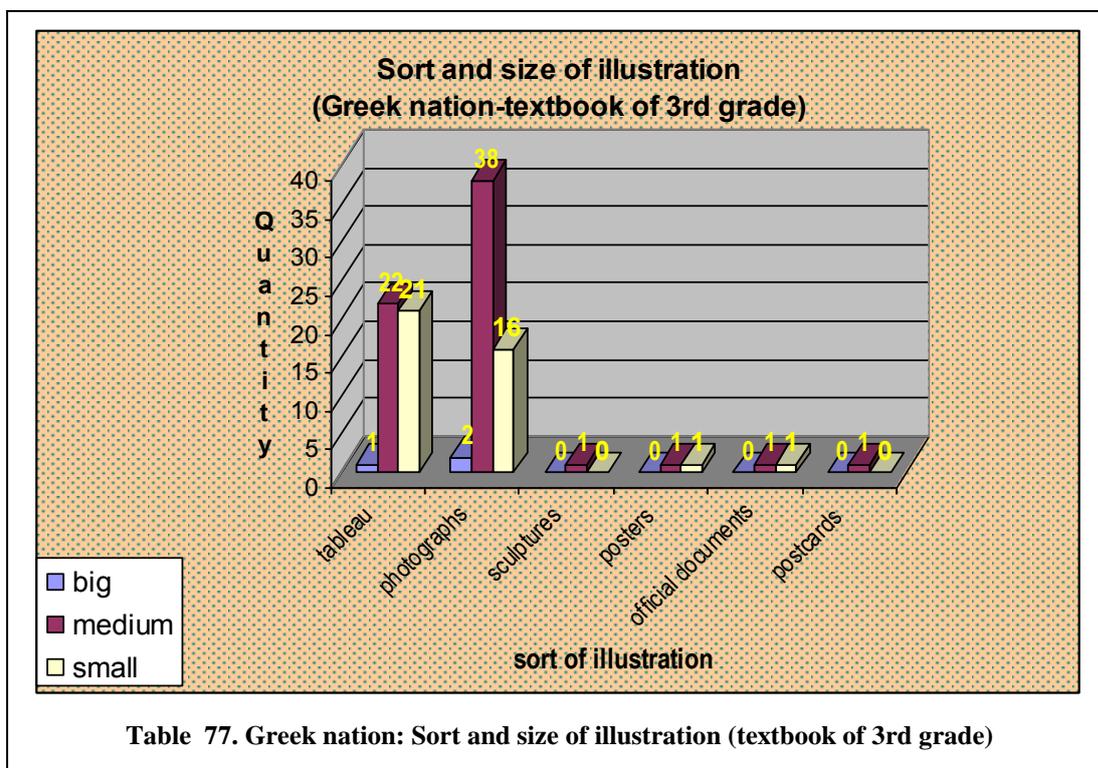
Next, as in the case of the previous textbook, the features of each nationality’s visual representations are presented and interpreted taking under consideration that the limited number of illustrations, which does not allow well-grounded conclusions to be drawn.



Picture 8. Sample of image classified as ‘undefined’ (textbook of 3rd grade)

The subtitling of this image is: *‘On the deck of a ship, refugees are travelling to America’*. There is no indication about the nationalities of refugees. For this reason the image was classified as ‘undefined’. (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:44)

Beginning with the Greeks who are illustrated in almost half of visual presentations, the size and sort of illustration is presented in table 77. It is obvious



that the majority of illustration fell in the category of photographs (56) and follow the category of tableau (46) and are mostly medium in size. The other sorts do not have a considerable presentation in the textbook. The use of photographs can be explained because the book covers a wide range of time period which mostly involves the 20th century when photography became common. On the other hand, tableaux are used as sort of illustration mostly to visualize what happen in 19th century and for the work of artists (intellectual pursuits).

In terms of the sort of representations, table 78 shows that political events (41) are ‘dominant’. The number of visual presentations which illustrates portraits (21) and intellectual pursuits (19) is also considerable. The illustration which exhibits social (10), technological (7) and military (15) events/developments are less. What is found in textual analysis seems to be confirmed by illustration as well. It was mentioned that political history is central in the textbook and political events are presented in strictly chronological order underlining causes and results. So, illustration is employed to serve this orientation especially if military events which are very close related to political ones are added to the latter.

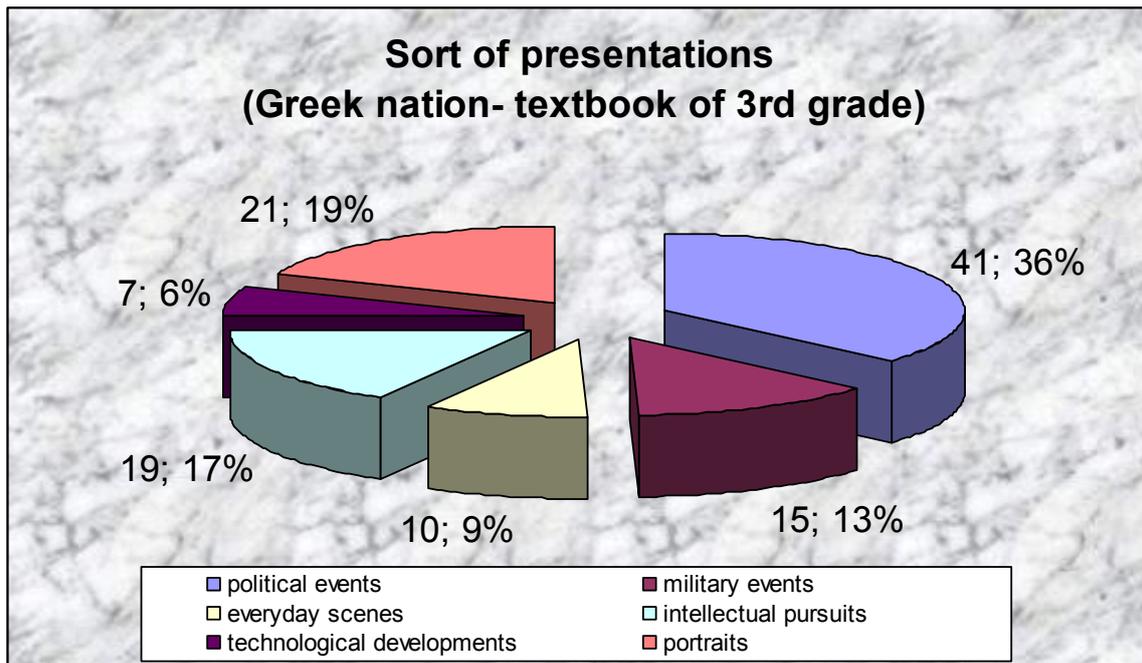


Table 78. Greek nation: Sort of presentations (textbook of 3rd grade)

‘Reading’ the illustration of political events, according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual grammar, they appear to have the follow characteristics: the gaze of represented people is indirect (offer), images are taken at long shot and from eye-level and oblique angle. Half of them are placed on the left in the page layout and half on the right of it (Picture 9). Interpreting these features, it is found that visualization of political events aims to provide knowledge to the viewer (pupils) and not involve the latter with it since the barrier set by the time the events happened does not allow any kind of involvement. For the same reason, these events are not part of pupils’ world and pupils are aware of some of them and not of others. This interpretation shows that pupils are called to know about what happened years ago at political level but not to be involved with meaning, not to know what are the consequences for them and their lives. Simply put, there is not a link between past and present- just presentations of events. Exactly the same is the case with interpretations of the military events: these are presentations which appear to have the same features in terms of the interpretation and textual metafunction.

The interpretation of the images which present portraits and every day life scenes is different. Both kinds of presentations are taken from eye-level and frontal



1. Ο Καραμανλής επιστρέφει στην Ελλάδα το 1974 και γίνεται δεκτός από πλήθος κόσμου.

ΕΝΟΤΗΤΑ 56

Η Ελλάδα από τη Μεταπολίτευση
έως τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του '80 (1974-1981)

Η Μεταπολίτευση και η κυβέρνηση εθνικής ενότητας Αμέσως μετά την πτώση της απριλιανής δικτατορίας επέστρεψε από το Παρίσι ο Κ. Καραμανλής και σχημάτισε κυβέρνηση εθνικής ενότητας (βλέπε γλωσσάριο) με τη συμμετοχή πολιτικών της ΕΡΕ και της Ένωσης Κέντρου, των δύο μεγαλύτερων κομμάτων της πρωταποικιακής περιόδου.

Η κυβέρνηση εθνικής ενότητας απελευθέρωσε, αμέσως, όλους τους πολιτικούς κρατούμενους και φρόντισε να απαγορευτεί στέλξη του δικτατορικού καθεστώτος από τις θέσεις τους, προκειμένου να αποκτήσει τον έλεγχο του κράτους και, κυρίως, του στρατού.

Επίσης, η νέα κυβέρνηση προσέβαλε να αντιμετωπιστεί, με διπλωματικά μέσα, η σοβαρότατη κρίση που προκλήθηκε από την τουρκική προέλαση στην Κύπρο, δίχως όμως αποτέλεσμα, καθώς ο τουρκικός στρατός κατέλαβε τελικά το 37% του κυπριακού εδάφους. Αντιδρώντας στην αδράκεια του ΝΑΤΟ, ο Κ. Καραμανλής αποφάσισε την αποχώρηση της Ελλάδας από το στρατιωτικό του σκέλος.

1. Ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραμανλής απευθύνει διάγγελμα ως πρωθυπουργός της κυβέρνησης εθνικής ενότητας, 25 Ιουλίου 1974 [αποσπάσματα]

[...] Απευθύνομαι προς όλους σας και ιδιαίτερα προς την νεολαία και τις ενόπλιες δυνάμεις της χώρας, με πρωτοβουλία των οποίων ηνιόχην ο δρόμος προς την ομαλότητα. Και σας όψια να εδράθητε εις το ύψος των περιστάσεων. [...]

Η Κυβέρνησις [...] έχει πρώτον και υπέρτατον χρέος να αντιμετωπίσει όλους τους εξωτερικούς κινδύνους, που επεωρύνθησαν από τα πρόσφατα, δραματικά γεγονότα. Την ώραν αυτήν η σκέψις μου στρέφεται πρωτίστως προς την δοκιμαζομένην Μεγαλόνησον, της οποίας την ανεξαρτησίαν και ακεραιότητα θα προσπαθήσωμ δν' όλων μας των δυνάμεων [...]

[...] Όταν [...] θα όπ αντιμετωπισθή το εθνικόν θέμα, που συνταραξάσ ολόκληρον τον Ελληνικόν, η Κυβέρνησις [...] θα ασκολληθή με τα ημετωκώτερα προβλήματα του γένους. Και το κριτέριον ες' αυτών είναι η ταχεία χάραξις της διαδικασίας που θα οδηγηση στην θεμελίωσιν μιας πραγματικής και προοδευτικής δημοκρατίας, στο πλαίσιο της οποίας θα όσων θέσιν όλοι οι Έλληνες.

Εις την ζώνην όλων των εθνών υπάρχουν στήματα που επιβάλλουν έξαρρον ηθικήν και εθνικήν. Είναι οι στήματα εκείνοι κατά τους οποίους ένας λαός απογοητευμένος από το πρόσφατον και το απώτερον παρελθόν αναζητεί με αγωνία τον δρόμον του. Και τους στήματα αυτάς σκεψθήσ ης σήμερα η χώρα μας. [...]

Πηγή: Κ. Γρηλιόπουλος (επιμ.), Κωνσταντίνος Καραμανλής, Αρχείο. Γεγονότα και έγγραφα, τόμος Κ. Καραμανλής - Εκδόσεις Αθηνών, Αθήνα 1997, τόμ. 8, σελ. 29-30.

Picture 9. Sample of illustration presenting a political event (textbook of 3rd grade)

Subtitling: *Karamanlis* (Greek politician) *is coming back to Greece in 1971 and he is welcomed by a crowd of people*. Notice the gaze, the long shot and the oblique angle from which the photo was taken. Also, notice that although its subtitling indicates a *crowd of people*, it is not very well presented in this photo. On the right, is presented the page layout. The image is placed on the left of the page. (Λούβη & Ξιφωράς 2008:157)

angle. The gaze of represented people is direct (demand). Everyday life scenes are taken at long shot and the portraits at close shot (Picture 10). These characteristics mean that illustrations of these kinds aim for pupils to be involved with the scenes and the people and how are presented. Especially, Greek people who are portrayed (mostly politicians) constitute part of the pupils' world (Picture 11). There is an attempt to establish a link between pupils and portraits and everyday life scenes. Especially, portraits are mostly situated on the right of the page which means that pupils should know about and pay attention to them. Some of the events of social history are thought as known and some others are not- they should be known.



3. Έλληνες ναυπηγοί στο μηχανοστάσιο ελληνικού ατμόπλοίου στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα.

Picture 10. Sample of illustration presenting scenes of every day life (textbook of 3rd grade)

Subtitling: *Greek mariner in the engine-room of Greek steamboat in the end of 19th century.*

Notice the gaze, the long shot, the frontal angle from which the photo was taken. (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:157)



7. Ιωάννης Καραϊσκάκης

Picture 11. Sample of illustration presented the portrait of a Greek politician (textbook of 3rd grade)

Notice the gaze, the close shot, the frontal angle the photo was taken. (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008:55)

To sum up, visual presentations of the Greek nation aim to offer knowledge about political and military events without underlining any significance for the lives of the pupils. On the other hand, social history and Greek personalities seem to affect pupils' lives and they are called to be involved with this history and these personalities.

Tables 79, 80 show the other nationalities presented in the textbook and the kind of illustration and presentation.

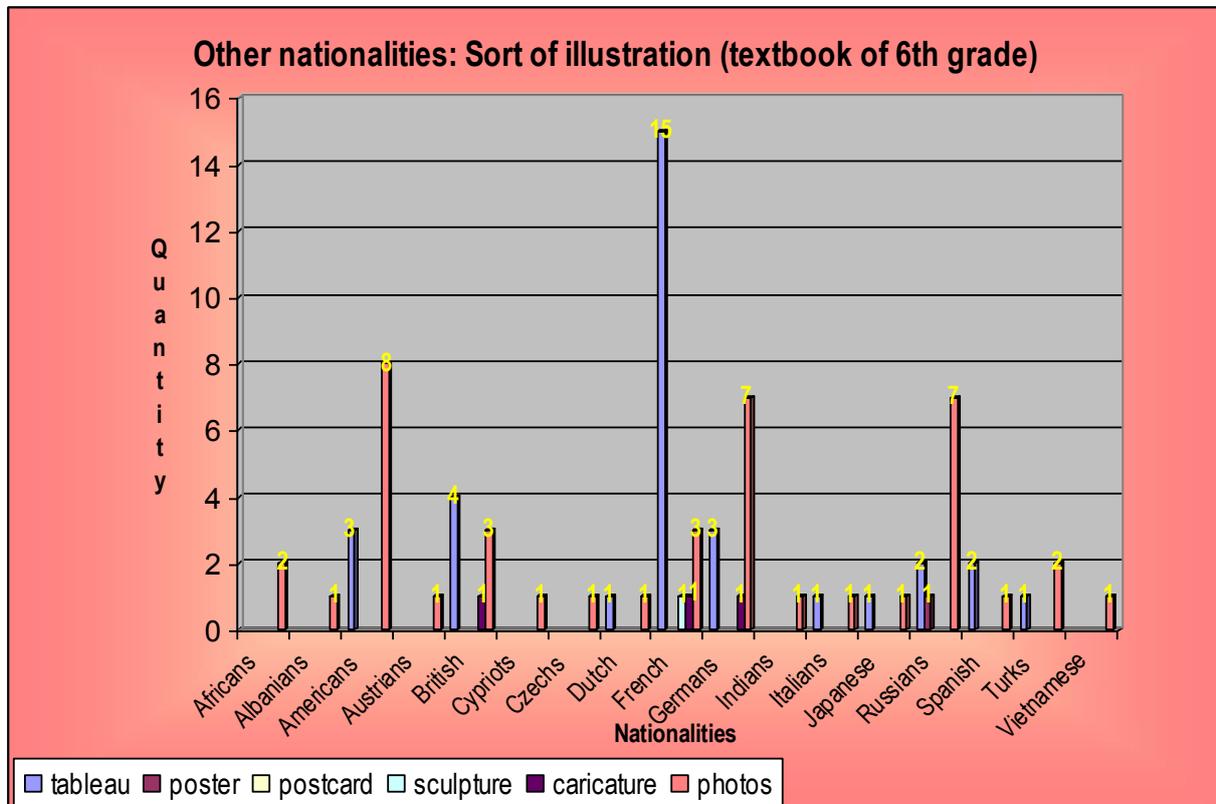


Table 79. Other nationalities: Sort of illustration (textbook of 3rd grade)

It is obvious from tables 79-80 that Americans, English, French, Germans and Russian people are presented more than the other nationalities. The interpretation of the illustration of each nation is as follows. The Americans are presented through 3 political and 2 military events, 2 scenes of every day life (about the economic crisis in 1929), 1 portrait of the political leader (Franklin Roosevelt), 1 intellectual pursuit (John Pollok’s art work) and 2 technological developments (landing on the Moon, rockets). These visual presentations aim to offer knowledge (indirect gaze), especially for the political (like the American independence), military and everyday life events. They are taken at long shot and from an oblique angle which indicate that they are thought of as ‘others’ and not part of the viewer’s world and are cited on the top of the page layout meaning that a generalized essence of these events is aimed to be conveyed.

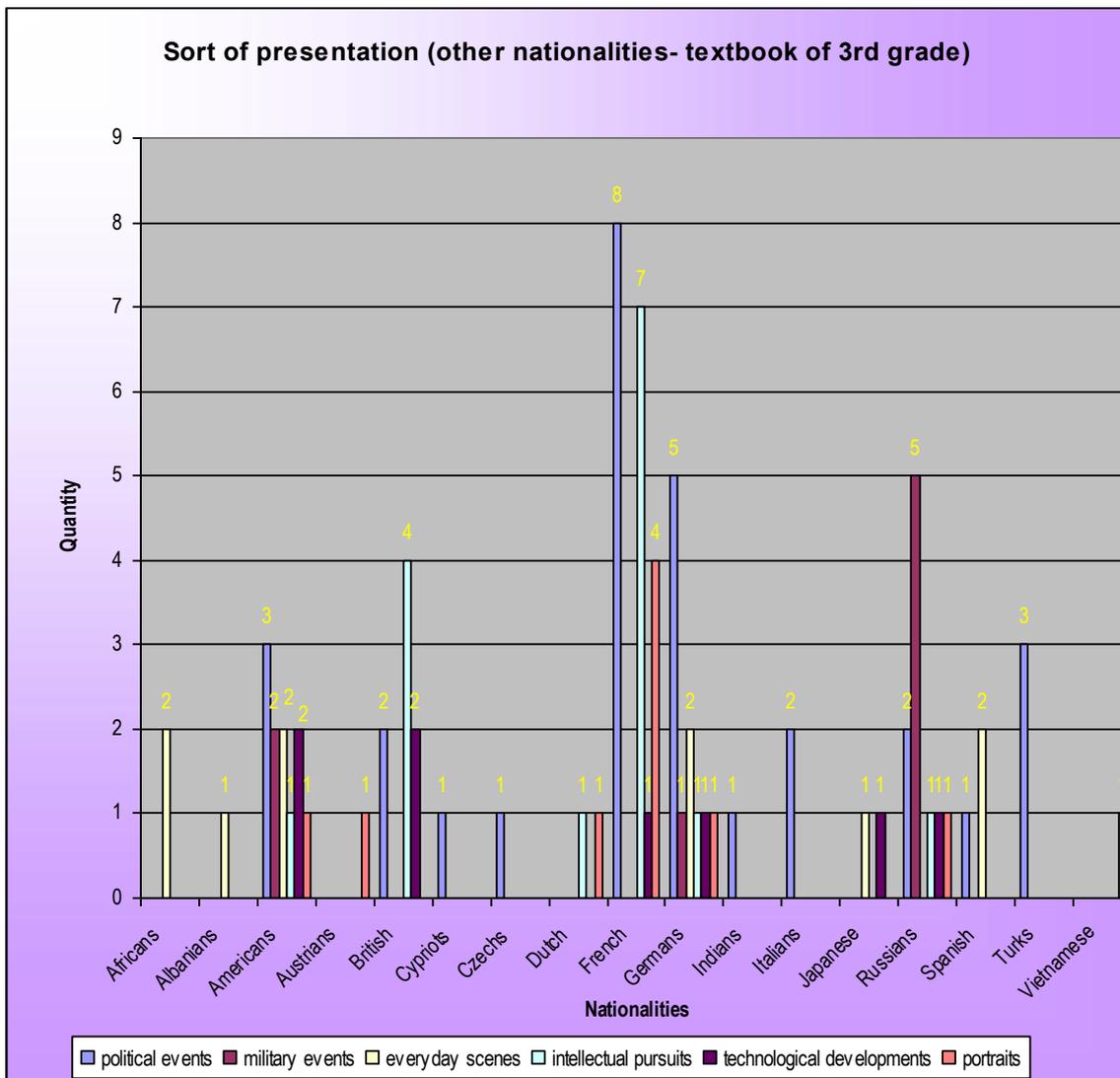


Table 80. Other nationalities: Sort of presentations (textbook of 3rd grade)

English people are visualized by 2 political events (movement of women’s right to vote, Treaty of Munchen) and 2 technological (train network and industrial revolution) and 4 intellectual developments (in arts, music and cinema). As in the case of the Americans, the internal characteristics of their illustrations indicate that they are thought of as ‘others’ and pupils are not supposed to be involved with them, just to know about them (indirect gaze- long shot- oblique angle).

French people gather visual presentations that are distributed as: 8 political events, 7 intellectual pursuits, 1 technological and 4 portrait. Discussion is mostly in connection with the French Revolution and its political consequences and many pieces of the French art are included. All illustrations are cited on the left of the

page indicating that the events that are discussed are already known to the viewer (pupils know about the French Revolution). However, their illustration has the same features with the two previously discussed nationalities.

The Germans are presented by 5 political (rise of Nazism) and 1 military event(s) (Germans' invasion in Athens), 2 every day life scenes (life after World War II) and 1 portrait (Hitler), intellectual pursuit (Einstein's work) and technological development (Bauhaus). They are pictured, based on their illustration's internal characteristics, in order to offer information about political and military events related mostly to their role in World War II. This information is not yet known, so attention should be paid. They are thought as 'others' with whom the viewer is not involved.

Similar is the case with the Russians who are pictured by 5 military and 2 political events (Russian Revolution, Cold War), 1 portrait (Gorbachev) and 1 intellectual pursuit (Kandinsky's art work). Their visual presentations indicate that they are thought of as 'others', not part of the viewer's world. They also aim attention to be paid to the information they provide since it is not known yet.

The other nationalities are depicted by 1 or 2 images which have to do mostly with political events/ personalities. Despite the limited amount of illustration, I think the discussion of the selection of the visual presentations of some nationalities will reveal some interesting insights. The examination of both textbook narratives showed that the texts reveal a rather negative image about the Turks. Although the Turks are not visualized in the 6th grade textbook, in this textbook, Turks are presented by the selection of 2 photographs which portray Kemal Ataturk (the political leader who reformed the Turkish state) (Picture 12) and a piece of art which presents the establishment of democracy in the country (picture 13). The particular illustration refers to the beginning of the 20th century and the modernization of the country. Although the war between Turks and Greeks (19th century) constitutes part of the teaching syllabus, the selection of images is not made from that period. The analysis of their internal characteristics



Picture 12. Photographs which show the political leader of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk (textbook of 3rd grade)
 Subtiting: (left) Kemal teaches Turks the Turkish way of writing in Latin alphabet. (right) Mustafa Kemal. (Λούβη & Ξιφαράς 2008: 104,110)

shows that they are exhibited as ‘other’/ ‘stranger’. The knowledge that is provided about them is not known yet and the viewer should pay attention to it; it is to be noticed, at least a generalized essence of it. So, it could be said that illustration concerning this nation tries to convey a differentiated ‘image’ of it from the image the previous textbook narratives cultivated. Additionally, taking into consideration that the textual analysis of the particular book, as discussed previously, cultivates almost a ‘neutral’ image of Turks, their illustration follows this orientation.



3. Η ανακήρυξη του τουρκικού συντάγματος μετά το κίνημα των Νεοτούρκων το 1908 σε λαϊκή αλληγορική εικόνα εποχής.

Picture 13. Painting which presents the establishment of democracy in Turkey (textbook of 3rd grade)

Subtitled: *The proclamation of the Turkish institution after the movement of New Turks in 1908 presented by folk allegoric picture of that time.* (Λούβη & Ξεφωράς 2008:68)

Interesting also is the way the Albanians are illustrated. There is only one photo



5. Αλβανοί μετανάστες προσπαθούν να φτάσουν στην Ιταλία. Συχνά η «Γη της Επαγγελίας» αποδεικνύεται εξαιρετικά απρόσβλητη.

Picture 14. The photo which presents Albanians (textbook of 3rd grade)

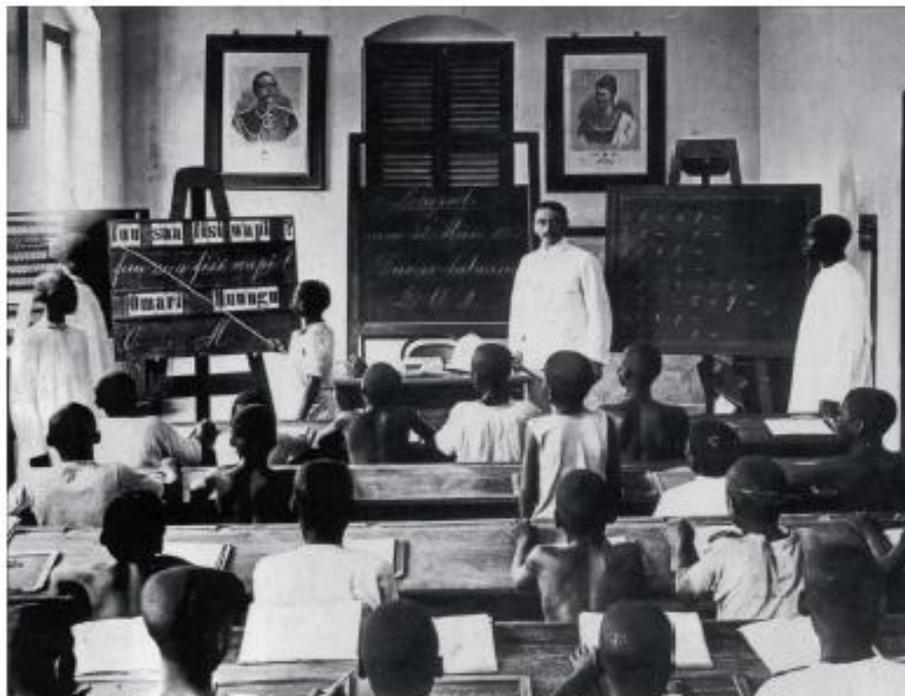
Subtitled: *Albanian immigrants are trying to arrive in Italy. Often, the 'Promised Land' is inhospitable.* (Λούβη & Ξεφωράς 2008:149)

of them (picture 14) in which, based on its subtitling, Albanians are photographed in a scene of illegal immigration. Since this is the only way Albanians are presented, this photo conveys a rather 'negative' image for these people. The study of the internal characteristics of this photo declares that the viewer (pupils) knows about the event presented; about Albanians being stowaways and a generalized essence of that information is given (placed on the

top-left of the page layout). Also, the way the photo is taken (long shot-oblique angle) creates a mental barrier between viewer and presented people and the latter are seen as 'other'/'strange', not in the viewer's world. Placing this photo in the

context of the contemporary Greek educational reality, I think, some interesting and meaningful questions are raised. Nowadays, a considerable number of pupils coming from Albania are integrated in the Greek educational system. What impact does this photo have on them and on indigenous pupils? Why and for what purpose did the authors choose this picture, especially when the text narratives try to convey a ‘neutral’ image for all the nations discussed?

Interesting also are the photos which present Africans. In the book, there are two photos; the one (picture 15) presents, based on its subtitling, African pupils attending a lesson given by a white teacher and the other shows black hungry children (picture 16). Studying the first photo, only the backs of the pupils can be seen while their white teacher is shown at a frontal angle and face the viewer. So,



2. Υπό το βλέμμα του Γερμανού αυτοκράτορα Γουλιέλμου Β' και της συζύγου του (απεικονίζονται στα κάδρα που κρέμονται στον τοίχο), Αφρικανοί μαθητές παρακολουθούν μάθημα από τον λευκό δάσκαλό τους.

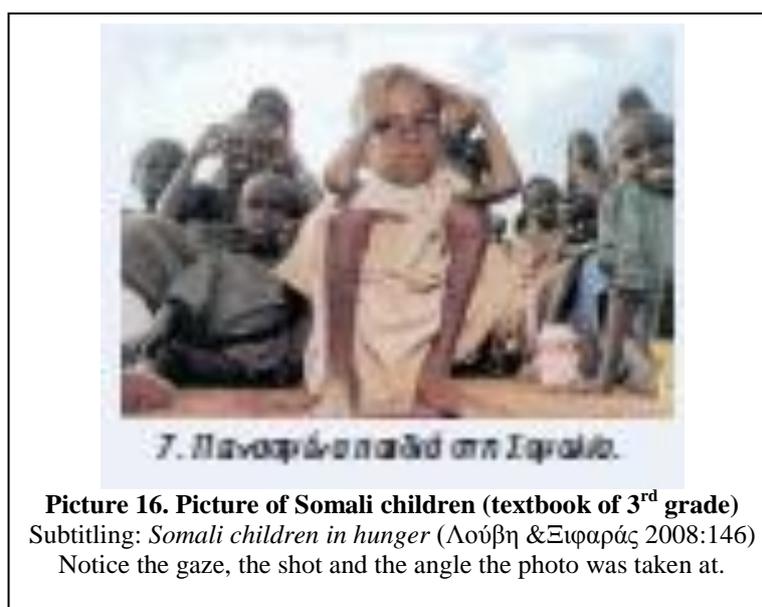
Picture 15. The picture presents African children to attend lesson taught by white teacher (textbook of 3rd grade)

Subtitling: Under the German Emperor Guillaume II and his wife’s gaze (depicted in frames hanging on the wall), Africans pupils attend lesson by their white teacher. (Λούβη & Ξιφάρης 2008:51) Notice how African pupils are portrayed and how their teacher is shown.

the emphasis is on the teacher; to stress the effort of whites to educate the blacks. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, the way the blacks are presented (the black children at this case) is the ‘back view’ (the viewer can see their backs). The back view can signify abandonment as well as vulnerability. Both are ‘expressed’ by

this photo: on the one hand, the emphasis is not on children (abandonment) but on the teacher especially if we consider the subtitling which emphasises the pictures on the wall and on the other hand, the photo, in accordance with the text which accompanies it, gives the sense of superiority of whites who educate the uneducated blacks (vulnerability).

The other photo (picture 16) shows children from Somalia who, as its subtitling declares, are in hunger. The children are depicted in direct gaze (involvement), at frontal angle and their picture is cited in the centre of the page. So, the aim is for pupils to be involved with the children presented in the photo and for links to be established; pupils to be involved with the problem of hunger. Based on these two photos, it can be said that Africans are vulnerable and pupils should be engaged with the problems their children face.

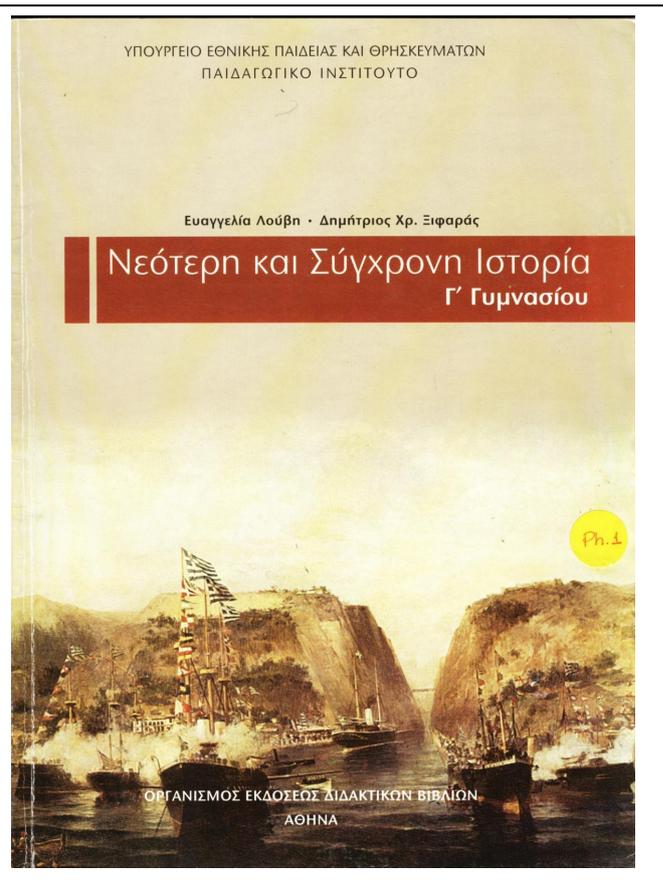
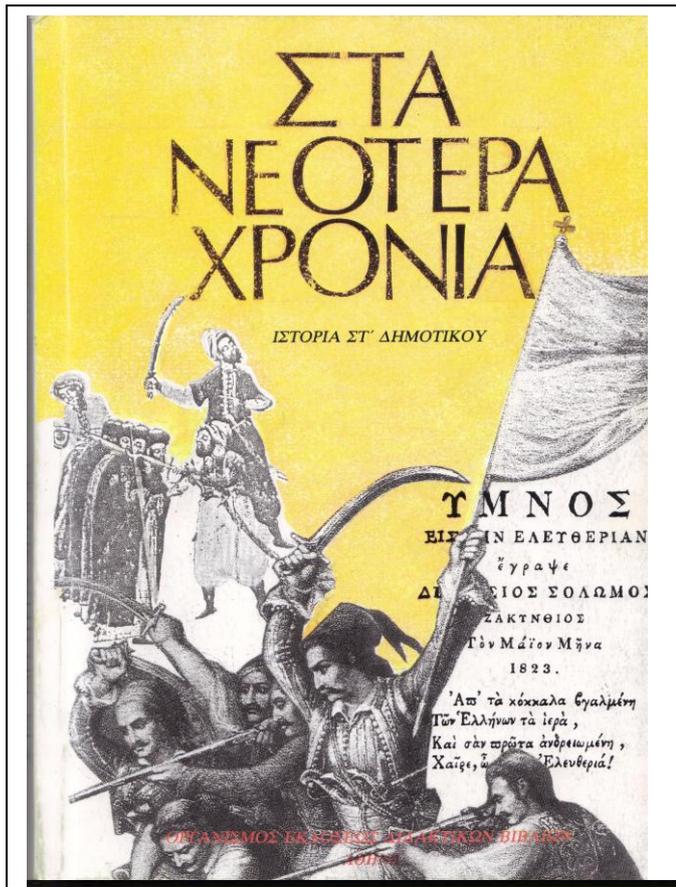


To sum up, the selection of illustration of the other nationalities indicates that people apart from Greeks are thought as ‘others’/ ‘strangers’ who do not have any link with the pupils who look at them. The main purpose is to offer knowledge to pupils about events – mostly political actions- which do not affect pupils’ lives.

Finally, 24 maps are included in this textbook. The study of the maps showed that the selection and the subtitling of them are differentiated from the choice and subtitling made in the textbook of the 6th grade. More particularly, the maps do not almost exclusively present the Greek territory but a variety of other areas.

Only 3 out of 24 maps depict Greek territory. 9 from the rest present Europe and the transformation of the borders of its states and 3 focus on the Balkans. There are also maps (3) referring to colonialism in Asia and Africa and the rest present the unification of Italy and Germany, Russia and the states of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the states of South America. The subtitling of all maps is in correspondence with their content and their size is mainly big. However, they are political/ geographical maps; the borders of the states that are in question in each case are presented and historical maps are not included which is the case in the textbook of the 6th grade.

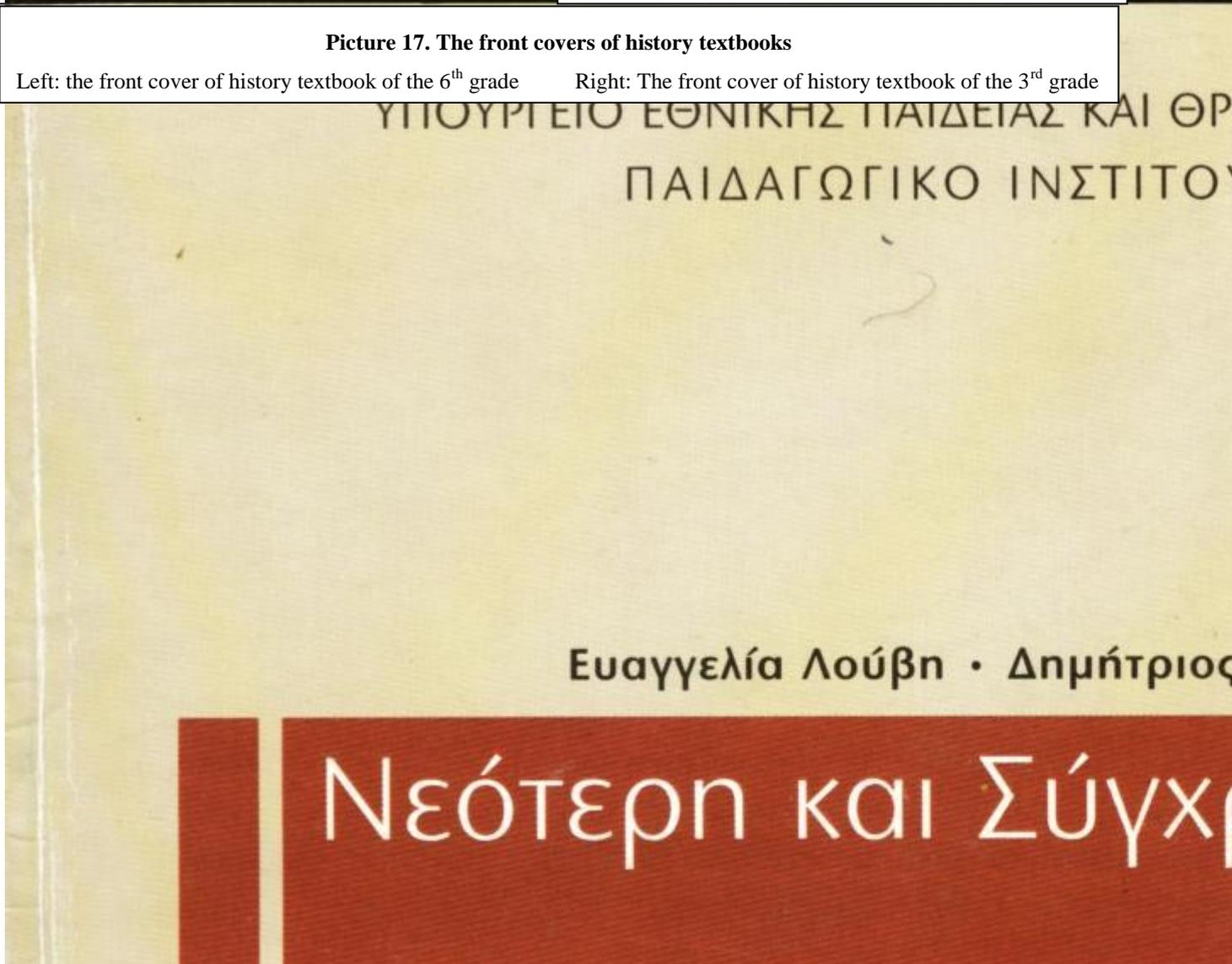
Comparing the illustration of both textbooks, it could be said that both textbooks promote the visualization of national history in accordance with the textual narratives. The textbook of the 3rd grade appears to include a more expanded range of illustration in terms of the variety of nationalities/nations- states presented in comparison with the textbook of the 6th grade. Regarding the use of illustration, both textbooks illustrate mostly (political) events in order to reinforce the textual narratives and visualize them. Illustration is not used for pupils to gain knowledge and to look critically at them, for example it is not used for comparisons. It stands as visual evidence of what is written in the text and does not enable pupils to deal with them as extra teaching material from which they could learn and extract historical information. In terms of the image of nations cultivated by illustration, the analysis showed that the history textbook of the 6th grade tries to inspire pupils to study the ‘great moments of national history’ through national heroes and victories, so, in a sense, to glorify national history and, more or less, to ignore other nations. At the same time, the textbook of the 3rd grade aims to convey a rather ‘neutral version’ of national history and to involve pupils to be familiar with it as well but without exaggerations. The differentiation that is noticed in the way national history is addressed by the textbooks, I think, is well exemplified and reflected on each textbook front cover (picture 17). The authors of the textbook of the 6th grade chose Greek people holding guns and swords in black and white colours to be illustrated in their textbook front cover while a painting which shows the inauguration of the Isthmus of Corinth is selected by the authors of textbook of the 3rd grade.



Picture 17. The front covers of history textbooks

Left: the front cover of history textbook of the 6th grade

Right: The front cover of history textbook of the 3rd grade



3.7. Contextual and critical review of the findings

In the chapter where history curricula was discussed, it was suggested that, using the model of ‘concentric circles’, history teaching has its core national history and the dominant national culture and both are integrated in European context by which they are legislated and promoted. It was also discussed that, although elements of traditional history teaching are embedded in history curricula, at the same time, features of the ‘new’ history teaching can be found. The examination of the textbooks indicates and confirms that textbooks and curricula are in accordance.

As was shown, both textbooks exhibit and describe mainly the historical course of the Greek nation through the 19th and 20th century. The description of this historical course emphasises political-economic and military events in order to glorify the nation and to underline its heroic attempts to be autonomous and free. Both textbooks focus mostly on well known personalities (mainly from the field of politics) and their actions and try to engage pupils in the study and acknowledgement of them. Moreover, they do not ignore to mention the cultural developments the nation achieved and highlight aspects of ordinary life, however, not to a great extent. In this way, both curricula and textbooks try to convey an image of the nation and, in parallel, to cultivate the national identity in the context of a ‘glorious’ past which is full of struggles for autonomy and independence. To the construction of this national past, the notion of ‘other’ contributed significantly and it was seen through different aspects and lenses.

Firstly, the nation was threatened many times by ‘others’ in the sense of ‘enemies’. The identity of the ‘others’ by this sense, although it varies from time to time, has a common feature: they were nations that invaded and occupied the country during the centuries under question. The nations that are thought of as enemies of the country are: the Turkish, Bulgarian, Italian and German nations with the Turks standing out as the main or most consistent ‘national enemy’ among them. The references to the others are less, not too expanded and detailed. The emphasis on the suffering and the difficulties the conquerors imposed on the

Greek nation contributes to strengthen the idea that that Greek people protested and tried hard to keep their identity and ‘purity’ which is based on their culture, religion and heritage. In this way, the glorious history of the country is built. Pupils are invited to participate in this past studying in depth its political-military developments and following the example of their ancestors to keep and promote the heritage they were given.

Comparing the findings of this textbook study about the nations thought of as enemies with the outcomes of previous textbooks studies (e.g. Xochellis & Toloudi 1998, Dragonas et al. 2005, Antoniou & Soysal 2005), it is found that the same nations are presented as the ones that threaten the nation. Nevertheless, it is noticed that the description of the sufferings from these nations is relatively neutral, with no directly negative references, especially in the textbook of the 3rd grade and regarding the dominant ‘enemy’, Turks. (The textbook of the 6th grade continues to embed direct negative references).

Moreover, the ‘other’ appears to have another meaning as well. It seems to signify the European ‘other’ and the ‘high civilisation’ countries of Europe which Greece either tries to resemble or to be integrated. The extended discussion about the history of Europe and the limited reference to the other continents identify an attempt for Europe to be addressed as an area that Greece not only belongs to geographically, but also culturally and intellectually. Thus, pupils are called to study and realize common links between their country and Europe and develop their identity at another level: the European. Also, the attention paid to the European cultural developments in general, and of specific countries (such as France and England) in particular, in conjunction with the ignorance of other cultures, contributes to pupils developing a partial view of the development of human civilization. Also, it contributes to pupils thinking that the European civilization is the most important one without avoiding a sense of superiority of it and linking the national culture with the European one, ignoring any other influences of other countries and civilization the national civilisation had (such as the East civilization that the country came close to through the Ottomans).

Finally, 'others' are seen as 'far away nations' which, although they have their own history, do not have any direct link with the national self and its development. These nations are not only from other continents. They are from Europe as well, even neighbour countries. This kind of others is referred to sporadically. Two or three sentences are devoted to them highlighting 'spots' of their history. Thus, it could be said that pupils are given on the one hand a partial idea about them and on the other hand, the perception that they do not have any other interesting points in their history and culture.

For these reasons, it appears that discrimination or, as Dragonas et al. call it (2005) 'an arbitrary taxonomy', is presented by textbooks in regards to civilization and nations. More particularly, European civilization (mostly Western European culture) in which national culture is presented to belong is stressed and described as above the others in the world as if it has some special advantages and/ or some special quality (Blaut 1993). On the same vein, some nations emerge to have more interesting and/or significant history than others. Greek history and civilization belong to this kind of nation. This discrimination obscures the transfer of a holistic and complete image of the world and human development to pupils and, further, does not promote cohesion and tolerance among nations and their people, something that is stressed in the objectives of the curriculum.

The way that the national past is constructed and other nations are presented, however, becomes more partial if the content of the textbook is considered, and the way that knowledge is provided to pupils. To be more specific, textual narratives are of great significance and constitute the core of textbooks. These narratives are constructions of authors and present historical developments of any nation and time as 'given', as authentic undoubted knowledge which pupils have to study, learn and adopt. If we consider, also, that these narratives are the subject of annual examination and pupils have to memorize them in order to pass their exams and continue to the next grade (especially at 3rd grade), it is obvious that pupils have a passive role, the role of learning, in regards to pupil engagement with textbooks and textual narratives. In other words, pupils are not involved in the production of knowledge, just in the consumption of it. They do not debate what is written and/or not search for knowledge. Quite the contrary, they have to

accept what is written, to learn as Lee (1992) argues *the* story. The supportive materials such as written sources and illustration -elements of the 'new' approach to history teaching- although they add new knowledge, have a secondary role and in fact expand the knowledge provided by text but do not expose knowledge to critical examination and consequently do not stimulate pupils to think critically. So, it could be said that textbooks present history as a series of knowledge, events, causes and results that should be learnt without debating or discovering them. Also, history is exhibited as a subject which contributes to the pupils' national identity through the promotion of patriotic feelings and national pride and not to their identity in general. It does not equip pupils with skills which enable them to reflect on their own self, to construct and reconstruct their own ideas about the world and their own place in it, something that constitutes the general aim of education. The way history is presented does not introduce pupils to the discipline of history and the work historians do despite the familiarization with the principles of the disciplines the curriculum claims. Thus, the particularities of the disciplines and, at the same time, its usefulness for one's life, one's society and the world in general are not stressed apart from the promotion and legislation of the existence of a nation-state.

Nevertheless, history curricula and textbooks constitute the one side of the coin, the 'official side'. The other side entails the recipients of the official design of history teaching and learning who are called to carry this design into effect and to 'consume' what has been designed for them. What does the other side of the coin have to say? In other words, what do teachers and pupils think about history and history teaching? Is the official side of history teaching welcomed by them or do they face problems regarding its implementation? What do they think about history? How useful do they think history is? According to their view, how does history contribute to the construction of (national) identity and image of the world and its people? These and more particular issues are examined in the next chapter.

Part 2: The empirical research

Introduction

This part of the study describes and reports the empirical research I conducted at Greek schools in order to investigate what teachers and pupils think about history, history teaching and the 'other'. This section discusses methodological matters and issues in relation to the research procedure.

The target population of the research was pupils who attend and history teachers who teach at the 6th grade of primary school and the 3rd grade of junior-high school because at these grades history teaching entails the historical course of other nations. However, not all the pupils who attend and teachers who teach at these grades were examined since, for the needs of this thesis, the research is a small scale one. The criteria for the selection of the sample (schools) were as follows:

- One of the aims of the research was to investigate whether the adjacency of the country to other countries has an effect on pupils' ideas about specific neighbour countries. So, the research was focused on Northern Greece because it is the only part of the country which is adjacent to other (Balkan) countries. More particularly, the research was interested in schools in North-Western Greece which is adjacent to Albania and the F.Y.R.O.M., North-Eastern Greece which is very close to Turkey and Bulgaria and North-Central Greece which, although it is not adjacent to these countries, is not too far away from them.
- The geographical/demographical location of schools (urban-rural, frontier- main land) was another parameter under consideration. Thus, the sample included schools of different geographical/demographical locations in order to investigate whether this differentiation influences pupils' perceptions.
- Another criterion was the ethnic background of pupils. Although, in Greece, an ordinary school class has pupils from the same ethnic (Greek) background, there are special schools for the Muslim pupils who, although they have Greek citizenship, are educated in minority schools that are located in North Greece and have a Turkish background due to their mother tongue (Turkish) and their religion. The research examines this kind of school aiming to draw insight into

whether pupils' background influences their view on the country they live in and on the country to which their family is related.

- The pupils' age was another point that the research considered. In order for comparative conclusions to be drawn, the sample included pupils from both primary and junior-high schools. At a later stage, the pupils' gender constituted another parameter of comparisons.

According to the above criteria and the scale of the research, 8 schools were selected: 1 primary and 1 junior-high school from North-Western Greece, 1 primary and 1 junior-high school North-Central Greece, 1 primary and 1 junior-high school from North-Eastern Greece and 2 minority schools (1 primary and 1 junior-high schools) which are located in Thrace in North-Eastern Greece. Apart from minority schools, the method of random sampling was used for the selection of the rest of the schools. For this selection, the Schools List provided by the Ministry of Education was used which enumerates each school of each level of each area with a code number. For the specific areas of interest, the primary schools whose code number ending in 18 and the junior-high schools ending in 20 were used. The minority schools were selected from the two municipalities in Thrace that have the majority of the Muslim pupils' population.

After the selection of schools, a detailed plan of the research which included the theoretical framework of the study, the aims and the detailed design of the research was submitted to the Greek Ministry of Education for approval. After permission had been granted, the plan of the research was forwarded to the Head Teacher of each selected school and the staff of each school was informed. However, each of the selected schools has more than one section of each grade. The decision for which section of the specific grades was going to participate in my study was made by the Head Teacher of each school.

Before the research with pupils was carried out, parental and pupils' consent was obtained. I edited a separate consent sheet for parents and pupils' informing them about the aims and the design of the research asking, at the end, for their consent. In these sheets, it was underlined that the research was anonymous and no personal or school details will be mentioned in the research. Also, in case that these details needed to be referred to, pseudonyms would be used (see Appendix 4). 180 children in total were

asked to participate in the research. In relation to teachers, 8 teachers participated in this study; the ones who taught history at the grades and the schools that were selected for this empirical research.

The research technique that was employed for the investigation of teachers' and pupils' views was the research interview. This particular approach was adopted in this study rather than other techniques, for example the questionnaire, because as Oppenheim (1992: 352) claims:

'the interviews have a higher response rate than questionnaires because respondents become more involved and, hence, motivated; they enable more to be said about the research than is usually mentioned in a covering letter to a questionnaires, and they are better than questionnaires for handling more difficult and open-ended questions'.

The interviews were conducted taking special consideration of the limitations the technique imposes (Brenner 2006). During the interview, open-ended questions were discussed. This kind of question was preferred because as Brenner (2006:363, emphasis in original) argues:

*'an open-ended interview takes advantages of the format by asking informants **how** and **what** questions that cue informants to give their perspective in their own words'.*

The aim of the interviews was to allow interviewees to express their own views 'with their own words'. One to one interview was used with teachers, whilst focus group interview for pupils.

Focus group interview was used with pupils due to several reasons. According to Lederman (cited in Rabiee, 2004:655), a focus group interview is:

'a technique involving the use of in-depth group interviews in which participants are selected because they are a purposive, although not necessarily representative, sampling of a specific population, this group being 'focused' on a given topic'.

The purpose of the technique is to 'provide insights into the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of participants' (Krueger 1994:19). Lewis (1992: 414) underlines four sets of research based reasons for using this technique: a) to test a specific research question about consensus beliefs in terms to produce statements which are in line with group norms to a much greater extent than will happen in individual interviews b) to obtain

greater depth and breadth in responses than occurs in individual interviews since participants promote each other to express their ideas and illuminate the difference in perspective c) to verify research plans or findings and d) more speculatively, to enhance the reliability of interviewee responses because it limits the effects of interviewer characteristics, the silence of the interviewee which stops the procedure, gives 'thinking time' to participants to form more accurately their ideas and reflect on other perspectives and, especially in cases where children are interviewed, creates a more 'safe' and 'naturalistic' environment of discussion than one-to one interview. The procedure of focus group interview involves:

- a) *a facilitator/ interviewer who conducts a carefully planned, focused discussion, creates a permissive environment that nurtures different points of view and encourages group members to respond to one another's ideas and comments*
- b) *the participants selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic of the focus group (Krueger 1994:16)*

Finally, apart from the market context into which the particular technique has firstly been employed, it has been applied successfully to social, educational and psychological contexts and with young children (e.g. Lewis 1992). Based on the above, the particular technique was judged appropriate since a) it aims to reveal not only quantitative but mainly qualitative findings b) its general aim is to gain insights into pupils' attitudes, perceptions and opinions c) to investigate in depth and breadth these attitudes and perceptions and d) to find a tool which could promote pupils' participation and create a 'safe' research environment due to participants' young age and inexperience in research. Especially concerning the latter, I conducted in order to test my pre-planned motivating and focused questions/themes of discussion and familiarized myself with the technique. These pilot interviews were also used for the final formation of the focused questions/ themes.

The questions that were discussed in the interviews were pre-planned and tested in a couple of pilot-interviews with teachers who were not included in the sample of this research and a number of 'pilot' focus group interviews with pupils of the specific ages from other schools. These tests aimed to identify whether the planned questions were in line with the aims of this study and served them and appropriate amendments were made. Also, special attention was paid for the interviews with teachers to be in line with the focus-group interviews conducted with pupils in order for comparative conclusions

to be drawn. For this reason, some questions that were discussed in teachers' interviews and some questions of the first part of the focus group interviews with pupils (for the other parts of the focus group interview see Chapter 5) were on the same topics. More particularly, the common questions were based on the following themes:

- **The usefulness of history teaching.** The discussion of this theme aimed to investigate what should be for teachers and pupils the purpose, usefulness, content and 'nature' of history teaching.

Indicative questions of this theme discussion with teachers were: *What are your personal views about the purpose of history teaching in compulsory education? During history teaching, what do you expect your students to know? In what ways do you think your pupils will benefit from the study of history in school? According to your view, which historical periods, what sort of historical events, which civilization should history textbooks refer to? What do you remember from history lessons when you were a student? Are there any similarities/differences between the way of history teaching and the history syllabus you were taught and what and how you are teaching now?*

Some of the questions that were discussed with pupils were: *According to your opinion, why is school history taught at school? What are your ideas about why the government insists that young people learn history at school? What does history have to offer you as a student, in what way do you think it is useful or good for you to learn history – what do you get out of it? How much do you remember about what you have learned in your history lessons? Are there any facts, events or procedures that you think of as most significant and/or interesting and useful for your life in future? Is there a danger that you will just forget the things you have learned in history – what bits do you think you will definitely remember?*

- **Their history teaching reality.** Teachers were asked to describe and evaluate the way history is taught and/or is designed to be taught at schools. They were asked to comment on the following questions: *Have you studied the current history curriculum? Do you agree/disagree with its aims, objectives, teaching topics and suggested ways of teaching? What is your opinion about the history textbooks that are used in compulsory education nowadays? What role does the history textbook play when you teach history? When you prepare yourself for*

teaching a particular subject, what are the sources you base your lesson on? Do you look for extra educational material apart from the history textbook and the teacher guide book? How do you use sources, illustration, questions-issues etc included in the textbook? According to the history curriculum, among the objectives of history teaching are the development of students' critical historical thinking and the cultivation of students' historical consciousness. How do you achieve these particular objectives while you are teaching history with your class in the short and long term?

Accordingly, pupils discussed the way history is currently taught to them and the way they prefer history to be taught. They discussed questions as follows: *What sort of history do you learn about at school? What facts/events you think should be included in history teaching, which bits of history do you think are most important to learn about? In which way history is taught at your class? Do you deal with sources, quotations, illustration, questions- issues which are included in each chapter? Do you find the way history is taught at your grade interesting? Does this way of teaching make you be more involved with the subject? What sorts of things do you do in history lessons, which activities do you enjoy and which do you find boring, what teaching approaches and activities do you think are best for getting you to learn effectively?*

The interviews were recorded with digital voice recorder, transcribed. The transcripts of the interviews with teachers were given back to the interviewees for final checking of accuracy. They were some slight corrections on the transcriptions concerning mostly the syntax and the words used during the interviews. The transcripts of the interviews of both teachers and pupils were analyzed using NVIVO 8.0 (software for qualitative data analysis). The categorization of the teachers' and pupils' answers was made based on 'nodes' and 'sub-nodes' according to the software which stand for categories into which qualitative data can be categorized. The 'nodes' and 'sub-nodes' were based on the themes discussed during the interviews. In order to secure, as far as possible, the appropriateness of the 'nodes', two of the transcripts of the interviews with teachers and a set of 10 transcripts of the interviews with pupils were applied to the pre-structured categories and the latter were tested. After final corrections, all transcripts were applied to the formed categories/'nodes'. The particular 'nodes' are presented in the presentation of the findings of the following chapters.

At this point, I would like to discuss some difficulties I faced while I conducted the research. Both Head Teachers and the teachers I was interested in gave me the sense that they were hesitant about participating in this research. Discussing further with them, I realized that their hesitation stemmed mainly from their inexperience of participating in a research of any kind. The personal contact I had with each of the teachers, the detailed discussion about the questions I intended to ask and my personal and professional background 'persuade' them to participate in the research. Similar was the case with pupils. Apart from pupils' inexperience, in minority schools, pupils' limited knowledge of the Greek language complicated the interview procedure. In order to overcome this obstacle, I conducted the focus group interviews in the Turkish language. The use of the Turkish language facilitated the research procedure and gave me the sense that minority school pupils were more relaxed and willing to participate in the research. The translation of the quotations of pupils' and teachers' comments which follows was made by the researcher.

Chapter 4: Investigating history teachers' views

4.1. Introduction

In each educational system, teachers have to play several important roles. Teachers are called to introduce and 'initiate' pupils to the world of knowledge and disciplines. But beyond this role, they act as mediators, along with other individuals, between the world of adults and of young people and try to convey and cultivate in the latter a set of principles, values, perceptions and practices that each social context has developed, aiming further to prepare the younger generation to be ready to enter and act into this social context. From the limited view of the school context, teachers are the ones who are employed to bring into practice and apply the educational policy that each government has adopted. However, teachers' multi-dimensional role in pupils' education cannot be thought 'sterile' meaning that teachers do not simply act as part of a mechanism which does not influence the mechanism itself. As teachers are individuals with specific personalities, not only are they influenced but also they themselves influence the educational and learning procedure. Also, the interaction between teachers and pupils is of great significance and has been studied in several contexts and circumstances. Relevant research indicates that teachers have a significant effect on pupils at several levels such as at cognitive, psychological, social and personal level (e.g. Bal-Tal & Bal Tal 1990).

This chapter is focused on the teacher's role in the procedure of teaching and learning history. More particularly, it tries to draw insights into the way history teachers perceive their role in the specific procedures involved in trying to teach history to children and what is their attitude to history as a school subject, as a discipline and as a perception of the past. There is an investigation into the way they- in terms of beliefs, ideas, values, knowledge, experience- influence the teaching methods and the practices they adopt when they teach the particular subject. As recipient of the 'above' designed educational policy about history, their reactions to this policy are examined regarding whether they agree or disagree with it. The reality of the situation, gives them some latitude to form their own way of accessing and evaluating the past or limiting them to well-defined or prescribed teaching strategies and views. It also examines teacher-pupil

interaction in the process of approaching, understanding and interpreting the past and history in the context of teaching practice. Finally, considering the objectives of this study, special attention is given to the way teachers think about and understand the ‘national self’ and the ‘other’ and whether teachers’ personality, beliefs, ideas and practices influence the way pupils perceive these notions. The findings of this investigation are compared with pupils’ ideas about the same issues in the relevant chapter.

At this point, a particularity should be mentioned regarding the educational background of the Greek teachers who teach history. In Greece, history as a school subject is taught by teachers who do not have the same educational background. In primary schools, history (as all the other cognitive subjects) is taught by teachers who are not specialized in history but have a corpus of general knowledge about history as a discipline and its didactics. In secondary schools, history is taught by a variety of teachers: by those who have graduated from School of Philology, of History and Archaeology, of Philosophy, of Foreign Language and Literature such as English, French, Italian and German. Who is going to teach the particular subject at a school depends on each school staff’s availability meaning how many teachers who graduated from the above Schools are at one school and how many hours they should teach. Thus, this variety of teachers’ educational background might reasonably be expected to have some influence on the way history is taught in classrooms and how it is perceived as a school subject. This study tries to touch upon these issues and to examine whether the teachers’ educational background influences teaching procedure. Also, it explores whether the teachers’ teaching experience has an impact on the way they approach history and the past in the classroom.

4.2. The research design

The teachers who participated in this study were eight in number; four primary school teachers and four junior-high school teachers: two of them have graduated from a School of Philology, one from a School of Philosophy and one from a School of History and Archaeology. I realize that the sample of teachers who participated is limited; it is not representative of the teaching force in Greece and does not allow for generalization to be claimed. However, the aim of this study is not to generalize its findings but to investigate some issues and to impose questions for further investigation. The study is an exploratory one. Moreover, the study focuses mainly on the last recipients of the education policy, the pupils. The examination of teachers' views intends to explore whether there is any link between teachers' views and personality and underlying issues concerning the interaction between teacher and pupils.

As stated previously, the research technique that was employed for the investigation of teachers' views was one to one interview. Apart from the themes that were designed in line with the question asked to pupils (**the usefulness of history teaching, their history teaching reality**, see Part 2, Introduction), teachers were also asked to comment on the following topics:

- **The 'other' in history teaching reality.** The discussion about the notion of the 'other' aimed to investigate how, according to teachers' views the 'other' is presented in history textbook and how they deal with this particular notion. Indicative questions were: *According to the history curriculum, history aims to cultivate understanding and respect of different cultural identities and to make students understand the notion of otherness. How do you think history as a school subject could achieve these objectives? Do history textbooks and studying history at school generally contribute to the accomplishment of these aims? How do you achieve these aims while you teach history? History textbooks refer to a number of other nations as well as the Greek nation. In your opinion, is the 'image' of each nation that is conveyed by textbooks the same for all the nations, or differentiated from nation to nation? Do you agree with each*

'image'? In order to teach about other nations, its people and civilization, do you differentiate your way of teaching in comparison with the way you teach about the Greek nation, people and civilization?

- **Suggestions.** At the end of each interview, each interviewee was asked for suggestions about what should change and/or remain in history teaching in Greece and in general.

The outcomes of the interviews with teachers are presented according to the themes that were discussed and follow. At this point, it should be mentioned that the findings refer to the teacher interviewed. So, when 'history teachers' or 'teachers' are referred, it stands for the eight teachers interviewed.

4.3. Presentation of the findings

4.3.1. The usefulness of history teaching

According to history teachers who were interviewed, history teaching, above all, aims to inform pupils about the national past. However, history teachers gave different meaning to the term ‘national past’.

By this term, the primary school history teachers who were interviewed mean that pupils should know about a series of historical events which are significant for the country, are taught in chronological order, and are about important historical personalities. The teaching of these particular events and personalities aims for pupils to construct a (national) identity, to be inspired by and imitate historical role models, and to cultivate patriotic feelings:

‘To sum up, the knowledge of historical elements, the flow of historical knowledge and the promotion and overemphasizing of some historical personalities and the cultivation of a patriotic feeling, not a nationalistic feeling, in order that children know the past and to learn to love their country, not to hate the neighboring countries, but to know that we are where we are because some people have lost their lives in the past’ (T1:6)
‘If a pupil does not know history, (s)he does not know who (s)he is and what to fight for’ [...] ‘History demonstrates role models which pupils need so much in our days’ (T2:6)

The teaching of events should be based on dates in order for pupils to understand the continuity of time and, in particular, the national uninterrupted historical time line.

‘Dates are important because, as Greeks, we have such a huge history, such a great civilization, such great historical role models from the antiquity until today and pupils should learn to understand the uninterrupted historical course of our nation’ (T4:6)

At a second level, for these particular teachers, school history aims to connect the past with the present and the future, but, of the particular country in order for pupils to be able to draw conclusions from history for their lives, as well as, to think why they live the way they live, and to familiarize pupils with the principles and the customs of the country’s civilization and heritage.

For ordinary junior-high school teachers, the ‘national past’ is conceived as the national culture and civilization. They claimed that the emphasis should be on our culture as well as on other cultures in order for pupils to understand outstanding human achievement at a cultural level and, at the same time, the interaction among cultures:

‘According to my opinion, history teaching aims to teach pupils about civilizations, ours and others. I think it is important to know about other civilizations. I insist on this: to understand man’s outstanding achievement at cultural level’ (T8:3)

The same teachers organized their lessons in chronological order but they did not mainly emphasize dates but the era each civilization emerged. In the same vein, they did not stress events but notions and phenomena such as the Enlightenment, colonization, fascism and so on.

‘From the beginning I said that I place history in the context of culture, philosophy and way of living. I can just teach a fight. I should teach history as a whole which consists of habits, beliefs and way of living’ (T6:3)

The same ideas were expressed when teachers of minority schools were asked. They stressed that they focus on civilizations, notions and phenomena rather than on specific historical events because of the particularity of pupils’ background since the syllabus they teach is about the conflict between the Turks and Greeks. It was interesting to find that at minority primary schools, the particular history textbook for the 6th grade is not used. Its place is taken by a booklet the teacher edits and is written ‘*in a neutral and general way*’. In junior-high school, the teacher teaches the official history textbook but as she comments:

‘Particularly in this school, we are very careful’ [...] in the end, this is the cleverest thing: not to emphasize that only our (the Greek) civilization is the best, but, there are other civilizations of great significance and we make something out of them. Especially at this school, if you state something like this, pupils show interest and ethnocentrism goes away and you are OK. The emphasis on the Greek civilization bothers the ‘others’ (T7:3)

All history teachers, regardless the school they teach at, are puzzled about who they think of as a ‘good’ student at history. They defined a ‘good’ student in two contexts: the context the educational system imposes and their personal context:

‘Our system wants a ‘good’ student to know everything like the back of their hand. Now, for me, a ‘good’ student is someone who can easily learn and remember dates and events [...] Also, I consider ‘better’ the one who can make the most of this knowledge through his/her thinking, who can compare

the knowledge (s)he obtains in order to draw personal conclusions. I do not really know, between these two pupils, who is really rewarded by our system; the one who can think or the other who can remember. I have some friends whose children are taking these days the national exams on history Unbelievable! The pupils ought to learn even where the commas are in the text. This is not history. You cannot love history by this way.' (T3:6)

Junior-high school teachers added also another criterion to their judgment: general knowledge.

'[...] To understand whatever is taught, to remember the previous taught chapters and to show interest in my lesson. But, I can distinguish it from general knowledge. I realize that students who are interested in general knowledge, they are interested in, for example, ecology, they watch the news. General knowledge contributes to history lessons. You can see that pupils who watch the news, have general knowledge and an idea about what is going on in the world are very interested in history lessons' (T5:3)

The aim of history teaching and the criteria for someone to be 'good' at history do not seem to differentiate considerably between the days that teachers were pupils and current days. When history teachers recalled memories, they argued that the syllabus, the teaching methods (mostly narration) and the knowledge pupils were supposed to obtain from history teaching are more or less the same with the current situation. However, contemporary history teaching is different in terms of the educational materials used and the way pupils participated in teaching procedure:

'It has changed the way we examine pupils' knowledge and homework due to technology (photocopies, computer etc). A history teacher can enrich his teaching using computers and other means' (T1:6)

'Nowadays, we analyze the lessons we teach. We try to engage pupils in discussion about a topic' (T6:3)

'I think nothing has changed. It was more or less like what happens today' (T5:3)

In terms of the content (periods, events) of history teaching, teachers insisted on the preservation of the chronological order of historical events (from antiquity to the present). This particular order helps pupils to understand the past as whole; otherwise, pupils are not able to link historical events and they understand the past as fragmentary. However, teachers seemed to disagree about the historical events that should be taught. Primary school teachers argued:

'The dates of important historical events are the most important things to be taught' (T3:6)

'I do believe that the game is in the acts of violence. I do believe that the 'game of history' is on the ground of historical events as war, conflict,

alliance... The spiritual and social dimension of the historical events could be taught as interpolated' (T1:6)
'Important personalities' biographies and their ideas about everyday life should be included in history teaching' (T4:6)

In contrast, junior-high and minority school teachers argued that the emphasis should also be on ordinary history and intellectual developments. They thought that pupils are more interested in this kind of history than in political and military history. However, they did not argue that the latter should be omitted.

'Everything is needed. But, I think that we should teach more about other civilizations such as the Chinese. We do not know much about other civilizations. Also, the way people lived in old times. To compare with the way we live' (T5:3)
'I want more chapters about history of art to be included' (T2:6)

To sum up, the investigation of teachers' ideas shows that teachers express different ideas about the usefulness of history teaching. The way primary school teachers perceive history teaching seems closer to the principles of traditional history, while junior-high and minority school teachers, although they adopt these principles, try to integrate some aspects of the 'new history'. The integration of these aspects in conjunction with the facilities the technological equipment provides is the point that the way school history is taught differentiates from the way it was taught in previous years. However, the traditional way of teaching history remains in the core of history education. This sort of core seems to influence the expectations teachers have from their pupils in terms of being good at history. The interviewees set the 'prescribed by the educational system standards' (for example, the memorization of knowledge and dates) on the front line when they assess pupils, although they believe that history learning presupposes something extra: critical thinking. In this way, at first place, it seems that teachers overlook their perceptions in regards of someone being good at history and comply with these standards. At a second level, the barriers the system imposes on teachers as well as the limited latitude to form their way of accessing and evaluating the past appear. These barriers are in contradiction with the general aim of education which is the development of critical thinking personalities. Apart from the standards the system imposes, pupils' background is influential on how the usefulness of history is presented by teachers. This influence is more obvious in minority school settings in which teachers have to 'modify' history lessons and consequently the usefulness of history. This modification seems to draw near the new history paradigm.

However, it is not based on it but it is made in order that unpleasant situations be avoided (tensions between Greeks and Turks). This modification also signifies a differentiation in the way pupils of different background are taught to interpret the national past: typical school pupils are taught to glorify the national past whilst minority school pupils to be familiar with the national past.

4.3.2. Their history teaching reality

Teachers, who participated in this research, have not studied the current history curriculum of their level. They were not aware that the history curriculum sets some new objectives for history and they had the feeling that it repeats what is stated in previous curricula.

‘At one point in the time, I had a look at one curriculum. It did not state anything different’ (T1:6)

‘Once upon a time I read it. I think that its aims are the same’ (T5:3)

The reasons that teachers have not studied history curriculum are:

‘I always try to teach history the way I believe. My pupils have their particular features. History curriculum does take into consideration these features’ (T2:6)

‘Its aims are difficult to be put into practice. They are fine words. When there are 30 pupils in your class, it is difficult for a teacher to put its aims into practice’ (T6:3)

‘I teach more than 30 years. I do know what is going on. I do not need the curriculum. I know the subject like the back of my hand’ (T8:3)

So, it seems that the history curriculum was not useful for them and did not stand for a reference point for their teaching. They were mostly relying on their teaching experience in order to construct their history teaching reality. Their experience also involved the memories they had from their school years. A teacher with 3 years experience in teaching history at junior-high school commented:

‘When I first entered the school, I did not know how to teach history. I asked my colleagues but mostly repeated the way I was taught at school. I tried, however, to engage as much as possible my pupils to participate in discussion’ (T5:3)

And a teacher with 32 years experience stated:

‘When my teacher narrated our lessons, he was so vivid. I remember I was crying when he described the struggles of the Greeks. All these years, I try to imitate him. Sometimes, I am very successful’ (T1:6)

Apart from experience and memories, teachers relied on history textbooks in order to plan and organize their teaching. They followed the textbook structure and taught all its contexts according to the guidelines provided of the Ministry of Education. The particular guidelines did not give them initiatives to develop their teaching in the way they think more appropriate for their pupils and their needs.

‘When I was teaching about Napoleon, my pupils were very interested in the particular topic. At that time, a report was sent by the Ministry of Education saying that this chapter should be omitted. It was a great disappointment for me and my pupils’ (T7:3)

They also faced many problems in relation to history textbooks. They claimed that much knowledge, in terms of events, dates, wars and so on, is included in textbooks so that they were not able to teach it all and to employ the teaching approaches they wish. They were not even sure if pupils are able to understand and process this amount of knowledge, especially when it is taught briefly under the pressure to finish the textbook.

‘For me, it is difficult because I have to teach some chapters briefly and leave some others out. In this way, coherence is lacking. Pupils cannot understand that there is continuity in history’ (T4:6)

Also, teachers thought that textbooks are boring for pupils due to the long texts they include and the vocabulary used in them, in contrast to illustration and the sources embedded into textbooks which were thought of as useful. However, they stressed that:

‘The textbook has extra material such primary sources, quotations etc in each chapter. They are interesting but there is no time to deal with them. You could devote more than a teaching period focusing on one material like these, but, we should teach all chapters and there is not much time’ (T6:3)

These problems with textbooks seem to be more obvious and bigger with minority school pupils. The teacher discussed these problems:

‘We have problems with the language. Pupils cannot understand much. See, Greek is not their mother tongue. I have many problems. Pupils do not have to read the text. I explain each sentence and word, give them questions in simply syntax and they underline the answers in the book. It takes too much time. Moreover, they are not familiar with the vocabulary of the discipline’ (T8:3)

All teachers suggested that history textbooks should be shorter in length and include only the most important historical events without too much detail. They disagreed, however, about which criteria should be set in order an event to be characterized as significant and be included in textbooks. Some thought that political, military events and chronologies are more significant because *'this is the nature of history'* (T1:6) and some argued that the emphasis should be on social structure and ordinary history because this can be understood by pupils.

Apart from textbooks, teachers occasionally used other educational material in their lesson planning and in the classroom. The use of other materials depended on the teacher's interest in history, the time (s)he had to plan the lesson and the availability of the school's technological equipment.

'When you have to teach five different subjects in a day, you cannot find the time. Moreover, I do not like history' (T3:6)

'At this school we do not have computers. So, I cannot use the web. Sometimes, when I have some questions, I google and find the answer' (T5:3)

An interesting issue that arose during interviews is how teachers manage to cultivate critical thinking which is stated as the main aim in the curriculum when their teaching is limited to narration or explanation of events and occasional study of sources. Teachers commented that on the one hand, they have not been educated how to develop this competence, which activities and actions are needed and on the other hand, they identified critical thinking with discussion.

'When you have time, you discuss about a topic. I ask pupils to express their ideas. Is this critical thinking?' (T6:3)

'I try to engage pupils in discussion but often very few are willing to participate. I try to do my best. I think, at this age, they are not able to develop critical thinking' (T1:6)

In terms of the cultivation of historical consciousness, teachers believed that it is related to the understanding of historical time and its continuity. For the achievement of this objective, interviewees thought that the use of time line and the uninterrupted teaching of historical periods contribute for pupils to develop this competence.

'Pupils are conscious when they know when an event happened, which comes first and which after. I insist on timelines' (T7:3)

Concluding, the discussion about history teachers' teaching reality indicates that they face a number of challenges. It seems that the history curriculum does not constitute a starting/reference point for their short or long term teaching so it is powerless to execute its mission. In contrast, textbooks appear to execute a dual mission: the one of curriculum and their own mission as educational material. Moreover, from all the material the textbook includes, texts/narrations are the most used and influential. So, for the participants, the texts seem to compact and present the whole educational design. This insight indicates that the existence and the usefulness of the curriculum are under question while the experience of the teachers interviewed and textbooks replace the role of the curriculum. The reasons for participants' overlooking the curriculum derive mainly from its inability to take into account each classroom's particularities, children's capacities and time limitations. So, teachers have to adjust history lessons to these particularities, however, in a 'stiffening way' which entails texts and syllabus adjustment to children's capacities and time limits. Further, the teachers' planning of history lessons around textbooks and time seems that it does not provide them a reasonable degree of latitude in terms of the way they approach the subject and the past in general. From a different aspect, teachers do not pay attention to the capacities that should be cultivated through history teaching. The skills that seem to be cultivated are mainly cognitive (the reproduction of knowledge). Less attention is given to the way this knowledge is extracted (familiarization with the discipline) and to the personal competences children should develop (critical thinking and active and democratic citizenship). The teachers' limited education/practice on this area contributes for the teaching of the subject to remain in the context of discussion and away from the general educational objectives.

4.3.3. The 'other' in history teaching reality

In the examination of curricula and textbooks, it is found that the way the national self and the 'other' are presented differentiate. More emphasis is given to the national self and, regarding the 'other', some countries which are related to the national history are more discussed either positively or negatively whilst others are either ignored or discussed less. The discussion with teachers about this theme confirms these

conclusions. They thought that the Greek nation, its struggles and achievements are emphasized. According to them, this emphasis is acceptable since:

'A child should learn, firstly, who (s)he is. About his/her family, relatives etc. Accordingly, pupils should learn about their nation, at first place. I can accept the emphasis on the Greek nation' (T3:6)

On the other hand, they commented that the black pages of the national history are not mentioned in the textbooks, at least, not at the point they should be. Considering that they based on textbooks, they claimed that:

'The chances to discuss about the bad things Greeks did in the past are few' (T4:6)

'I emphasize the good aspects of the nation because I follow the book' (T7:3)

'We should teach what went wrong. A pupil should learn what awful things we did. The textbook patches things over. We should teach these things, to learn from our mistakes' (T3:6)

Regarding the 'other', realizing that the emphasis is on the national self, they argued that the 'other' is more or less ignored or discussed briefly and only in the case that the national history coincides with him.

'We discuss a little about other countries' (T2:6)

'I mention other countries when I have to explain something that happened in Greece' (T6:3)

When they were asked about the identity of the countries which are discussed even briefly, they stated that these countries come mainly from Europe. The references out of Europe are very few and related to America and Africa (Third World). The references to Asian countries and their civilization do not exist although it should be. *'I think we are accustomed to Europe' (T8:3)*. *'There is no mention of India for example. There should be' (T3:4)*. Concerning the shades of the conveyed image of the countries discussed, participants said, at first place, that they cannot identify differences. *'I think that all countries are presented in the same way' (T5:3)*. This 'same way' is defined as normal at first place. *'It is normal I think' (T1:6)*. But, further in the interviews when they are asked to compare the images of specific countries, for example, the conveyed image of Turks and Americans, they realized that not only different shades are used in the image of each nations but also different events are discussed.

'I have not thought about it before. Yes, I think Turks are discussed for other kinds of things and the Americans for others' (T6:3).

'I believe that some countries are presented for their negatives features and some others for their positives' (T7:3).

So, at a second place, teachers acknowledged that there is a differentiation.

'Yes, as deeper as I think of it, I realize that there is a differentiation. Turks for example are discussed as 'the bad guys' (T4:6)

In particular, Turkey is the nation which is used by all teachers to exemplify a negative image of the 'other' conveyed in textbooks. When they are asked to judge the image of 'other' nations, they puzzled, oscillated and claimed that:

'This is an issue I should think about more carefully. I should go back to study books carefully' (T2:6)

'This is a difficult question. I cannot answer it so easily and right away. If I answer it now, I do not know whether I express my personal view on each nation or the image the books convey. Sorry' (T5:3)

The reason for this teachers' 'second place realisation' seems to be their argument that they did not differentiate the way they plan their lesson and presented other nations involved in it. They tried to be neutral and presented the events in a way that does not raise feelings of any kind.

T: I try to teach my lessons normally.

R: What do you mean by normally?

T: To show things as they were. No feelings involved. No 'bad' and 'good' guys' (T8:3)

In this context, the comment made by a primary school teacher is interesting:

'Discussing about the defeat of the Bulgarians, the negative features of 'the other' are not stressed. But, the patriotic feeling is stressed, the fact that some geographic areas were ours and we should fight to take them back. We sing our praises but we do not marginalize and disdain the opponent. As opponent has something different. In one moment we were in conflict...' (T1:6)

They also underlined that their role is crucial especially at this point. They acknowledged that the way a teacher presents a historical event influences pupils and pupils are not able to realize if a reference to other nations is negative or positive or an event can be characterized as black page due to their age. The teacher plays the first role:

'A child can identify the image cultivated in textbooks if we indicate it to him/her' (T5:3)

The significance of the teachers' role in the neutralization of the image of the 'other' is more apparent in minority schools teachers. Their comments stated above indicate that they have to be *'very careful'* especially when they discuss the Turks.

Thus, the teachers' attempt to neutralize their teaching about the 'other' is detected. As a consequence of their attempt of neutralization, some teachers did not like to narrate personal encounters they had with other nations. If they did so, they would be very careful:

'I think yes, I will convey my personal experiences. But I will 'percolate' them. I tell it might be true or wrong. In general, I am very cautious'
(T4:6)

For some others, personal encounters are used as stimulus for pupils' further engagement with their teaching. They were willing to share their experience with other nations because:

'When you invoke a close person's experience, your experience, pupils are more interested. The event becomes more believable' (T8:3)
'They understand that the events did not happen ages ago. You bridge the generation gap' (T2:6)

Thus, according to teachers' views, the national self monopolizes their history teaching and 'shadows' the discussion about the 'other'. They also underline the necessity the 'skeletons' of the national history to be discussed since they are not embedded as much as they should be in textbooks. However, because their teaching is based on textbooks, on the one hand, the good aspects of the national self is presented while the bad ones are occasionally touched upon. Regarding the 'other', the focus on the national self limited the space given to the history of other countries. When this occurs, as found in curriculum and textbooks analysis, it is for the integration of the national past. Additionally, this integration entails mainly Europe and other parts of the world are occasionally examined. Teachers that were interviewed consider the teaching of the 'other' as an important part of their role, however in terms of the way it should be presented and not of the length and depth it should be discussed. So, they try to neutralize the image of the 'other'. It might be argued that this 'second place realization' that was noticed occurs because the focus is on the national self and its promotion and not on the 'other' and the way they are presented. It can also be an indication of the ethnocentric character of school history. If this is the case, it is worth

considering how cooperation and understanding between nations are cultivated. Based on teachers' comments, the teachers' neutral style of teaching should contribute to this direction. However, considering that teaching/learning of history is about what is written in textbooks and textbooks, as teachers admit, differentiate the image of each nation, the effect of teachers' endeavour of neutralization of the 'other's' image on pupils is worth investigation.

4.3.4. Teachers' suggestions

In the last part of the interviews, history teachers are asked to make suggestions about history teaching reality and history education in general. All of them suggested that textbooks should be improved initially for pupils' good. However, they puzzled over how this improvement can be achieved, what kind it should be and to what extent. They agreed that the syllabus should be reduced; the language should be simplified in texts; the details should be omitted. But, they did not seem able to make explicit suggestions regarding the criteria according to which some chapters/events should be left out and others included:

'It is easy to judge but if you do not have anything to suggest...' (T4:6)
'Before the publication of a textbook, the editors should take into consideration many agents. The most important is to be involved in teaching history. The authors do not have classroom experience. They do not know the real problems. Nevertheless, I do not know what should be done...' (T7:3)

Minority school teachers suggested that textbooks authors should take into account that history textbooks are written for a variety of pupils in terms of background. So,

'If they want to promote understanding, they should begin from themselves' (T8:3)

It is interesting that interviewees did not discuss the history curriculum and its content but commented on the editors of the curriculum and policy makers. In a general context, teachers argued that whatever is designed to be applied to education should be pilot-tested firstly taking into consideration the classroom reality and its particularities. Regarding history teaching, they suggested that, on the one hand, the Ministry of Education should:

'...respect everything that is old and traditional. This is not forgettable, black, obscurantist. It is only one thing: traditional. If I have to suggest something to the Ministry of Education, this should be: respect the past and the culture' (T1:6)

and *'people who deal with history should know the Greek history very well and into depth. Otherwise, we cannot transmit to the younger generation the values it needs'* (T5:3)

On the other hand, they stated that the support of the people in charge should be greater in terms of the materials provided and the training needed. They admitted that, although they teach relying on their experience, this is not efficient. According to their views,

'Sometimes I feel that I am not well prepared or educated to educate democratic citizens. I need something more than guidelines. I need special training, particular in history teaching' (T2:3)

'If they want us to educate individuals in critical thinking, they have to show us the way, not only by words but by actions in everyday reality' (T6:3)

Finally, during the interviews, a feeling of disappointment is detected in terms of the teachers' role. Teachers felt disappointment because the importance of their role and contribution is disputed:

'Many times I was asked for my opinion by the policy makers and I have written my views. I doubt if someone has even taken a look at my views. They should lay in a drawer somewhere' (T4:6)

'What I am trying to build at school, it is destroyed at home. Parents are complaining all the time because I motivate my pupils to search for information at home. 'All day we ought to work for you', they say. In general, there is a dispute towards teachers' (T8:3)

They argued that if an educational policy is to be successful all interested groups involved in it should contribute; not only teachers. They asked for more support and more trust in the work they do.

'Parents have trusted school to educate their children. But what is school? Just a building? Teachers are the school. They must trust teachers' (T1:6)

'If the policy makers want us to do their job, they should help us in any way. Otherwise, their policy is about to fail' (T5:3)

The above teachers' suggestions mainly refer to the context of their history teaching reality and less to the orientation of history education. The existing orientation of history education to rather nationalistic and ethnocentric contexts does not seem to be a matter of discussion for the participants. They espouse these contexts and ask for a

deeper knowledge of and respect for Greek history. The number of comments teachers make on the textbook improvements confirms the previous conclusion that history teaching is a matter of textbooks. Their other suggestions also derive from or are linked with textbooks, for example the pilot testing, the educational materials and the training needed. What matters for these teachers is how their history teaching reality can be improved or, stated differently, how textbooks and syllabus can be improved, and they do not have specific ideas about how history education should be improved in general. This gives the sense that by modifying textbooks and the syllabus, history education could be improved. Pupils are considered in the context of this modification and not in an expanded context which involves for example their ethnic background and their further personal development. This becomes apparent in minority schools teachers' comments which, although they underline their pupils' particularity regarding their ethnic background, stress pupils' linguistic weaknesses.

4.4. Contextual and critical review of the findings

The exploratory investigation of history teachers' views identifies a series of issues concerning history education. It seems that there is a disconnection between the way history education is designed to be applied by policy makers and the way it is applied by teachers. This disconnection is formed because, according to teachers, the current curriculum refers to an 'ideal' educational reality. It is designed and implemented without piloting and consideration of the everyday teaching challenges and pupils' particularities such as their background, consultation with teachers and other interested groups, such as pupils and their parents, and teachers' special training in the objectives of the curriculum and their accomplishment. These reasons have as a result caused teachers to 'disregard' the official objectives of school history and to introduce their personal objectives based on their teaching experience and understanding of their role as teachers. It seems that teachers 'conduct' their own curriculum which is based on the reproduction of the way they were taught history as pupils adjusted to the contemporary situations. Thus, it appears that the way history is perceived and conveyed to pupils by teachers is very close to the traditional paradigm of teaching history enriched with some innovative features.

The implementation of this particular paradigm is amplified by a number of other reasons. As discussed, teachers rely mainly on history textbooks in order to plan their teaching. The examination of textbooks shows that textbooks follow to a great extent the traditional history model and consequently, teachers orientate their teaching to it. Also, the dominance of the textbook over the centrally prescribed curriculum in terms of how history is taught in schools adds to the disconnection between the official design and its implementation. Beside this, the expanded syllabus and the time limitations lead teachers to adopt a teacher-centered teaching approach which is less time-consuming and suits the needs of the expanded syllabus. This situation seems to be strengthened also by the way history is treated by educational authorities. Teachers who teach history come from a variety of academic backgrounds which seems to obscure the effectiveness of history teaching. More particularly, teachers who graduated from a School of Pedagogy, of Philosophy and of Foreign Language and Literature argue that they are not very well aware of history in general and, in particular, the way history

should be taught. Teachers who graduated from a School of Philology and of History and Archeology know better history in general but lack the pedagogical background. Thus, the diversity of teachers' educational background indicates the way the history subject is conceived by the educational and political authorities: as 'public property', as a subject that can be taught by any professional who has graduated from a Faculty of Social Science/Humanities and is involved in education and not by specialized in history education professional. For all the above reasons, in a sense, history teaching and teachers are constrained to this paradigm.

However, this constraint seems to have further effects which strengthen the disconnection between the history education the curriculum suggests, and what teachers teach. The traditional teaching approaches employed by teachers do not contribute to further pupils' development other than in cognitive aspects. It is found that history teaching for teachers does not entail the cultivation of competences, rather the conveyance of knowledge. It seems that in terms of pupils' development, educational policy aims are 'translated' to a kind of 'cognitive' development meaning the provision of a specific body of historical knowledge in classrooms. So, pupils' development appears to mean expansion of their knowledge and not expansion of their capacities. Next, pupils are not initiated into the disciplinary aspects of the subject as it may occur into other areas, for example, Sciences. It seems that the only contact pupils have with the discipline itself is their familiarization with its vocabulary but not without problems as discussed above.

Further, regarding the main question of this thesis, the way that history is perceived by teachers intends mainly to promote national history and culture and to emphasize the glorious past. This perception attaches ethnocentric features to history teaching. By these features, the national self is presented mainly through its glorious aspects whilst its 'black spots' are withheld and 'glory' and 'nation' tend to monopolize the teaching procedure. The 'other' is suppressed, limited in specific geographical borders and gains recognition due to the links with the national past. By this way, the official declarations for a holistic view of the world, the promotion of better understanding between cultures and nations and the elimination of one-dimensional interpretation of the past are not applied efficiently. A sense of superiority seems to be cultivated as well as the perception of the existence of the one undeniable historical truth. The latter is also

espoused by the dominance of the textbooks which present only the national aspect. The teachers' endeavour to neutralize the image of 'the other' but not mainly the one of the national self signifies, on the one hand, the discrimination of the 'other' and, on the other hand, the prominence of the national self. Considering interviewees' ideas about their important role in attaching a particular image to a particular nation, it seems that the neutralization of the 'other' and not of the national self accentuates the above result. Also, teachers' ideas, particularly those of minority schools teachers, indicate that the 'other' is conceived only out of the national borders and not as existing inside the national and classroom frontiers. Minority pupils' background seems to be of great significance but not in the sense that these pupils should cultivate their families' cultures. Teachers stress this background in the sense of the caution they should take in order to avoid further exacerbations. Next to this, teachers claim that they teach about other cultures but do not teach about this particular culture. Thus, it can be said that the cultivation of the respect to the 'other' and to its culture goes as far as it does not affect the national culture. However, it cannot be argued that the cultivation of the respect of this sort derives exclusively from teachers' practices. The (history) curriculum and education in general contribute to this result through textbooks and guidelines since they do not consider these kinds of particularities, although they declare among their objectives the cultivation of the respect of the 'other'. Moreover, how the homogeneity and the social cohesion that the curriculum claims become apparent: integrating the 'other' into the dominant culture and providing unequal opportunities for all, for example not to be taught about their ethnic background.

To conclude, considering all aspects of school history examined so far, it can be argued that history education in this national context presents rather a problematic picture. This sort of picture derives from a range of disconnections which are extended from the way general educational objectives are integrated in history curriculum to the way history curriculum objectives are applied to history textbooks, and from textbooks to history teachers' everyday practice. These disconnections give the sense that each aspect of school history is designed and acts independently from the other, contributing to the idea that each aspect is autonomous and not part of a whole.

At this point, it should be mentioned that due to the limited sample of teachers participating in this research, a more expanded investigation in terms of the size of sample would identify whether the above conclusions can be confirmed.

Finally, as defined in the beginning of this study, the last and the most significant aspect of school history- the pupils- has not been examined yet. What influence do all these disconnections and issues discussed above have on pupils? How do pupils perceive history as a subject and discipline? To what extent do the issues that puzzle teachers affect them? Does other agents' interference soften or worsen these issues? Pupils' views are discussed in the next chapter, aiming to draw more insights on these matters.

Chapter 5: Investigating pupils' perceptions

5.1. Introduction

How does a new generation form its ideas about the world and particularly about its national self and the 'other'? Are young people born with a set of particular perceptions of what constitutes the 'other' and themselves or are their perceptions acquired in the social environment where they live? Relevant literature (e.g. Bal-Tal 2000, Cullingford 2000) indicates that the way the younger generation perceives the world, itself and the 'other' is a cognitive process which is influenced by the conditions of the societal environment in which youngsters are brought up. In terms of the way children develop their ideas about, perceptions of and attitudes to 'national/ in group self' and the 'other/out group self', psychological research (e.g. Barrett 2003, 2007) argues that from the age of 5-6, children can state some ideas and judgements about national self and other national groups which become more detailed and accurate by 10 or 11 years of age. At the age of 5-6, children's perceptions involve mostly typical physical features such as clothing, language and habits, and during middle childhood and onwards these features are expanded and entail also psychological and personality traits as well as political and religious belief. It is also found (Johnson 1973) that children develop very early a feeling of national in-group favouritism and tend to view traditional enemy countries and countries which currently are conceived of as a threat more negatively than other countries.

Additionally, the same research indicates that the younger generation gains its knowledge about 'national self' and the 'other' through various political, social, cultural channels such as the political system of a state, its economic condition, family and the media. Among these channels, education, especially schooling, is an institution of great importance for pupils' perceptions about their nation and other nations since schools impact on children' ideas through the direct teaching they provide about the state and other nations, through the ethnocentric ideas that school textbooks and curricula often contain and through their everyday practice that often embody aspects of the dominant civil culture of the nation (Barrett 2007).

Taking into consideration what is noted previously, this chapter tries to investigate Greek pupils' ideas about the 'national self' and the 'other'. What do pupils think and how do they describe a typical Greek person? What is their image of their national self? According to their views, what constitutes the 'other'? Is there any distinction in the way they perceive other nations or do they have the same image for each of the other nations? In the context of this investigation, the contribution of school history is of particular importance. How does the way other nations are presented in textbooks, as noted in the previous chapter, influence pupils' views? What do they think about the 'significant other', the 'traditional enemies' of the country and the 'far away nations'? However, apart from school history, the research with pupils tries to investigate the extent of influences of other agents on pupils' views such as their travel experience, their family, the media, their teachers' ideas and personality. What is the interaction between school history and pupils' out of school experience? Finally, this chapter presents pupils' views about history as school subject, the way they experience the everyday practice of history teaching and their suggestions about its development.

5.2. Methodological approaches of the research

5.2.1 The research design

The pupils who participated in the research were 168 in total; 78 from primary schools and 90 from junior-high schools. 43 pupils of the total size of the sample attended minority schools. 12 pupils and/or their parents did not give their consent. For the context and the aims of this study which does not claim generalization, the sample size was judged appropriate.

The investigation of pupils' ideas was conducted in three stages. The first stage aimed to introduce pupils to the research and what it involved and to examine their ideas about history as a school subject and their everyday experience of history teaching. Pupils were divided by their history teacher into groups of 5-6 and, in terms of their gender, were mixed. Some of the motivating questions and the themes that were discussed with pupils at this stage of the interviews were in line with the objectives of the research and teachers' interviews (**the usefulness of history teaching, their history teaching reality**) (see Part 2, Introduction). Apart from these themes, it was also discussed:

- **General knowledge about their country and the people in the world.**

The theme was discussed in order, on the one hand, to introduce pupils to the next stage of the research and on the other hand, to investigate pupils' general knowledge about other people in the world. Questions such as: *What have you learned about Greece from studying history at school? What other countries have you learned about in history? What did you learn about them? Do you think that people are pretty much the same the world over, or are there some differences between them? What makes them different/the same? If you didn't live in Greece, where would you like to live (and why)? Are you glad you are a Greek person or do you wish you had been born and live somewhere else – why? Have you visited other countries? Which are your impressions from these visits? In what ways are other countries' histories different from Greek history?* were asked.

At the second stage of the research, pupils were asked to present their attitudes to, perceptions of and ideas about other nations and particularly about the nations and their people which are presented and discussed in history textbooks. At first place, the use of focus group interview was thought as appropriate for pupils to discuss their ideas. However, the pilot focus group interviews that conducted with pupils who were not included in the sample showed that this technique was not effective. For instance, when pupils were asked what they thought about other nations, they answered that they did not think they knew much and they were reluctant to give meaningful answers for the research. Based on that and taking into consideration pupils' inexperience in participating in a research, I employed a visual technique based on arts and in particular human figure drawing. Human figure drawing entails the presentation of a representative person who is of interest (in our case, representative persons from other nations) including his/her internal and external characteristics on a paper. The selection of the particular visual technique was made since a visual approach seems to facilitate and engage the participants of a survey. As Chambers argues (1994:1257):

'...with visual sharing of a map, model, diagram, or units [...] all who are present can see, point to, discuss, manipulate and alter physical objects or representations.[...]The information is visible, semi-permanent, and public, and is checked, verified, amended added to and owned, by the participants'

In the same vein, the drawing activity is based on the arts-based paradigm in educational research. Art in research as Bochner & Ellis (2003:508) state

'can be representational, but it also can be evocative, embodied, sensual, and emotional; art can be viewed as an object or a product, but it also is an idea, a process, a way of knowing, a manner of speaking, an encounter with Others; art can reveal an artist's perceptions and feelings, but it also can be used to recognize one's own. To make art is to participate in an activity, to do something. Thus, the product, the work of art, is inextricably tied to the processes of production, including the artist's or writer's subjectivity'

Additionally, psychological research (e.g. Koppitz 1984, Cox 1993) has indicated that the act of drawing especially children's drawings represent children' internal reality, the internal qualities of objects, people and events and *'reflect unconscious layers of their personality such as conflict, feelings and attitudes related to the self and significant others'* (Bal-Tal & Teichman 2005: 327). However, children's drawings

and particularly human figure drawing is not only an individual creation and representation but embedded messages that disseminated by the social context in which children live. Dennis (1966 cited in Bal-Tar & Teichman 2005: 328)) argues that drawing of people should be regarded as reflecting preferences and choices guided by social values to which the child is socialized. Also, he continues that a child who is called to present a person who does not belong to the same group (out group; in our case people of other nations) chooses to depict the figure in a way that reflects the social values of his/her group toward the out group represented in the drawing. Furthermore,

‘when children and young people are themselves engaged in visual research, they also seem to take pleasure in the process, suggest that they are ‘getting something out’ of their participation and if, they are students compare the word-laden nature of schooling and the enjoyment gained from doing something different’ (Thomson 2008:11).

Considering the above, the particular technique was in line with the objective of the research, pupils’ age and its pilot test showed that pupils responded better to this technique than before.

At this stage, pupils were asked to draw a representative person (man or woman) of the nations discussed in history textbooks. More particularly, at the beginning, a sample-sketch was demonstrated to participants in order to introduce them to the human figure drawing activity. This sample-sketch was selected in advance according to the following criteria: a) it should be free from any racist or stereotypical perceptions, not to include any symbols, indications or marks which could raise negative perceptions and to focus mainly on acceptable and recognizable external characteristics b) to refer to people who are not discussed in history textbooks aiming not to stand for pupils as a model for their for the coming creation and c) its influence to be tested to a

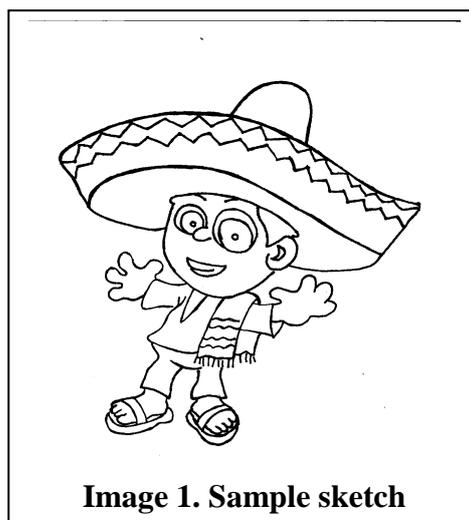


Image 1. Sample sketch

sample of pupils who are not included into the sample of the research. The sketch that was selected is presented in Image 1. The demonstration of this sketch was judged

necessary because, in the pilot test of this technique, when I asked pupils to draw a representative person, pupils protested saying that they were not artists and did not know how to draw a person from another country. The display of the sketch facilitated pupils giving them an idea of how they could draw what they were asked. The particular sketch presents a Mexican (people not included in Greek textbooks) dressed in traditional costume (common and recognizable characteristic) and it does not raise racist perceptions (since it is not coloured, presents a smiling face, is drawn with simple closed lines which gives realization to it and aligns with pupils' cognitive abilities). Also, it was tested in terms of the reflections of pupils who were not included in the sample of the research, and was found to not raise negative feelings amongst the children.

After that, pupils were given an A4 sheet and asked to draw three representative persons from different countries in black and white colours. One of them should be a Greek man/woman and the other two were selected from the nations which are discussed in history textbooks. There was special concern for all nations to be portrayed in pupils' drawings. Moreover, pupils were motivated to draw common and typical figures based on their experiences and knowledge and not in traditional uniforms. They were also asked to add symbols, objects, bubbles with characteristic phrases and so on if they think that these will help them to express their ideas. Children worked individually and attention was paid by the researcher that pupils not interact with each other.

When the drawing activity was over, pupils in groups of 4-5 discussed their drawings. This phase of the research aimed to investigate the way pupils portrayed other nations and gain insights into their perception of the Greek nations and other nations. Another objective of the interviews of this stage was to discover pupils' thinking behind the presentations, meaning the agents that influence pupils' ideas, attitudes and perceptions and the part that school history might play among these agents. More specifically, pupils discussed the following themes:

- **Sources of their perceptions.** Children were asked to comment on their drawings. The discussion involved questions such as: *Why have you drawn X in such a way? What do you know about this country and their people and*

how do you know about them? Are there any similarities/differences among the persons you drew? What are these similarities/differences based on?

- **Sources of knowledge about ‘the other’.** On this topic, pupils were called to answer questions as follows: *Do you ever discuss with your teacher about nations/people which are not presented in your history textbooks? Do you like to learn at school about other nations and their peoples and civilizations which are not referred in history textbooks? Have you ever travelled to a country which is presented in your history textbook? What knowledge did you obtain about this country and its people? Are the things you learned for this country from your journey pretty much the same with the information are given by history lessons/media? Have you ever discussed with others outside school about historical events, personalities and situations?*
- **History as out of school experience.** The discussion aimed to identify which parameters influence pupils’ ideas and it entailed questions such as: *Are you interested in history outside the classroom? For instance, do you read history books apart from history textbook? What you have read in these books are pretty much the same with the information given in history textbooks? Do you ever watch history programmes on the television? Do you ever read newspaper historical supplements? Do you ever watch historical movies? Do you ever go on the internet to find out about history? Do the media provide you with knowledge about other nations?*

The group discussion of the drawings gave the opportunity to pupils to add comments on their own drawings and on others’ as well as to raise objections to other pupils’ ideas about the national self and the ‘other’ leading, in some cases, the discussion to a meaningful debate which helped the researcher to identify in depth pupils’ ideas.

Finally, the interviews were recorded with digital voice recorder and transcribed and the drawings were collected for further analysis.

5.2.3. The data analysis

Following the specific research design, 34 transcripts were collected and 168 drawings. The analysis of the transcripts was made by using NVIVO 8.0 (qualitative

data analysis software). The categorization of pupils' answers included into the transcripts was made based on 'nodes' and 'sub-nodes' (categories and sub-categories) which were extracted from and related to the motivating questions/themes discussed by pupils in focus-group interviews. When the 'nodes' were constructed, a set of 10 transcripts were pilot tested in order to examine the applicability of 'nodes' and 'sub-nodes'. After the appropriate amendments, the 'nodes' were finally defined and applied to all transcripts. The particular 'nodes' are presented in the presentation of the findings.

The analysis of drawings was based on the pattern of human figure drawing suggested by Bar-Tal & Teichman (2005). Bar-Tal & Teichman investigated pupils' ideas about Jews and Arabs on psychometric foundations and tried to identify how these ideas develop in a conflict situation and by age. For data collection, they used human figure drawings which were scored on structural and thematic variables. The aspects of structural analysis involved image complexity and image quality and the thematic variables dealt with the status, affect, behaviour and appearance of human figures. Since this study is not interested in the structure of the drawings (for example, proportions of limbs and distortion of a figure and/or complexity of human figure), the particular analysis was focused on the thematic aspects of the proposed pattern. In terms of thematic analysis, Bar-Tal & Teichman scored the drawings they collected according to attributed status, affect, behaviour and appearance. Attributed status included level of education or profession and figure size defined by length and width. Attributed affect entailed the rating of affect projected by the figure (negative, e.g. anger, threat; neutral, e.g. unspecified; positive, e.g. joy, happiness) and the number of colours used by children in a drawing. Attributed behaviour was linked with movement (human figure was presented as static or active), verbal expressions attached to figures (positive/neutral/negative content) and the decoration of a figure (the items that accompanied a figure). Appearance was related to the type of clothing (dressing code), to skin colour (light/dark), age (young/elder) and cleanliness (clean/dirty). In the first phase of the analysis, the particular parameters were applied to a set of drawings in order to examine if they are applicable. This pilot examination showed that not all variables can be applied to the human figure drawings of this study. For example, the parameter 'movement' was not applicable since all human figure

drawings presented as static figures and the age of figures can not be specified. Thus, the parameters that were used in the context of this study were:

- Attributed status related to level of education or profession expressed by drawing (low level, e.g. garbage collector, unspecified, high level, e.g. doctor/businessman)
- Attributed affect in regards to the figure's reflecting affect (negative, neutral, positive as defined above)
- Attributed behaviour was examined under a) the content of verbal expressions that was stated in bubbles and attached to figures (negative/neutral/positive content) and b) figure decoration, the items that accompanied a figure (negative decoration e.g. bombs, guns; neutral when there was no decoration; positive e.g. flowers, home)
- Attributed appearance related to type of clothing (negative e.g. old fashioned, ragged clothes, neutral e.g. classical dressing code, undefined, positive e.g. in fashion, rich clothes with accessories) and to body cleanliness (negative e.g. dirty face/body with smudges, positive e.g. clean and cared face/body).

After the collection of the pupils' drawings, the drawings were separated according to ethnic backgrounds (ordinary schools/minority schools) and grades (drawings of 6th grade and 3rd grade). Next, the figures of a particular nation were gathered editing what I called the 'nation drawing' of each nation. Each nation was portrayed in four different 'nation drawings'. One was edited by ordinary primary school pupils, one by ordinary junior-high school pupils, one by minority primary school pupils and the last by minority junior-high school pupils. In each 'nation drawing' many human figures were included; a number was given to each figure. The comments each child made for his/her creation of the particular human figure of each nation were attached underneath each figure. At the end of the comments, the grade and the sex of the pupil were mentioned. The 'categorization' and the editing of the 'nation drawings' aimed to allow for comparisons to be made regarding pupils' age, background and gender. These 'nation drawings' and the accompanied comments were analyzed by the researcher and two coders (one teacher from primary school and one from secondary school) in order to secure, as far as possible, objectivity. An analysis protocol and a coding sheet were edited according to the parameters discussed above (see Appendix

1, 2). Each teacher and the researcher evaluated each human figure of each 'nation drawing' individually stating whether the particular parameters attributed a negative or neutral or positive image of the particular nation. Additionally, the analysts would mention how they reached to their judgement, indicating relevant characteristics in the drawing and written expressions in pupils' comments and what were the sources of knowledge a child had used in order to portray his/her representative person of each nation. After this analysis, the judgements were compared and the inter-coder agreement was calculated in terms of the image reflected by the same way as referred in previous chapters. In this analysis, the condition two of the three coders to agree in their judgement of a figure was not applied due to the high agreement of the coders (Table 82) and to the fact that disagreement to a single figure judgement did not influence the general image of a nation reflected from its 'nation drawings'. Samples of 'nation drawings' are presented below.

ReCal 0.1 Alpha for 3+ Coders results for file "awings.csv"			
File size:	1176 bytes		
N coders:	3		
N cases:	168		
N decisions:	504		
Average Pairwise Percent Agreement			
Average pairwise percent agr.	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 3	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 1 & 2	Pairwise pct. agr. cols 2 & 3
92.857%	93.452%	92.857%	92.262%
Fleiss' Kappa			
Fleiss' Kappa	Observed Agreement	Expected Agreement	
0.888	0.929	0.365	
Average Pairwise Cohen's Kappa			
Average pairwise CK	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 3	Pairwise CK cols 1 & 2	Pairwise CK cols 2 & 3
0.888	0.897	0.887	0.879
Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)			
Krippendorff's Alpha	N Decisions	$\sum c_{occ}^{***}$	$\sum c(n_c - 1)^{***}$
0.888	504	468	92102
***These figures are drawn from Krippendorff (2007, case C.)			
Table 82. Calculation of inter-coder agreement			

5.3 Presentation of the findings

5.3.1. The usefulness of history teaching

History is acknowledged as a significant and useful school subject by all pupils participating in the research, regardless of school level and ethnic background. Pupils' arguments about the significance and usefulness of history teaching can be organized into two categories: arguments involving their citizenship and their personality. In terms of citizenship, the most important reason for teaching history at school is for ordinary school pupils to be aware of the national past, the way their ancestors lived and sacrificed for the country, to know what it means to be born and brought up as Greek and how and to what extent their current life is influenced by the national past.

'To be aware how our ancestors sacrificed for us to be free' (Int. 8:3)
'To know how Greek people lived in ancient times and compare with how we live today' (Int. 12:6)

For minority junior-high school pupils, history teaching serves a different goal regarding citizenship. In contrast to minority primary school pupils who think of themselves as Greek, junior-high school pupils think of themselves as Turks since, as they claim, their families have a Turkish background. For these pupils, history teaching helps them to know about the past in general, how the world developed through time and how this development affects their current lives and their role as citizens of the world.

'To know what happened in the world in old times, how life was and how our life is influenced in general' (Int. 24:3)

Regarding their personality, pupils, regardless of school type, think that historical knowledge is useful for those who will choose a profession that presupposes this kind of knowledge such as history teachers and archaeologists. They will also use this knowledge when they will become parents and their *'children have some questions and they like us to help them'* (Int. 7:3) or will be involved in discussion which needs historical knowledge.

'We could use it if somebody asks us about a historical event in the future, if we could be still able to remember something about it, or if we are involved in a discussion about a particular historical event' (Int. 13:6)

Moreover, ordinary school pupils think that policy makers and the educational authorities have embedded this subject in their programme because the latter think that the nation should be preserved and continued by the younger generation following the ancestors' example.

'We are the future. They want us to continue their nation and follow the example of the heroes who saved and gave freedom to this country'
(Int.3:6)

In order for this preservation and continuity to be secured, pupils believe that people in charge have included as many as possible historical events which entail wars, conflicts and revolutions in great details in order for pupils to acknowledge the Greek nation's struggles for its freedom through centuries. It seems that this objective is achieved:

'We realise and respect what our ancestors did for our freedom and we are very sorry about them' (Int. 33:6)

At this point, it should be mentioned that participants from ordinary junior-high schools were taught history at primary school from the textbook which caused the recent history war discussed in chapter 3. When they were asked about this textbook-whether this book introduced a different view of history or was taught by a different teaching approach- they commented that there was no difference in the way they approached history lessons using this book, in the way their teachers taught them and, further, they did not understand why this history war broke up *'since things were as usual'* (Int. 20:3)

Concerning the content of history lessons, pupils state that the historical events they should learn in history lessons are *'countless'* so that *'you need a second head to put all these in'* (Int.11:6) and written in expanded length in textbooks. So, they cannot remember much from what they have been taught, not only when they will graduate from school, but even when they will attend the next grade. Ordinary school pupils can definitely recall *'the highlights'* of the national history such as the Turkish conquest of Constantinople's (Istanbul), some important dates such as the date of the Greek War of Independence and some important national heroes. Minority school pupils can easily remember some outstanding events for example colonization and the

French Revolution. They think that these are the most significant and worthy to be learnt elements of the history they are taught; details are worthless and confusing.

'I understand why I should learn when the Greek War of Independence happened but I regard as useless to know from where the bullet which killed a hero came and how long it took him to die. The meaning is lost.'
(Int. 19:3)

In the same vein, all pupils find more interesting and/or significant the historical knowledge that referred to ordinary life, people and to their culture. However, pupils argue that this kind of knowledge is very limited in textbooks.

'The thing I will definitely remember is the way ancient people lived. For example I won't forget how Spartan people raised their boys and how Byzantine people cooked their meals. I can find some commonalities. This is the most interesting thing' (Int. 7:3)

The first things that come to pupils' mind when they hear 'school history' are: 'dates', 'names', 'too many events', 'talking and talking', 'boring', 'difficult', 'wars', 'battles', 'revolutions' and 'too much reading', 'very long texts'. These words can be indicative of what constitutes history teaching at classrooms and of the feelings pupils have about this particular subject. The majority of pupils (148 out of 168) regard school history with disaffection. Nevertheless, pupils distinguish school history from history in general; they like history in general but not school history in particular. The differentiation lies on the school context. In this context, history is not a discipline but becomes a series of knowledge and practices pupils ought to learn in order to get a good mark and be allowed to attend the next grade.

'I think we learn history in order to get a good mark in final exams. If you have a good mark you can go to the next grade or enter university in the near future' (Int. 34:3)

'I believe history is more than what we do at school. At school, we have the bad form of history. I like the history some documentary films show'
(Int. 14:3)

This distinction also indicates that history is not approached as a discipline with particular features at school. Pupils mention that they do not deal with history itself in history lessons, how it is constructed and develops and how the past is uncovered and examined. History is presented to them as a series of undeniable events that they ought to learn without being aware of the procedure that was followed in order for these events to be explored and become undeniable. They also comment that:

'We do not learn about the other side, only how Greek people reacted. For example, we learn that a hero entered into a fight but we do not learn whether this fight was a result of his fault or what the other side thought about this fight.' (Int.13:6)

'We do not question things. They are as they are. We have to learn them as they are written' (Int. 18:3)

So, from the above, it is apparent that pupils identify the usefulness of history teaching in a limited context. This context entails, for ordinary school pupils, the construction of national identity, the development of a sense of belonging to the nation and of the features this belonging entails. For minority school pupils, it entails general knowledge of world development and Greek civilization. It also involves cognitive development through the learning of many bits of unquestionable knowledge. These uses indicate that history teaching reflects the traditional history paradigm as discussed previously. This reflection seems to contribute, on the one hand, for school history to be conceived of by pupils as a rather boring school subject detached from its discipline and with no further influences on their personalities and their future lives. On the other hand, pupils question this history teaching model and are interested in other aspects of history which are embedded in the new history paradigm. However, the participants identify some other reasons that contribute in this disaffection with the subject and are related to the history teaching reality, as the next session demonstrates.

5.3.2. Their history teaching reality

Interviewees argue that school history is a difficult subject. The main reason which causes difficulties in history learning deals with textbooks. Pupils state that the textbook (or teachers' notes in the case of minority primary school) is the main educational material used in history lessons. Both textbook for primary and junior-high school include '*incomprehensible*' long texts. This incomprehensibility derives from the special and unfamiliar vocabulary and complicated syntax which do not align with the pupils' cognitive abilities.

'Texts are so long. We have to learn them by heart. It is so difficult to memorize them' (Int.23:6)

'The way things are written is not appropriate for our age. It should be simpler' (Int.16:3)

Difficulties are more apparent with minority school pupils who do not know well enough the Greek language.

'It is very difficult to learn what is in books because we do not know well the language' (Int.24:3)

The way teachers examine pupils' knowledge adds another difficulty. Teachers ask for memorization of these 'incomprehensible' and long texts, especially in tests and final exams. This way of learning history makes pupils try hard without always the desirable outcome. Pupils dislike this procedure which causes disaffection with the subject. Also, the structure of the teaching syllabus in 'concentric circles'- the repetition and expansion of teaching themes at each level- contribute to pupils' feeling of dislike.

'We are taught the same things again and again. This year, we learn about the Greek War of Independence. When we go to Gymnasium we will do the same. Also, we learn the same things when we celebrate our national days. We fed up with them.' (Int. 4:6)

The events, facts and procedures that are included in textbooks constitute another agent that strengthens the pupils' feeling. Pupils explain that history teaching involves mainly wars and deaths which they do not like.

'I have very bad feelings when I learn about wars and deaths. I think that it is not necessary to analyse the wars in depth. It makes me feel so sad' (Int. 2:6)

Some pupils argue that the teaching of military events constitutes a bad example for them.

'When the only thing you are taught at school is how many wars and fights your ancestors made, when you grow up... it is as you are taught to make wars. It is not a good example for us. There is dialogue as well' (Int. 10:6)

Additionally, pupils are not interested in political and military events that monopolize history teaching reality. They can not find any usefulness knowing, for example, about how laws and treaties were conducted many years ago. 'OK. I learnt them. So what?' (Int. 18:3). On the contrary, they are more interested in the details of everyday life, the way people lived in old times.

'This knowledge is more useful. It attracts me. I can see why I live the way I live' (Int. 21:3)

'Be taught about how old people lived is more pleasant than how they died and fought' (Int. 29:6)

The area of cultural and intellectual development is of pupils' great interest as well as their families' stories.

'I would like to know about ancient people's manners and customs' (Int. 15:6)

'I am interested how music developed through the centuries; music is part of our lives not wars' (Int. 18:3)

'This year we were told to find out about a national hero's life. I did not do that project. I preferred to explore my grand-grandfather's life. It was more useful for me. That kind of history should be included in history teaching' (Int. 28:3)

Among participants, 5 boys (2 from primary and 3 from junior-high school) express a great interest in wars and fights. They find these events very interesting because they are fond of 'adventure'. *'Learning about wars is like experiencing an adventure' (Int. 3:6)*. Nevertheless, these boys stress that things would be better if they learn about *'the strategy military leaders followed and the structure of the fights' (Int. 28:3)*

Another parameter discussed by pupils is the teaching approach teachers employ. Describing the way teachers introduce new knowledge to the interviewees, pupils mention that the most common approach is narration/lecture. Teachers narrate/lecture on the next lesson and afterwards, motivate pupils to read the corresponding text and underline its most significant parts. Also, teachers explain in depth words and phrases that are not familiar to pupils. In the cases where a text is so complicated, teachers either summarize the text and pupils write the summary on their notebooks or give them notes on separate sheets or diagrams that organize knowledge in way to be easily memorized. Describing this procedure, two pupils comment:

'I have the feeling that our teacher is a kind of translator or, if you like, 'restrictor'; instead of being a kind of motivator of our minds broadening' (Int. 29:6)

'This 'talking and talking' approach is very boring. I can't stand it. I get bored and I turn to my mate and we have a great talking together' (Int. 3:6).

Taking into account the language difficulties in minority school, these pupils argue that, although they do not like this teaching approach, it is thought as appropriate and useful for their difficulties to be overcome.

'We are so grateful to our teacher who explains every single word. Otherwise, we are not able to understand what is meant' (Int. 26:3)

Sources, quotations, illustrations, questions-issues that accompany the main text in textbooks are rarely used because of the lack of time. History teaching time periods are not enough for extra materials to be studied; *'just for teachers' monologue'* (Int. 31:3). In the cases they are used, illustrations are preferred by pupils.

'Instead of listening to our teacher talking and talking, looking at a photo is more creative. I draw my own conclusions' (Int. 14:3)

'In photos, I can see how the people I am learning about were. There are so many things that you can learn from illustration' (Int. 10:6)

In general, pupils' history teaching reality was described as boring, difficult and far away from their interest. Their suggestions about how the subject could be improved lay in textbooks' improvement or replacement and on the teaching approach. More particularly, they propose that if textbooks should exist,

'...their authors should give their books firstly to their children to read them and learn from them. I believe this is a way of testing them. If their children are able to read and understand them, we will be able to read and understand them as well' (Int. 29:6)

On the same path, they propose a reduction in the number of chapters included in textbooks, omission of details and summarizing of significant historical events and emphasis on social history and cultural developments.

A great percentage of participants (75%) suggest textbooks replacement by the use of computer and out-of-school experiences:

'We can go to a museum to study history there. It is fascinating. We would not have to imagine things. We should see things and learn from them. Moreover, museums have materials of everyday life which are more interesting' (Int. 13:6)

'We use computers out of school all the time. Why not use them at school as well?' (Int. 1:3)

Minority school pupils supported the idea of textbook replacement by computers and searching on the internet, but for an extra reason:

'We could find information about a historical event also in our language [meaning Turkish]. So, it would be easier for us and we could understand more with less effort' (Int. 16:3)

However, not all pupils agree with textbook replacement. For 45 pupils (25%) from both school levels, textbook should remain but be simplified because it constitutes a

reference point for their homework, defines exactly what the teacher is going to ask them in the next lesson or on what they are going to be examined in the final exams.

'If we have computers instead of books, we will be lost. We would not know what to learn by heart. We are used to books. I think we need books to organize our learning' (Int. 14:3)

Regarding the teaching approach, pupils do not indicate a specific one since *'I am young. I do not know how many approaches exist and which are they'* (Int. 15:6). Nevertheless, they prefer to be engaged in learning procedure more actively. Primary school pupils want each lesson to be like playing a game.

'I think it should be like playing the 'treasure trove'. We should discover the knowledge' (Int. 22:6)

They also suggest teamwork. *'It is fun when you have partners and all together try to learn something new'* (Int. 33:6). Junior-high school pupils do not suggest something like this but they feel that the teaching approach used should be changed and pupils should be more motivated to participate. It seems that discussion that held sometimes in classroom does not interest them.

'Our teacher tries to engage us in discussion. We are not very interested. Few pupils participate. I think we do not have the knowledge. Besides, it is so boring to be asked always for what do you think' (Int. 24:3)

They ask for something more active although they cannot define it.

'I do not know what should be done. Teachers should invent something more exciting and active to motivate us' (Int. 30:3)

To sum up, at first level, the examination of pupils' teaching reality demonstrates that they experience many challenges in history lessons. These challenges create an unpleasant teaching environment for them and add more arguments sustaining their disaffection with the subject. At second level, from the way pupils describe their history teaching reality, it becomes apparent that history teaching follows the traditional way of teaching. More particularly, teachers and texts are the centre of teaching procedure while pupils have a passive role in this procedure, lecture and memorization are crucial for learning and all innovating elements involving teaching proposed by the curriculum are almost absent. Pupils' suggestions indicate that history teaching reality should be revitalised and become more attractive for them. Their suggestions remind the proposed teaching approaches introduced by the new history for example the use of multiple sources of knowledge and the linkage between

knowledge and personal experience. Despite these suggestions, it seems that pupils remain caged into the traditional teaching paradigm because this paradigm is the one which judges their cognitive achievements and allows them to continue their school career.

5.3.3. General knowledge about their country and the people in the world

The participants of this research claim that the knowledge conveyed in history lessons involves mainly their country. Ordinary primary school pupils argue that *'history lessons are full of Greece'* (Int. 3:6). Since the main historical event which covers more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of their textbook is the Greek War of Independence, little space is given to other nations. They also add that there is not enough time for World Wars to be taught although they are included in the syllabus. So, they learn only what happened in Greece in older times. In this context, the only other nation that is discussed is Turkey because the Greek War entails it. However, pupils comment that:

'The only thing we learn about this nation is what taxes imposed to Greeks, how many Greeks killed, how many were in fights and with whom they allied in order to win' (Int. 25:6)

According to the interviews, the discussion about other nations and their people is very limited not only in history lessons but in school lessons in general. *'We discuss occasionally about other people'* (Int. 13:6). Regarding their own country, they learn much about the struggles Greece went through in order to gain freedom and less about its people.

This is also the case in the ordinary junior-high schools examined in this research. Pupils argue that the focus is on Greek history and references to other nations are limited compared with those to Greece.

'We are taught about the French and American Revolution, Hitler's policy for example, but very briefly. Our emphasis is on Greece. Europe comes second' (Int. 34:3)

However, the discussion is not about other people but about *'other political and military policies which are boring'* (Int. 12:3). In the same vein, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the research

sample (42 students) question the idea about learning what happened in other countries.

'I do not care about what happened in France before 100 years. I do care about what happened in my country at that time' (Int. 9:3)

The rest of the participants accepted the case for the place of other nations' history in their history lessons but suggested that this should be presented briefly and only events of world interest such as the World Wars should be explained in a more detailed way.

Minority school pupils, as stated before, attend 'modified' history lessons which flatten nationalistic views especially concerning the Turkish nation. These pupils state that the emphasis is still on the Greek nation and its achievements. They also learn what happened in the world without, however, focusing on particular nation(s) and special attention is paid on phenomena such as colonization and World Wars in order for global peace to be promoted. Junior-high school pupils express an interest to learn more about a specific national history: *'We should learn more about the Turkish nation's history'* (Int.24:3). The argument they state for this suggestion is: *'Our origins are Turkish. We should know about our origins'* (Int. 26:3).

Regardless of the type of school, pupils mention that people in the world are different. They realize that we all are human beings 'with two hands and legs' but differentiate in appearance such as skin-colour, eyes shape and in customs and religion. They underlined that they are not fully aware of these customs and religion differences and they would like to be more informed. Nevertheless, their knowledge about some countries is more than that of others. This becomes apparent when they were asked if they wish to live or be born in another country than Greece. A high percentage of pupils (114, 68%) would like to be born in countries located in or thought as part of West Europe/World. Germany, England, France are the most popular of these countries. Their choices are based on these countries' quality of life, wealth and technological developments.

'I would like to live in Germany because of its clean environment and the respect their people show to laws' (Int. 19:6)

'I would like to be born in England. It is a rich country and advanced in technology' (Int. 34:3)

A small percentage of minority school children (9, 20%) would like to be born in Turkey because it is their families' motherland. A similar percentage of all pupils (38, 23%) is happy to be born and live in Greece. *'Whatever Greece means is my motherland'* (Int. 5:3). Their ideas about Americans are worthy of mention. 47 children of the total (28%) think that the USA is a wealthy and advanced country but they would not choose to be born/live there because of the unlimited freedom Americans have, the high proportion of crime and their arrogant behaviour.

'I think of the USA. It has everything; crime as well. I don't think I could live there' (Int. 29:6)

'Due to the freedom they have, they show off all the time. I cannot stand it' (Int. 8:3)

These perceptions of other countries are not based on pupils' travel experiences. Few children (10) have been in the countries of their preference. Their choices are based on their parents'/relatives' perceptions, the images the media convey and their historical knowledge.

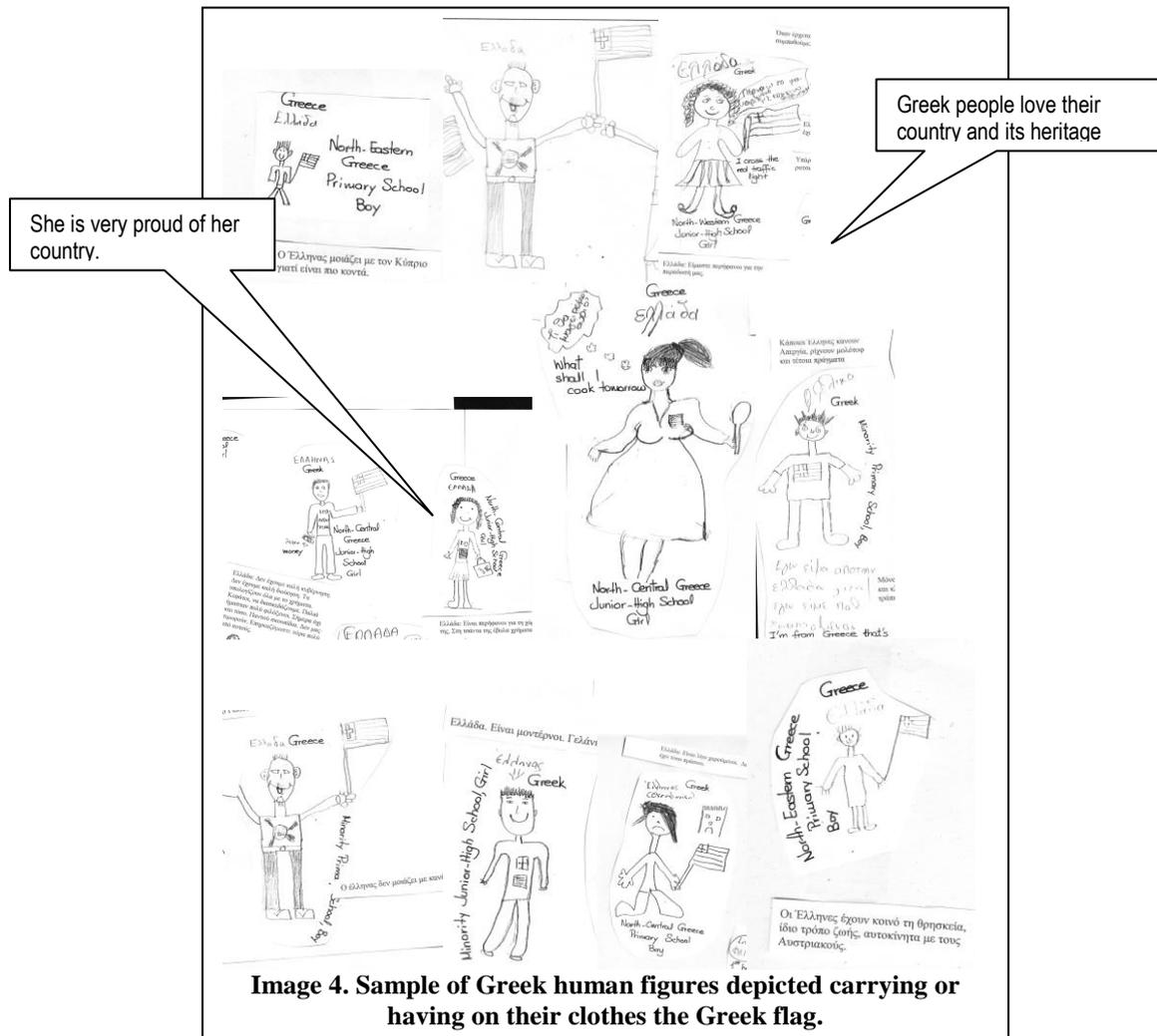
'I have an aunt in Italy. When she comes here, she describes how life is there. It is really beautiful' (Int. 15:6)

'I have seen on TV about England. People are so rich and well educated' (Int. 24:3)

In general, it seems that history teaching and school in general provides to pupils more knowledge about the country they live in and less about other people and countries. The ethnocentric character of history teaching that is detected in curriculum and textbooks examination is confirmed by pupils' comments. 'The other' does not appear to be a matter of detailed discussion in history lessons unless it is connected with the national history. So, the 'other' is used in order for national history to be promoted or linked with some general historical phenomena. Also, the reference to the 'other' when it takes place entails mostly political and military elements as traditional history proposes. On the same path, the minority pupils' ethnic background is taken into consideration in history teaching as far as possible to avoid conflicts; these pupils' right to be aware of their origins is overlooked in order that homogeneity is achieved. In contrast, pupils welcome the 'other' and its history and social characteristics in lessons and wish to gain a global view of the world. However, the pupils' choices of a preferable country to live in indicate that pupils set their own criteria for this judgement and, at the same time, that they chose some countries because of these criteria. From another point of view, pupils' choices demonstrate that

they have different perceptions of some countries' status and consequently that the 'other' is perceived differently. The presentation of pupils' perceptions of 'the other' throws more light on this issue.

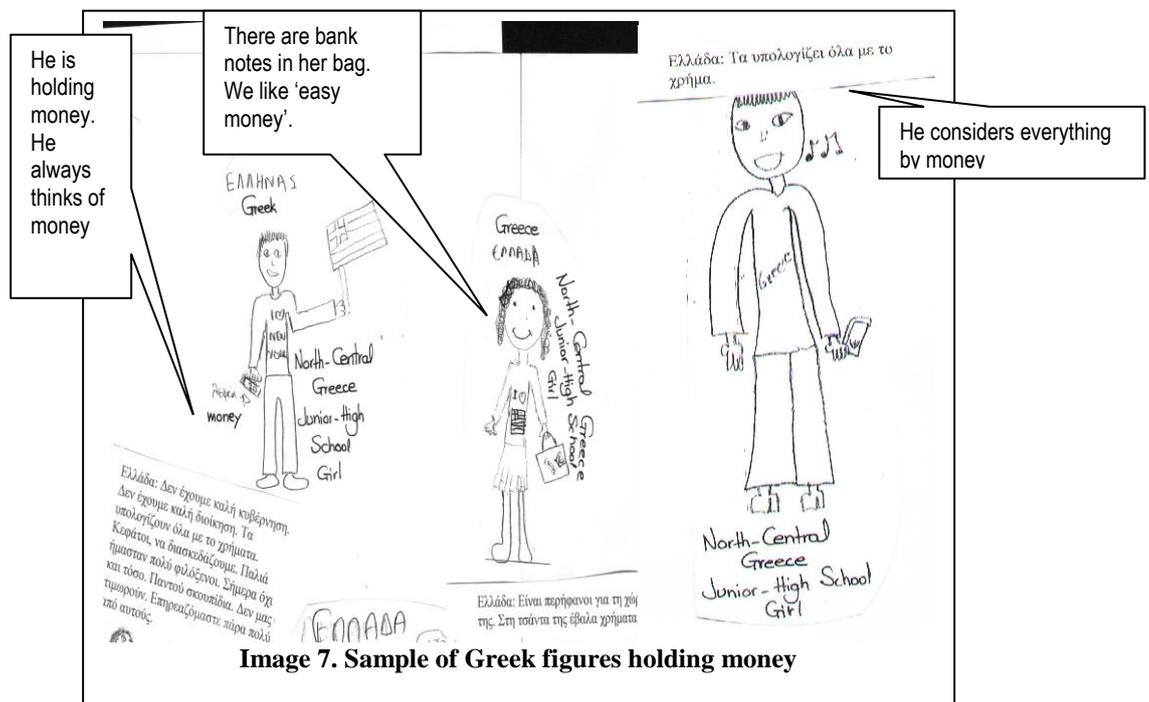
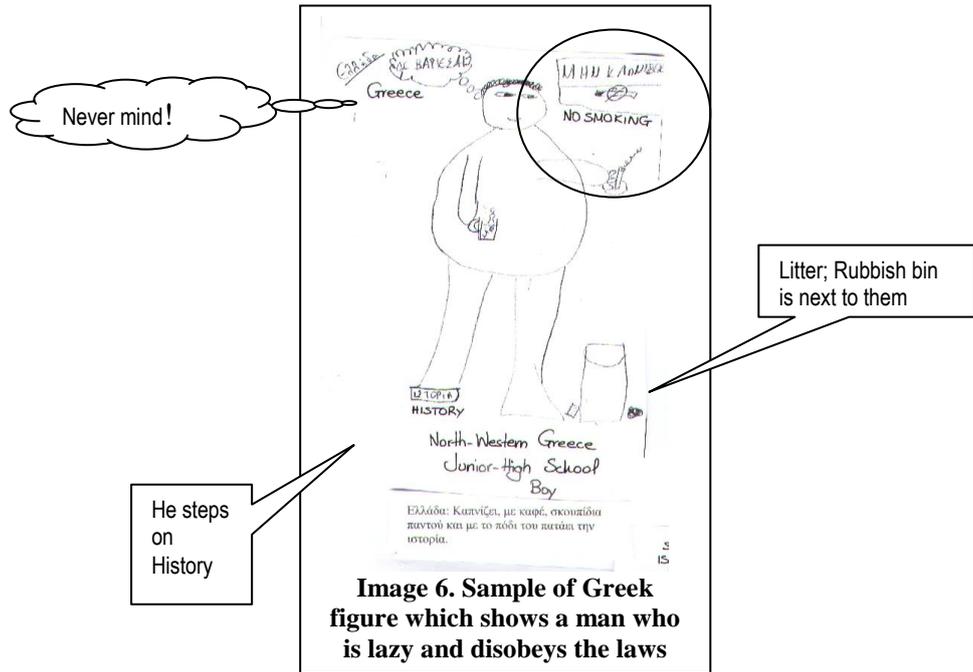
10% of the depicted Greek figures are wearing traditional costumes (Image 3) and the Greek flag accompanies 20% of all Greek figures (Image 4).



According to pupils, the presentation of the particular elements is indicative of the love Greek people have for their country. However, for 15% of all pupils the way Greek people like having fun and living their lives is commented on as a disadvantage since Greek people do not like working and are indolent.

The Greek people’s disobedience of laws and official orders is another disadvantage pupils add after comparing the Greeks with nations that are thought ‘expert’ in these schemes. ‘Greeks do not obey the laws like the Germans or the British’ (Int. 5:3) Pupils argue that this disobedience is ‘embedded in Greek people’s DNA’ (Int. 17:3) and is presented in pupils’ drawings in two ways: polluting the environment – Greeks are presented throwing away litter everywhere even in the case a bin is very close to them- and smoking in places where smoking is forbidden (Image 6). Also, pupils

comment that Greek people love money and like making ‘easy money’; many figures present Greek people holding or having money (Image 7).



However, the feature that was mentioned in each interview and characterized as the most negative feature of the Greek people by pupils, regardless of school level and background, was the racist and xenophobic behaviour Greek people have towards

people coming from specific countries: Albania, Bulgaria and Turkey. Pupils admit that they behave themselves such way:

'Bulgarians are very bad people. When I come across them in street, I change my direction' (Int. 4:6)

'I do not want to have an Albanian as friend. They are some in my neighbourhood. They play alone. We, the Greeks, we do not want to have any kind of affair with them' (Int. 18:3)

'Yes, I am racist. I do not want them in my country. They are criminals. We do not have enough jobs for us. They come and take our jobs' (Int. 30:3)

They also discuss that this behaviour is a matter of phobic feelings, these people's poor living standards or derives from parental counselling.

'We are very racist. We behave badly to Albanians and we think of them as criminals and thieves. We do not want to speak or make friendship with them. We are afraid of them; they will kill or harm us' (Int. 12:6)

'They are dressed in rags and smell awful' (Int. 21:3)

'My mother told me to keep a distance from them' (Int. 4:6)

On the other hand, pupils from different ethnic backgrounds confirm, in a sense, this behaviour. A minority junior-high school pupil who complains about this behaviour is indicative:

'Some Greek people make fun of us because we do not know their language. They treat us not as humans but as animals' (Int. 24:3)

In a primary school participating in the research, there was one pupil from Albania and one from Bulgaria. These pupils state the same complaints:

'When I first came here, I had no friends. They did not want even to speak to me because I am Albanian. They ignored me, made fun of me. Someone tried to hit me' (Int. 4:6)

'It was too difficult to me. They disdain me all the time. I did not want to come to school. Now, things are better. I have one friend and my class mates speak to me' (Int. 10:6)

Nevertheless, pupils stress that they acknowledge that this behaviour is not right. *'I know it is not a good behaviour. But...'* (Int. 28:3) When pupils have occasionally a discussion with peers from a different background or see a family in their neighbourhood coming from these countries, they argue that: *'They are like us. OK'* (Int. 11:6). Also, they define this behaviour in terms of the country a person comes from.

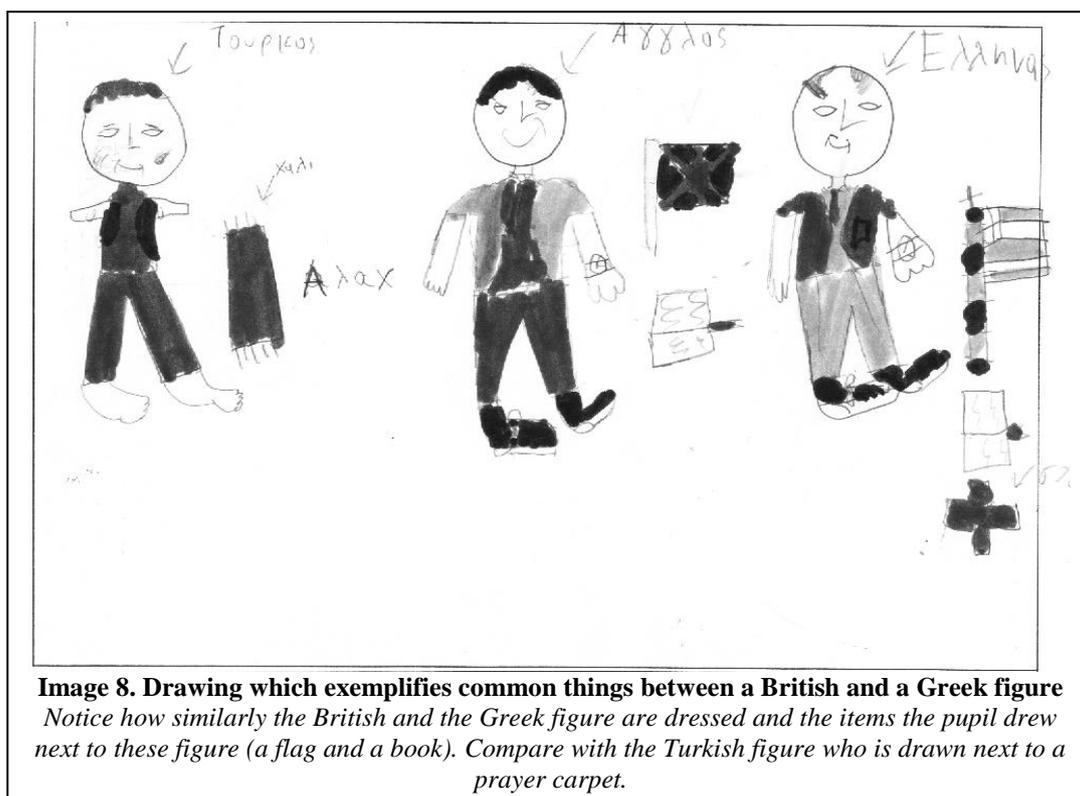
'I am OK with a British person. Many of them come in summer. We try to be hospitable to them' (Int. 32:3)

Further, pupils argue that Greek people and the way they live simulate the way people from West Europe live, mostly the British, the French and Germans and have nothing to do with the Balkans.

'I think Greek people are very close to the West Europeans. We are similar to the French, the Germans. What's why my Greek figure looks like the German person I drew. Of course, we are not the same. We have a lot to do to be like them' (Int. 24:3)

'I know that we have many common with Turks. Like food, customs. But we are not like them. We are... like the British. However, we are behind them' (Int. 13:6)

The drawing below made by a primary school pupil exemplifies this simulation (Image 8).



These three nation-states and the way they have developed their society seem to represent for pupils the meaning of 'being European'. When pupils were asked what 'to be a European' means and whether they feel as European, they identify a European mainly with a British, French or German. They also have the feeling that they are 'half European' because, although, the way Greeks live has many things in

common with these countries, many things should be done in order to reach the standards these countries have set.

‘To be a European means to be civilized and organized as the British and the French. To obey the laws, to have a wealthy economy like Germany, to respect the environment’ (Int. 17:3)

‘I think I am half Greek and half European. I am half European because I am not like the Germans. We should be like them, like the British for example. A lot have to be done. I think we try to be like them’ (Int. 32:3)

Next to these statements, pupils comment that Greece has the right to be considered as a European country and its people to be European because:

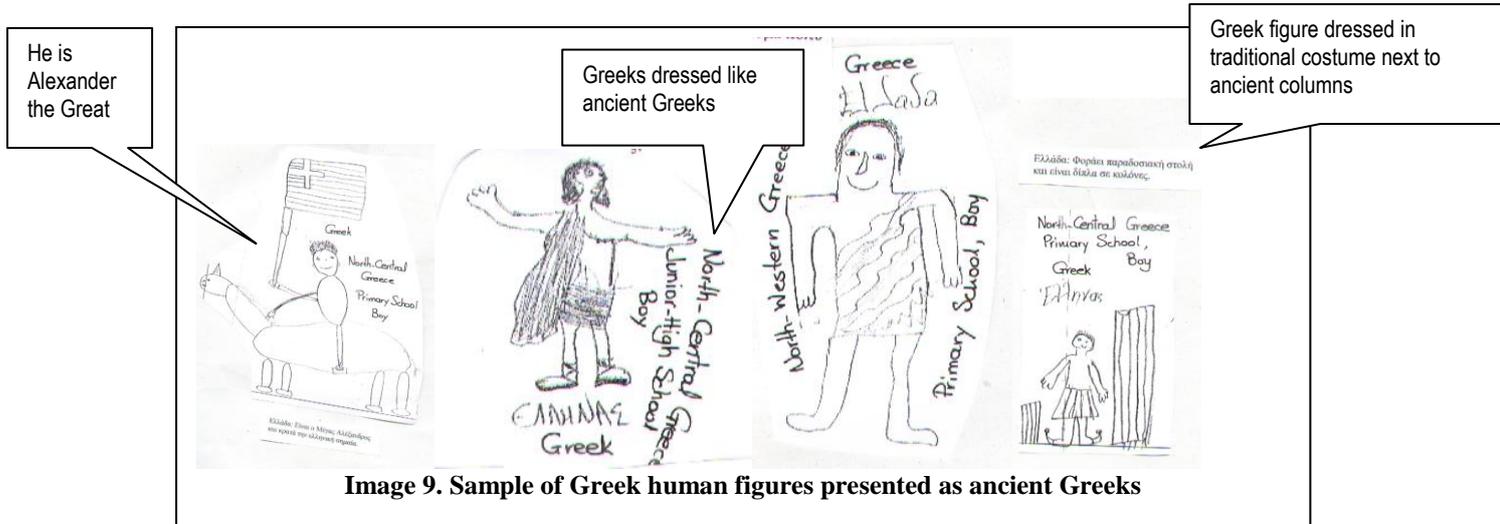
‘Greece is the cradle of civilization and democracy. The world has learnt from Greece. Despite our disadvantages, we had a great civilization’ (Int.2:6)

The ancient Greek civilization is a source of pride for the pupils who were interviewed and have Greek background or feel Greek. The particular pupils define themselves as descendants of the ancient Greeks; this feature seems to be considered as part of the Greek identity. A pupil from a minority primary school declares:

‘I am Greek, I have very important ancestors. I am proud of and admire the civilization my ancestors developed’ (Int. 4:6)

Also, the way some pupils drew Greek human figures demonstrates this pride and shows the link between pupils and their ancestors (Image 9).

Minority pupils who feel Turks underline the significance of this civilization as well.



'It is an admirable civilization' (Int. 26:3). However, they do not relate themselves with these ancestors. For them, 'being Greek' means living in Greece or having a Greek identity card.

'Yes, my identity card says that I am Greek because I live in Greece. However, my name is Turkish' (Int. 26:3)

The above presentation of pupils' ideas about the national self indicates the way 'the other' is seen and understood as well. 'The other' is perceived differently by pupils who were interviewed in terms of the nations' identity and pupils' ethnic background. The analysis of ordinary primary and secondary school pupils' drawings of and comments on other nation-states is summarized in the diagrams 5 and 6.

According to the diagrams, pupils from both ordinary primary and junior-high school do not have the same image about all nations; their images differ according to each nation-state's identity. However, regardless of school level, ordinary school pupils have the same image of the same nation-states apart from Egypt which is not discussed in the junior-high school textbook, and Montenegro which is not presented in primary school textbook.

As shown in the diagrams, the pupils from ordinary schools have a negative image of the following continents/nation-states: Africa, Albania, America, Bulgaria and Turkey. The reasons that led to the formation of pupils' negative image of each nation-state vary from nation-state to nation-state and are worth consideration. In regard to Africa, pupils' comments and drawings (Image 10) demonstrate that it is a

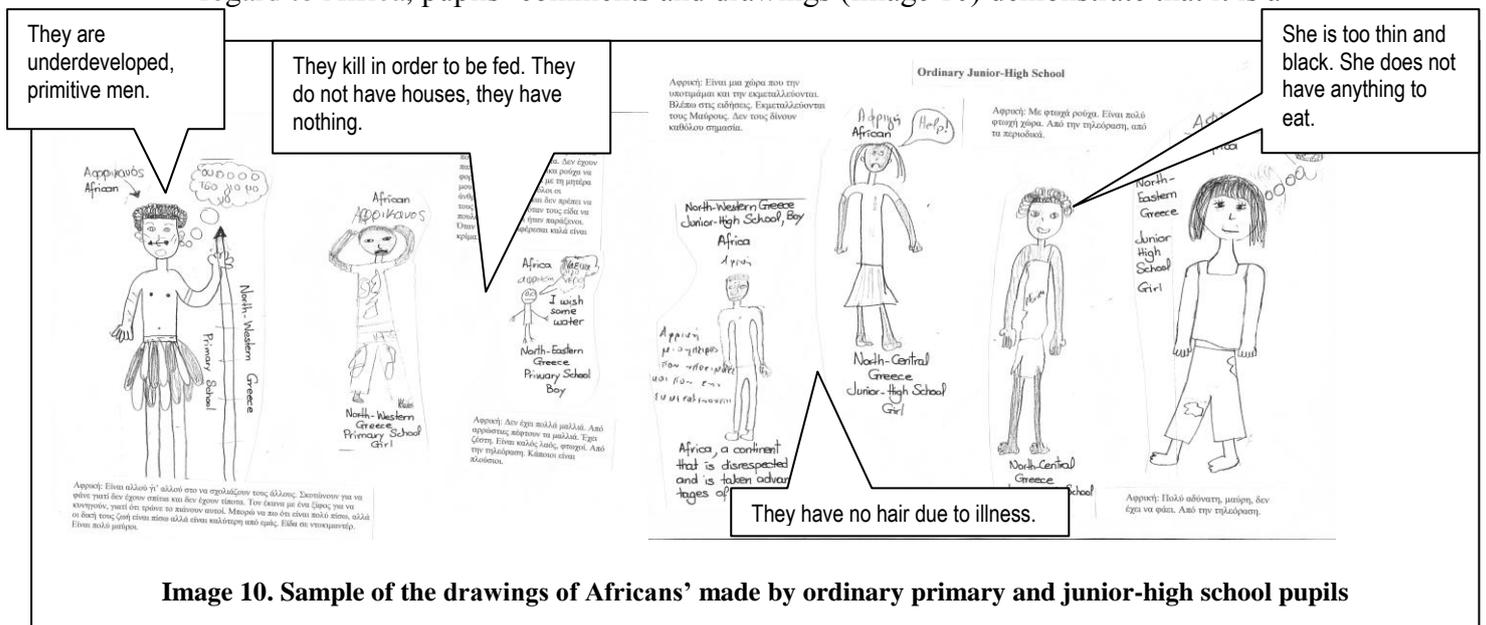
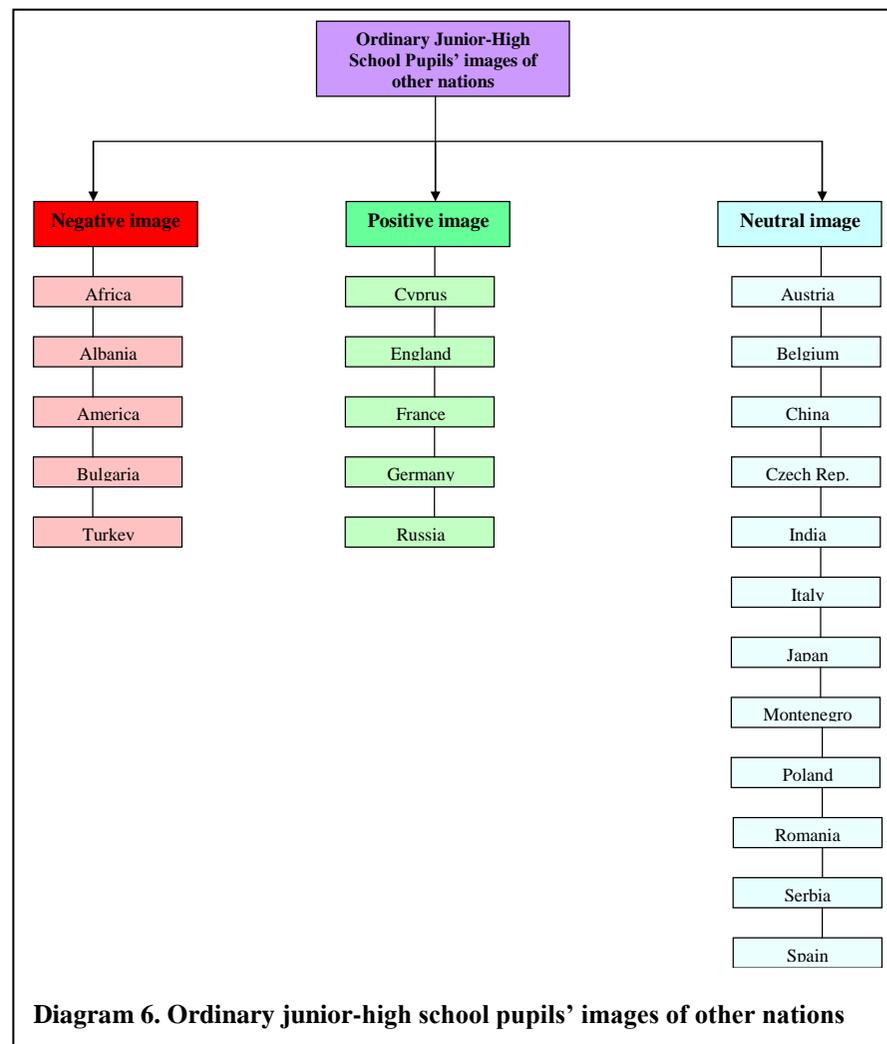
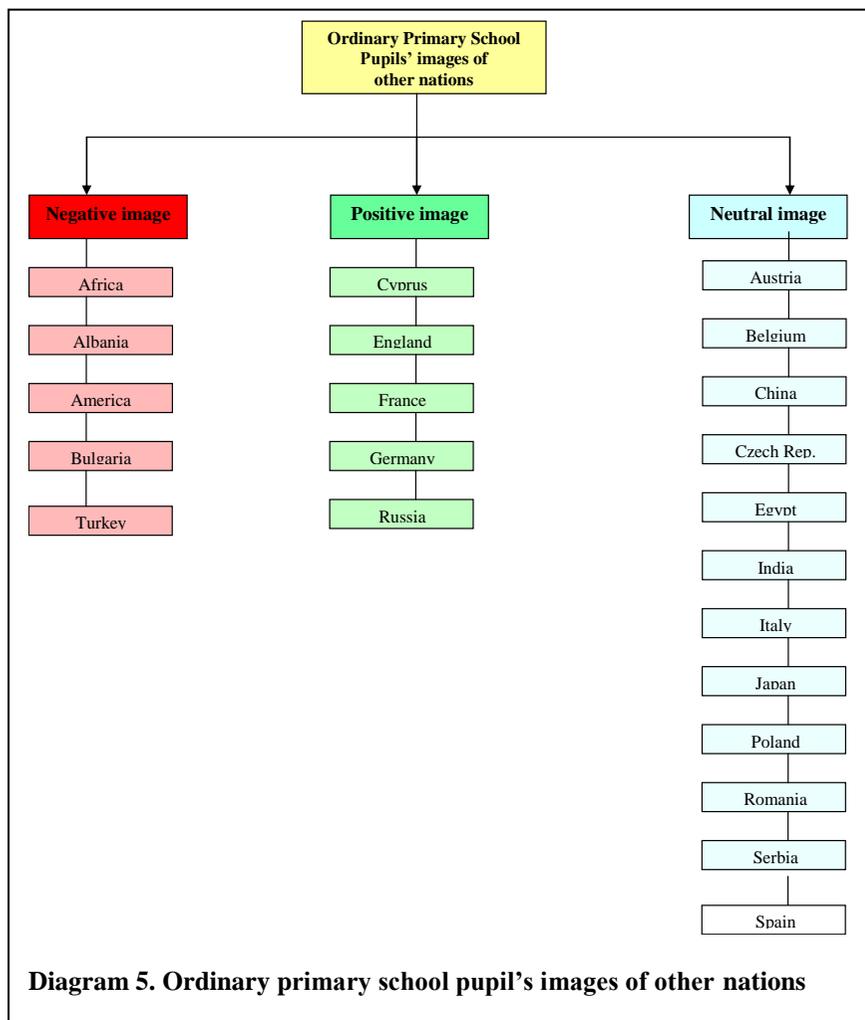
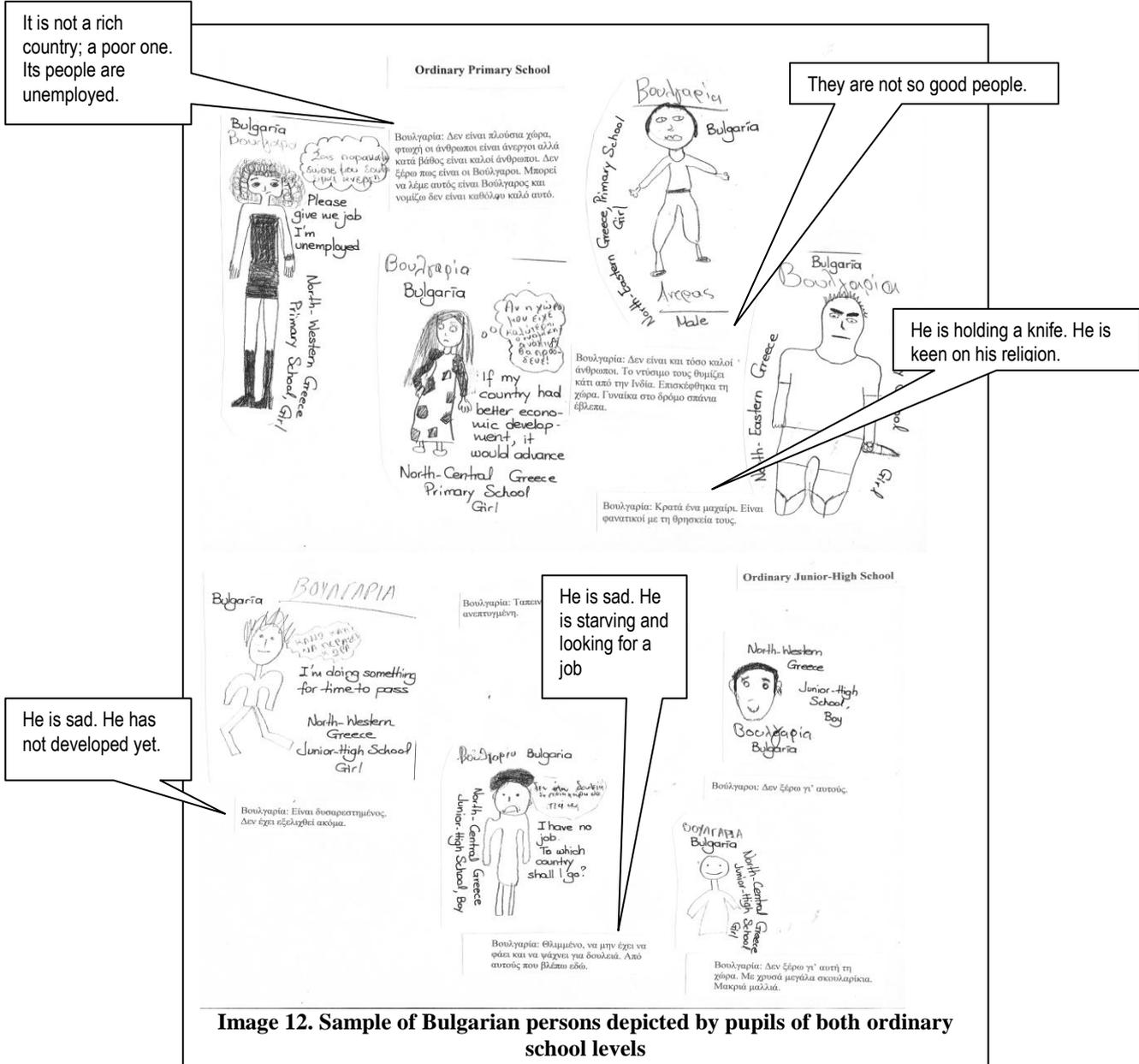


Image 10. Sample of the drawings of Africans' made by ordinary primary and junior-high school pupils





The pupils' negative image of the Americans- mainly the USA inhabitants- derives from completely different arguments (Image 13). America is characterized as a continent that all people depend on and it uses this to its advantage because it is a powerful country. Its people are snobs and boastful; they think themselves as the best people in the world. They are racist and believe that other people live in the trees. Pupils describe America as a very rich country and its people are in-fashion. However, they continue, Americans are very free; this freedom leads to crime.

Finally, the ideas that accompany the drawings of Turks are different, but, with the same result: a negative image. As shown in Image 14, the main reason for this kind of

image is the war pupils are taught Turks caused and their hostile behaviour towards Greeks.

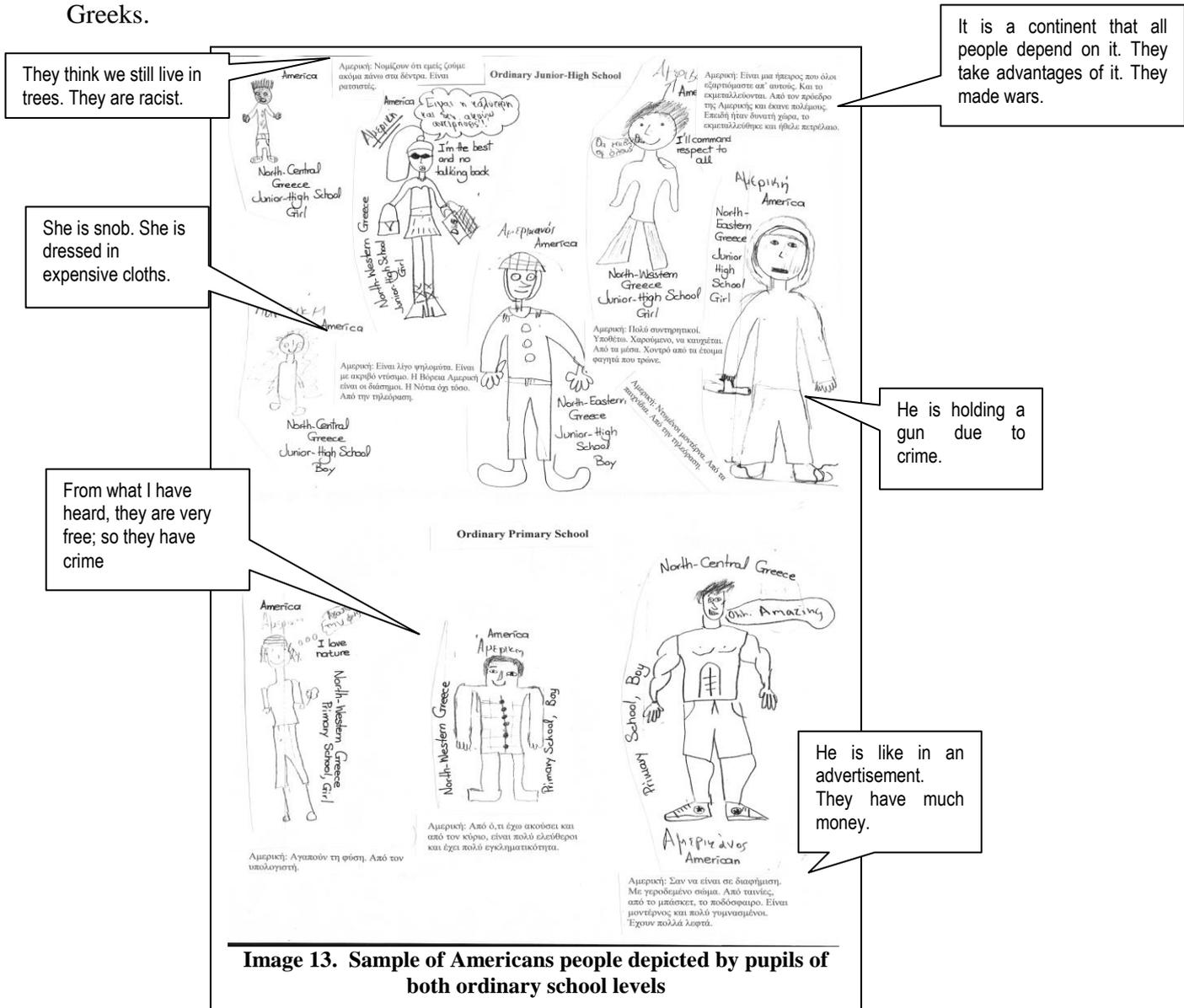


Image 13. Sample of Americans people depicted by pupils of both ordinary school levels

Ordinary school pupils describe Turks as very bad people, barbarians, aggressive, hateful and cold-blooded. These people made Greeks suffer a lot and always want to conquer Greek regions. They also took Greek lands and fortunes and booted Greeks out of their places. They think that wars and fights still take place in Turkey because they are very hostile even with each other. It is interesting that pupils comment on the role of women in Turkish society. They emphasize that women are thought of as second class persons in Turkey and are meant to be confined to kitchen cooking while men are free to do whatever they like. Religion is another issue pupils discussed. They think that Turks are very keen on their religion and this causes a series of problems with people with different religious background including Greeks.

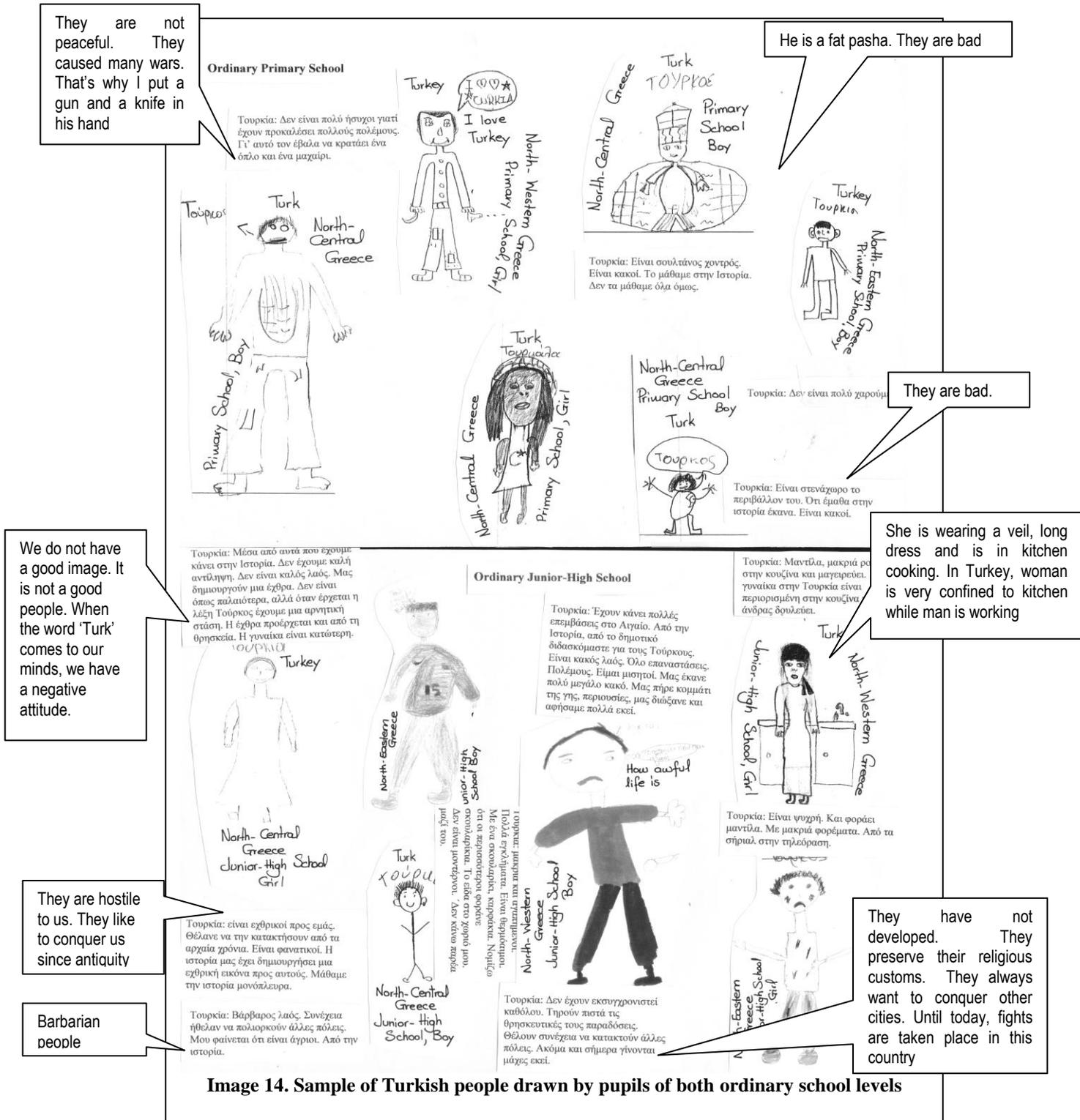


Image 14. Sample of Turkish people drawn by pupils of both ordinary school levels

In contrast, England, France, Germany, Russia and Cyprus are described positively by ordinary school pupils. England, France and Germany (Images 15, 16, 17) gather the

same positive characteristics according to pupils who were interviewed. All three are very clean countries; they take care of the environment. They are very rich countries; their people are very wealthy and dressed in expensive clothes and accessories. They also have well-paid jobs, obey and respect the laws and are well organized and progressive. Pupils stress that British people want to be different because they drive on the left and have different measures for distant measurements. About French people, pupils emphasize how elegant they are in terms of fashion, how many admirable buildings they have and how much mankind was influenced by the French Revolution. Regarding the Germans, pupils argue that although Germany conquered Greece during the World War II, this does not mean that pupils should have a negative idea about them because it was Hitler's fault and not the will of German people.

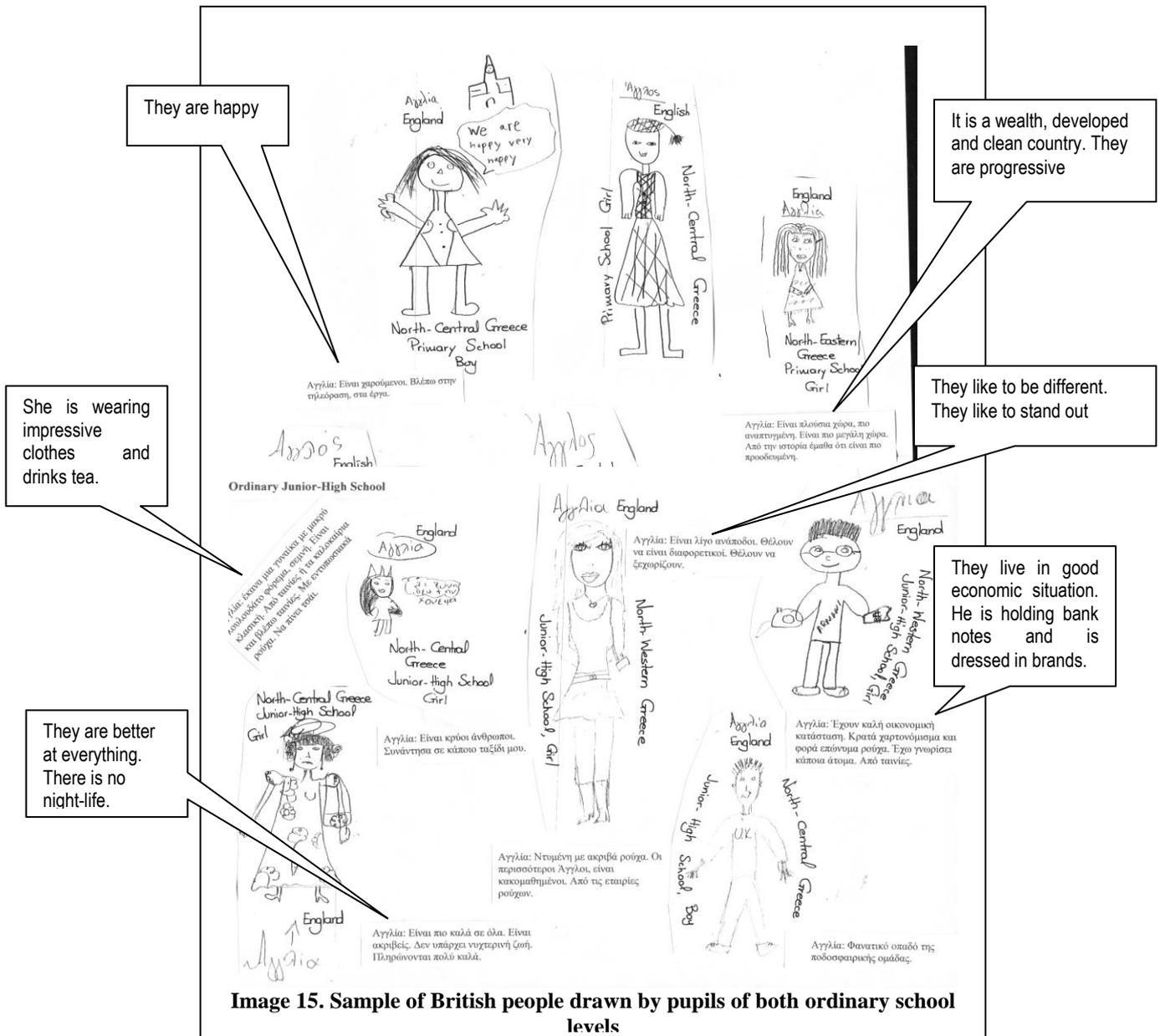


Image 15. Sample of British people drawn by pupils of both ordinary school levels

Cypriots and Russians (Image 18, 19) are discussed as peaceful and kind people. Cypriots, in particular, are very friendly, happy, and hospitable and work hard according to pupils' comments. It should be mentioned that 'Cypriots' for the pupils of ordinary schools means the Greek Cypriots. Turk Cypriots are not discussed and/or mentioned by these pupils. One pupil comment that, because Turks have occupied half the island, Cypriots do not have the freedom they deserve. On the other hand, Russians are presented as rich people. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, the country has survived and it is powerful now. Russians drink vodka and smoke cigars as indicators of their wealth. However, pupils admit that some people are poor and looking for jobs but this happens everywhere.

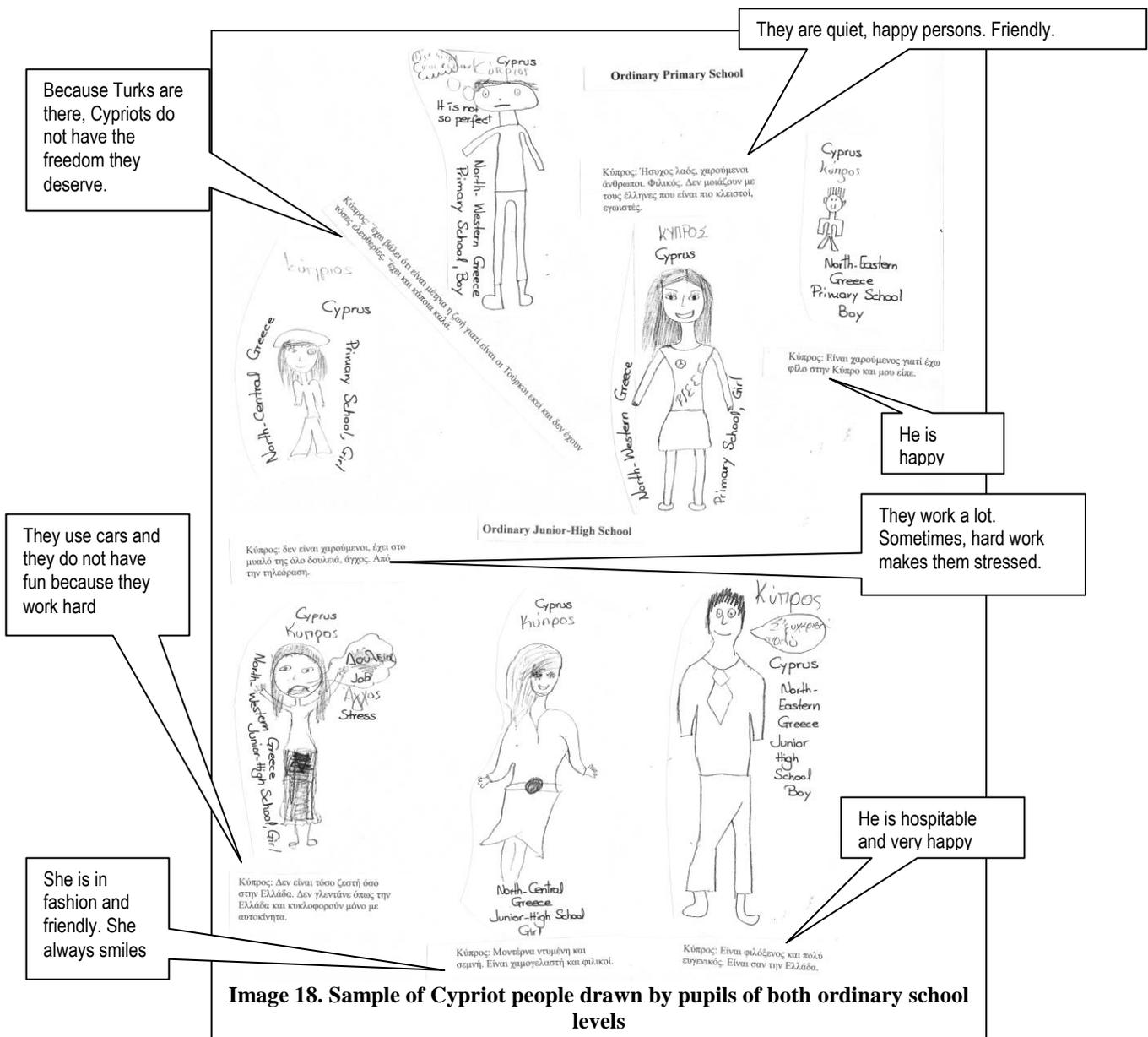
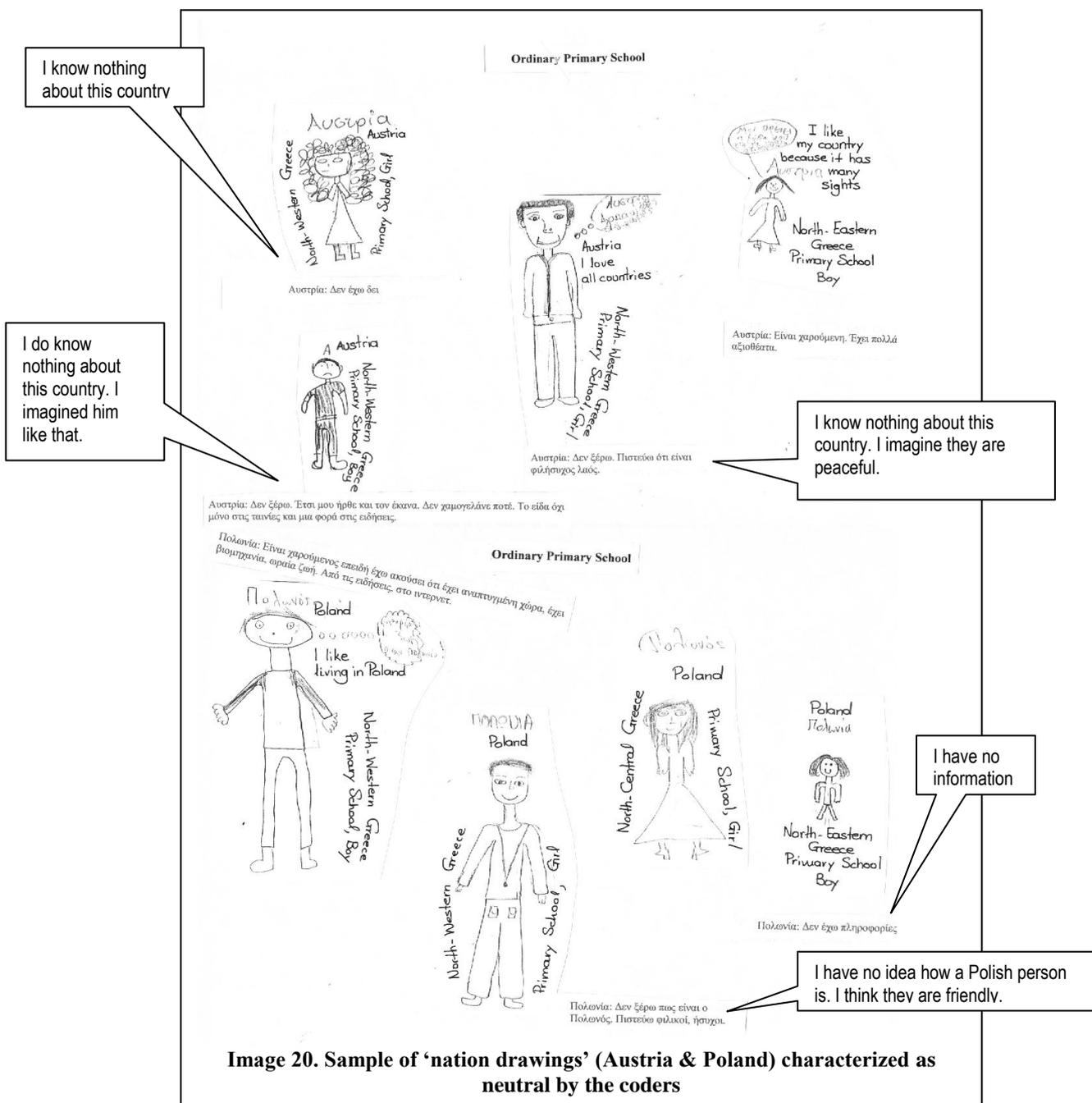
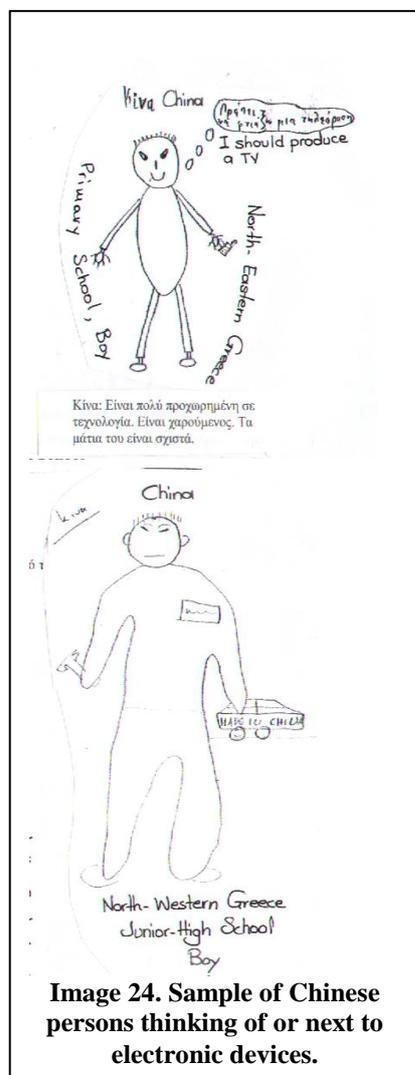


Image 18. Sample of Cypriot people drawn by pupils of both ordinary school levels

From the analysis of pupils' drawing and comments, the neutral images of the other nation-states (Diagram 1, 2) appear to derive mostly from the lack of pupils' encounters with these nation-states and their people, as pupils state they drew these persons by imagination and have no particular perceptions of them. Thus, the majority of these representative figures are drawn without special gestures, comments and accessories/items (Image 20). In the cases where pupils have some bits of information about a specific nation-state, they embed these in their drawing. This information involves traditional costumes as in the case of Egypt and India (Image 21), body features such as slant eyes in the case of China and Japan (Image 22) and popular traditional customs like the bullfight in the case of Spain (Image 23).



Chinese people were commented on by interviewees on the developments of electronic devices they produce. In many drawings they have presented in relation with electronic devices (Image 24).

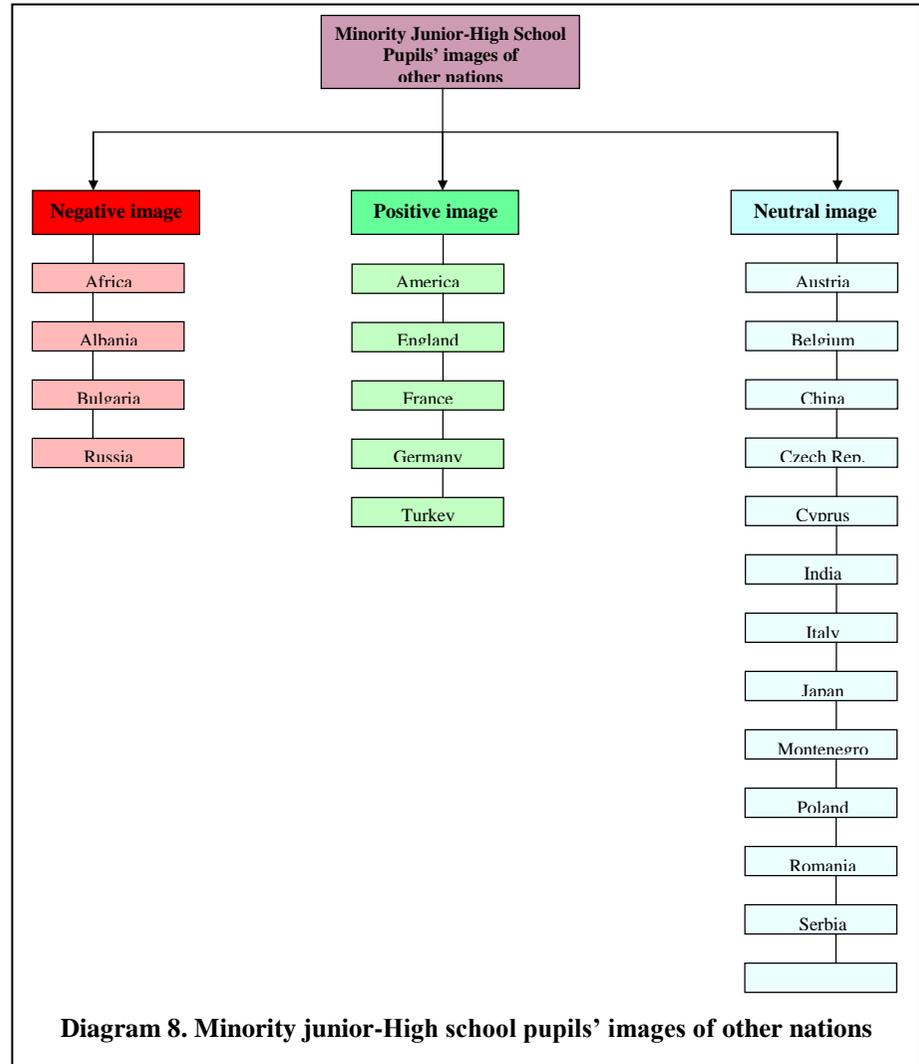
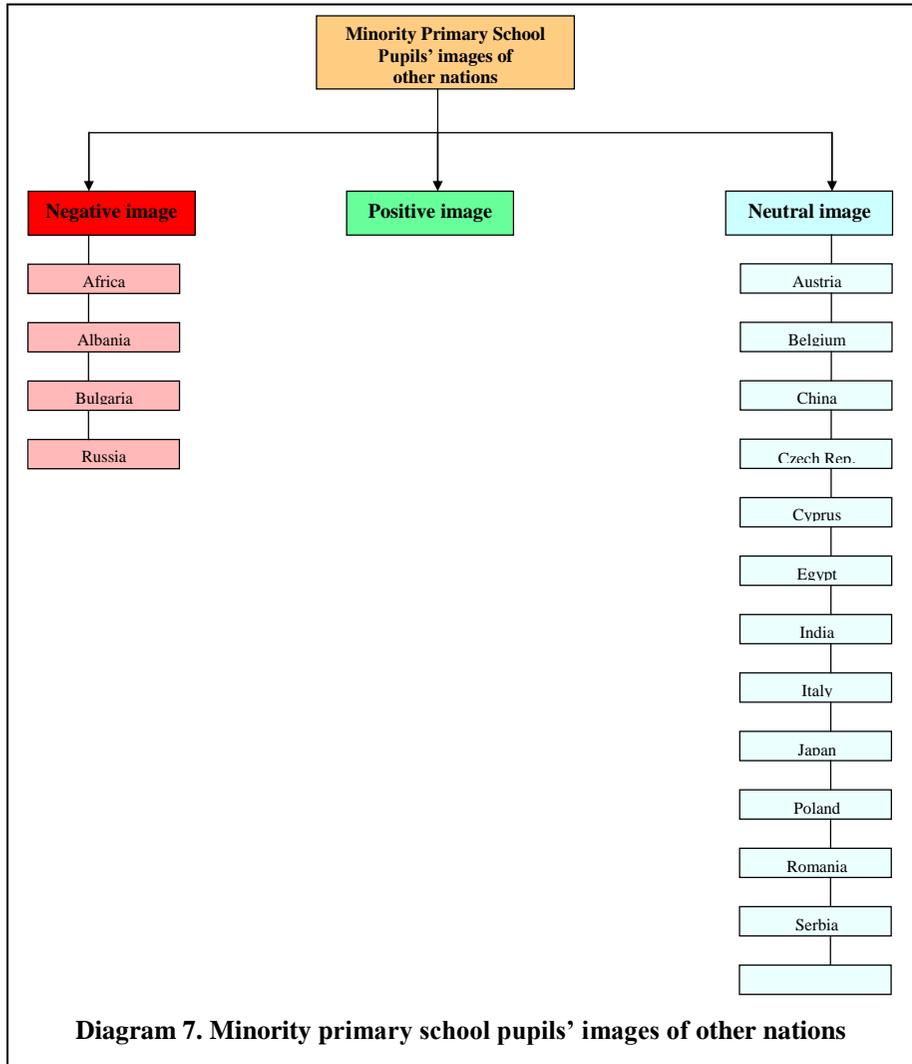


The analysis of minority school pupils' drawings and commentary demonstrate that interviewees' perceptions of a nation depend on its identity. As shown in Diagrams 7-8, minority school pupils of both levels develop a negative image of Africans, Albanians, Bulgarians and Russians, a positive image of Americans, English, French, Germans and Turks whilst the rest of the nations are considered neutrally. Comparing with images developed by ordinary school pupils of both levels (see Diagrams 5, 6), differentiations are noticed regarding the image of some nations.

More particularly, America and Turkey are perceived positively while Russia is presented negatively and Cyprus neutrally. Apart from these differentiations, the other nations are conceived the same way as they are conceived by ordinary school pupils. The way minority school pupils think about each nation is worth consideration in order to

identify whether their ideas are similar with the ordinary school pupils' ideas or where differentiations emerge.

Africans, Albanians and Bulgarians are negatively conceived by minority school participants as well as by ordinary school pupils for the same reasons. Africa (Image 26) is presented as poor country with many problems in terms of food, water and economic development. African people are black and primitive.



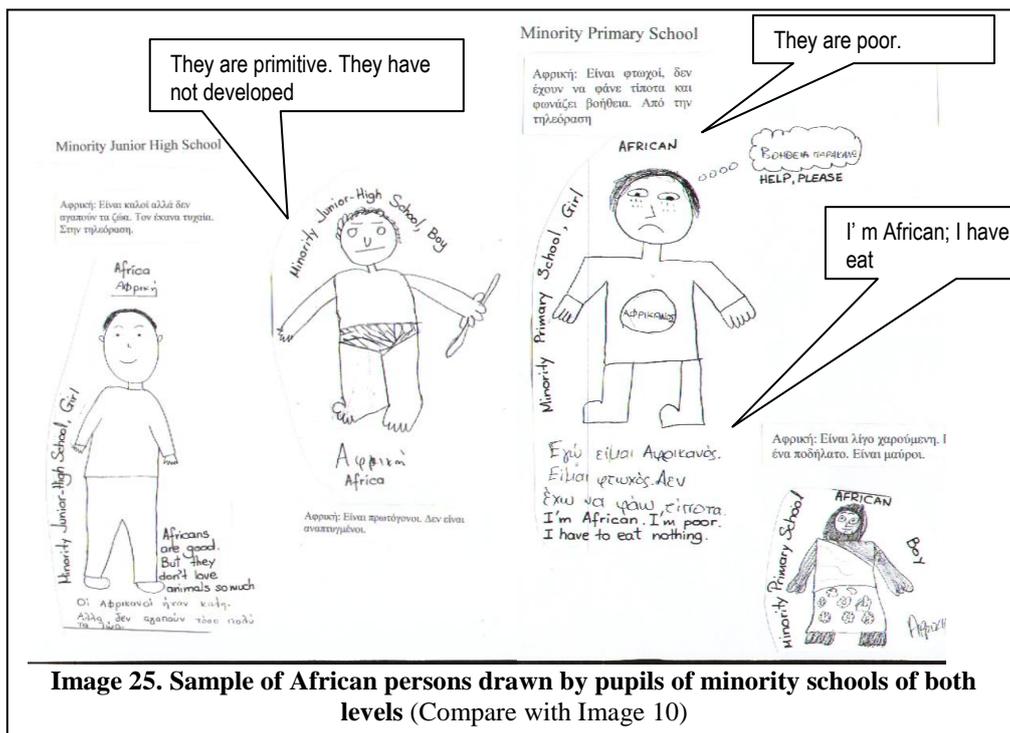


Image 25. Sample of African persons drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels (Compare with Image 10)

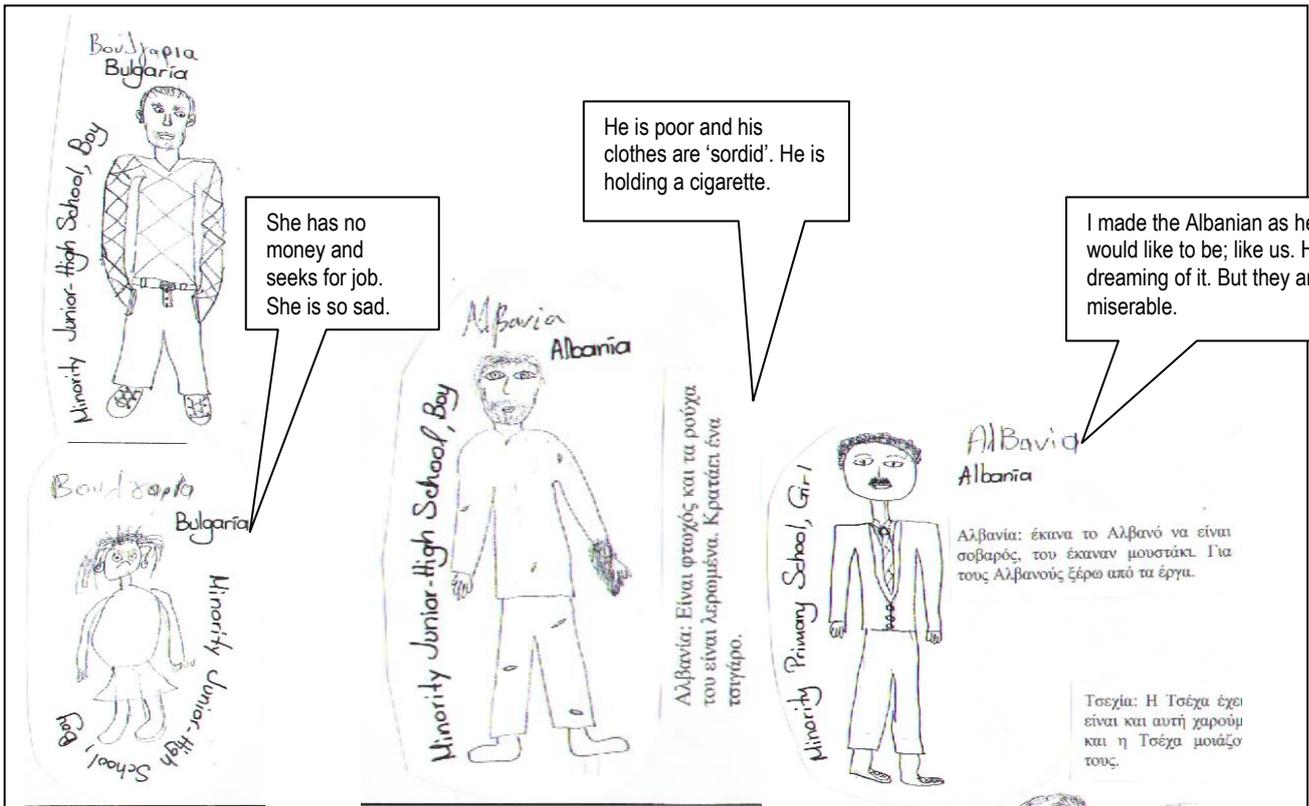


Image 26. Sample of Albanian and Bulgarian people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels (Compare with Images 11 & 12)

Albania and Bulgaria are also characterized as poor countries (Image 26). Their people look for jobs, have no money and are sad and dressed in poor and ‘sordid’ clothes. However, minority school pupils do not comment on Albanians’ and Bulgarians’ behaviour towards Greeks as ordinary school pupils do because, as pupils argue, they are not so much engaged to them in terms of job provision or adjacency. In contrast, minority school pupils comment on Russians’ behaviour and convey a negative image about them (Image 27). Participants think that Russia is a big country and has bad things. Russian people drink and smoke a lot. They were good people but now they are thieves and killers and they take pleasure out of their thefts and killings. Also, pupils think that a Russian is always behind each crime that takes place in the region. ‘Russians do all murders, thefts and rapes in our area’ (Int. 23:6).

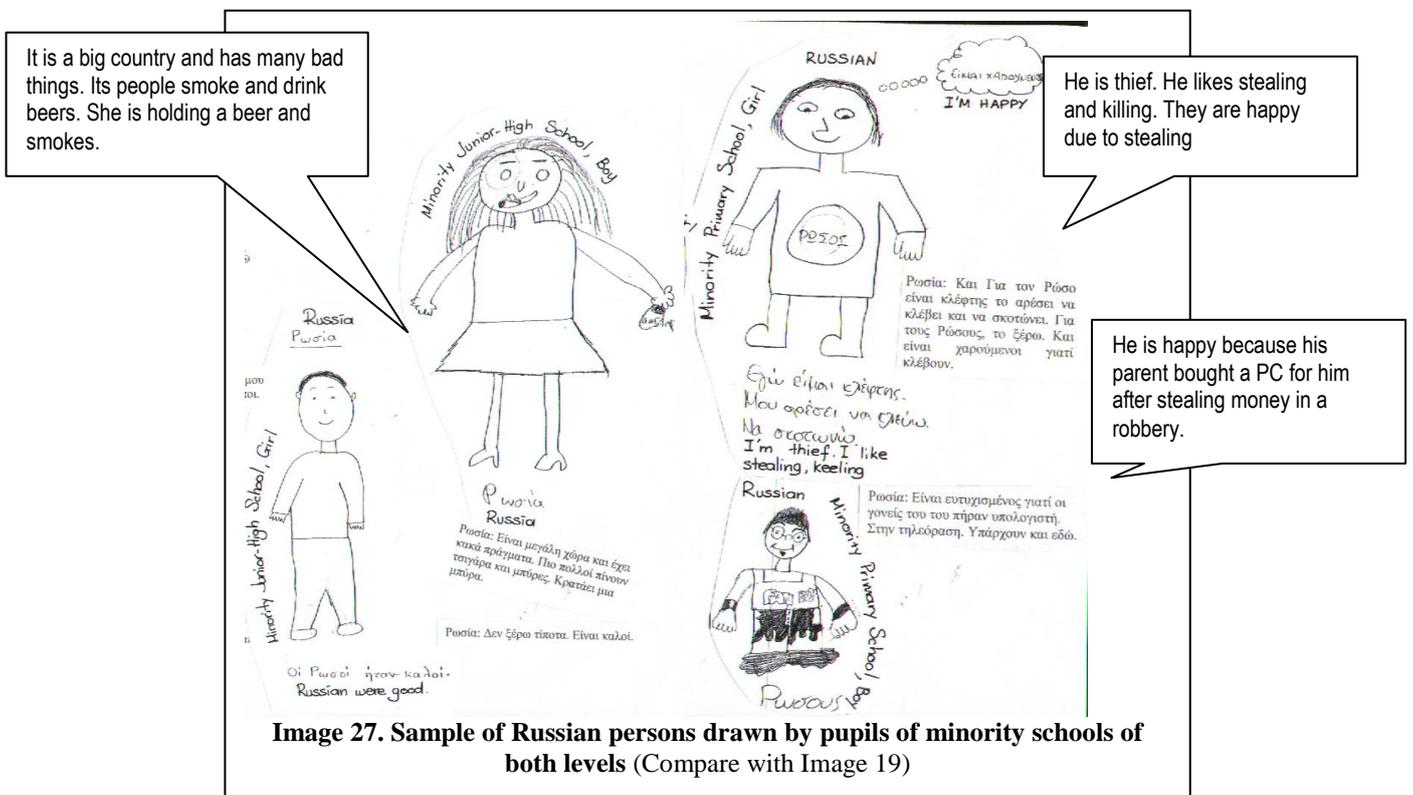
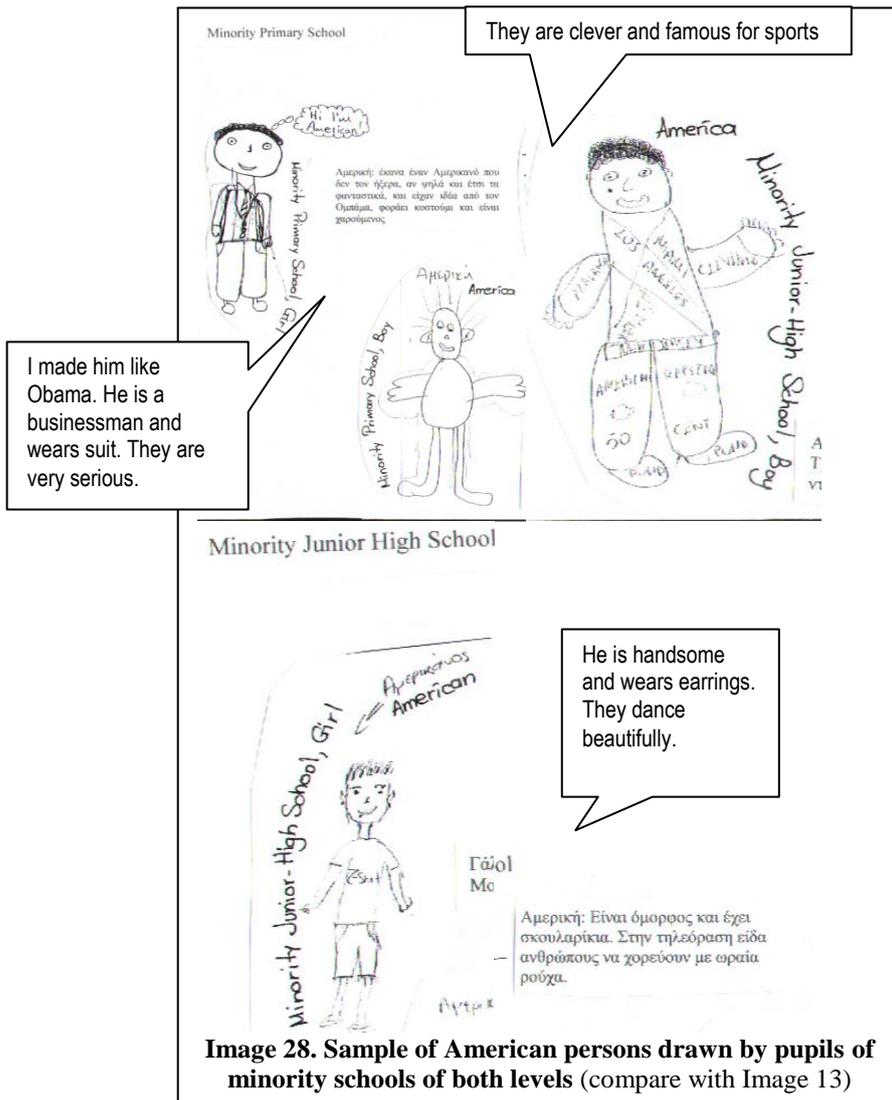


Image 27. Sample of Russian persons drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels (Compare with Image 19)

American people- the inhabitants of North America- are characterized as clever, modern and happy and good people (Image 28). They are dressed either in modern clothes and dance modern dances or are businessmen and are dressed in formal dress code. They are famous for their football and achievements in sports.

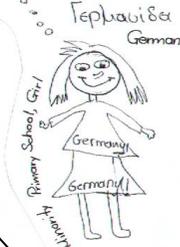


England, France and Germany are characterized positively by minority school pupils with the same arguments as in the case of ordinary schools. These countries are wealthy with a developed economy. Their people are dressed in expensive clothes, have well-paid jobs and work hard. Germany is again discussed in terms of how clean it is as a country: France, about how elegant its people are and England about how rich its people are (Image 29).

Turks are also portrayed positively in contrast to the way ordinary school pupils perceive this particular people. They are commented on as modern, good, peaceful, ordinary dressed and happy people (Image 30). There is no mention about the war between Turks and Greeks and Turkish nation's pretension to the Greek territory as happens in the case of ordinary school pupils. Quite the contrary; minority school pupils describe the Turkish people as devoted to their nation and hard workers and keen on peace. In many cases, pupils prefer Turkey as a better country to live in than Greece. *'Turkey is so tranquil country. You can easily live in it. Greece is dangerous'* (Int. 24:3)

Minority Primary School

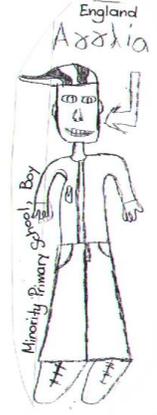
Εδώ η χώρα μας είναι πάρα πολύ καθαρή!!!
Here our country is very clean



Γερμανία: Δεν έχω δει Γερμανία από το μωλό μου
Γερμανία: Γερμανία



Γαλλία: Έκανα μια Γαλλίδα, είναι χαρούμενη, έχει μακριά μαλλιά, φορά η φούστα. Είναι καλός άνθρωπος. Έπει τη ρομαντικά



Αγγλος: από την τηλεόραση Έχει ένα καπέλο σαν μαντίλι, και είναι σαν άνθρωπος. Είναι λίγο μοντέρνος. Είναι χαρούμενος και γελός. Χαίρομαι πολύ.

It is a very clean country

He is modern and happy

Minority Junior High School

Γερμανία: Είναι μεγάλη η Γερμανία. Δεν είναι καλοί.



αμορφος και έχει η τηλεόραση είναι ροζοσον με οραμα



Γαλλία: έχει μαυρο κοστούμι. Είναι όλος άνθρωπος. Δουλεύει από. Η κομμη κατάσταση είναι καλή.



Αγγλίας: Έκανα έναν άνθρωπο χοντρό. Βλέπω στην τηλεόραση, από τις αθήνας.

It is a big and wealthy country

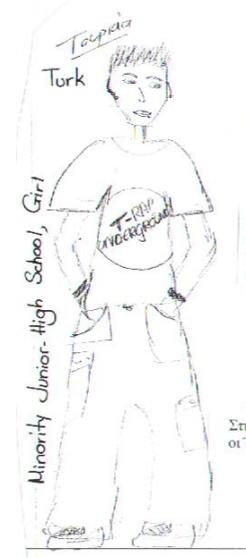
He is a very good person and works hard

Image 29. Sample of English, French and German people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels (Compare with Images 15, 16, 17)

Minority Junior High School



They are modern. They are ordinary and peaceful people

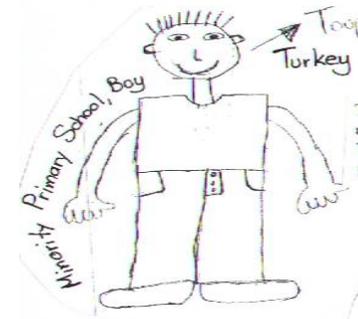


Τουρκία: Είμαι μοντέρνα. Είναι απλό άνθρωπος. Είναι ήρεμη. Πήγα στην Τουρκία και είδα πώς είναι οι άνθρωποι εκεί.

Turks are dressed in ordinary clothes

Στην Τουρκία είναι απλά ντυμένοι και οι Έλληνες κλιοντυμένοι.

Minority Primary School



He is happy and handsome.

Τουρκία: ο Τούρκος είναι χαρούμενος, είναι όμορφος, έχει κοντά μαλλιά. Ο Τούρκος και η Τσέχα μοιάζουν λίγο μεταξύ τους.

Image 30. Sample of Turkish people drawn by pupils of minority schools of both levels (Compare with Image 14)

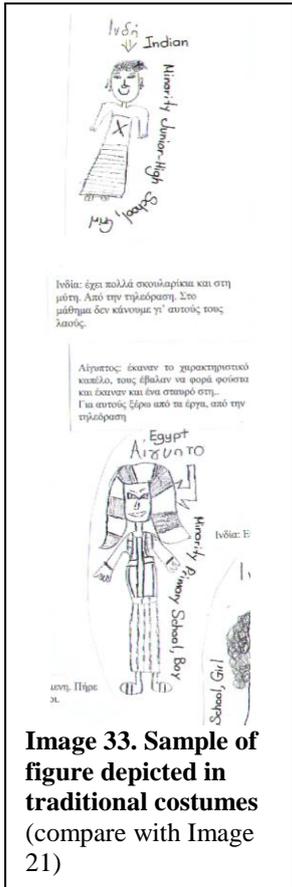


Image 33. Sample of figure depicted in traditional costumes (compare with Image 21)

Finally, in some cases, misconceptions were detected among participants involving knowledge attached to nations which have no relation with it. For example, in image 34, pupils drew a Red Indian instead of an Indian person because they thought they are the same while another pupil drew a figure from Montenegro making claims as if from Macedonia (the particular claim is a controversial issue which involves Greece and F.Y.R.O.M.).

Moreover, the study of pupils' drawing, regardless of the type of school and ethnic background, shows that pupils' gender does not influence the way the national self and the 'other' are depicted and perceived. It is apparent in the images attached above, at first place, female pupils draw male figures and male pupils draw female figures. Additionally, a preference regarding the gender of a depicted nation is not detected; each 'nation-drawing' has female and

male figures.

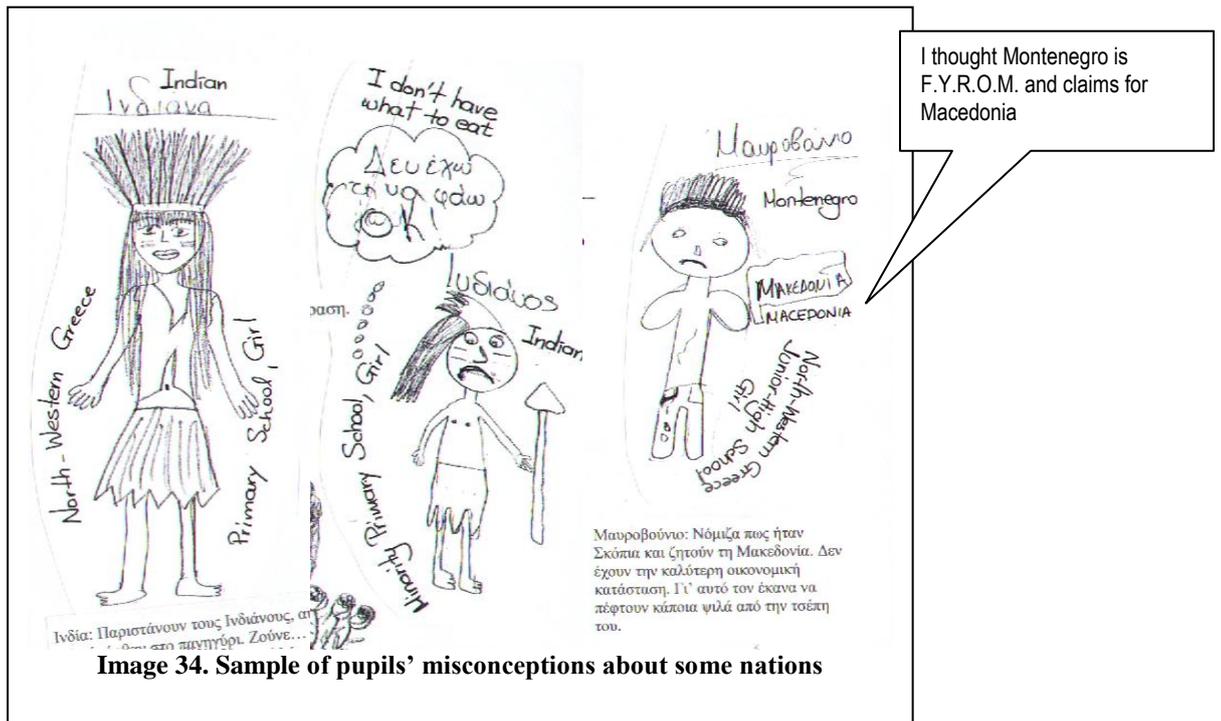


Image 34. Sample of pupils' misconceptions about some nations

In terms of the schools' location and their adjacency with other countries, the analysis of the interviews demonstrates that adjacency influences the way pupils perceive other nations. This influence became more apparent when the interviews that took place in North-Western Greece schools were studied. In these schools, pupils discussed a lot about a nation-state, F.Y.R.O.M., which, although it is not presented in history textbooks, and pupils were not asked to draw or comment on it, is very close to this region. Pupils from this region comment negatively about this particular nation. This negative image derives from the controversy between Greece and F.Y.R.O.M. over Macedonia. Pupils believe that the people of this nation have expansionist views to Greece and because of these views, are underdeveloped.

'They want to take Macedonia and take advantages of our country' (Int. 11:6).

'If they had thought reasonably, they would not cause such an issue. But they were underdeveloped and after these claims they become more underdeveloped' (Int. 14:3)

They also underline another use of history when they comment about this nation.

'History is useful when you ought to defend your national rights. F.Y.R.O.M. does not know history, that's why it claims Macedonia' (Int. 16:3)

'We will fight F.Y.R.O.M. using history' (Int. 13:6)

Pupils from other geographic areas rarely discuss about this nation. In the case they do, they are aware about the Macedonian issue but do not express such strong feelings. However, the area in which they live is close to other nations (Bulgaria, Turkey) for which, as discussed above, they express negative feelings.

To sum up, pupils' judgements of the 'other' indicate, that pupils of these ages are able to distinguish psychological and personal traits as well as political and religious features of each nation in order to form their perceptions. These features constitute the criteria of their judgements which could be categorized into people's external (appearance) and internal characteristics (behaviour, character) and on the economic status of each country. It is also found that pupils identify the 'national self' not only through a view of in-group favouritism but also through a critical lens. At a second level, pupils comments show that their perception of the 'other' is influenced by pupils' ethnic background and place of living and each nation's status and

achievements. Concerning the national self, among its features are national pride and patriotic feelings and ancient ‘admirable’ origins; features that are present in curriculum and textbook context. The features of the racist behaviour pupils embedded in national self indicate that pupils are not prepared to deal with and accept the multicultural character of Greek society. Regarding the other nations, pupils distinguish other countries as ‘bad’ and ‘good’ by judging the status of each society about which they have much knowledge. However, the countries that are judged are mainly the ones which are engaged with the national history of Greece and the contemporary Greek society and are located mostly in the Balkans and Europe.

5.3.5. Sources of knowledge about the other

The interviews with all pupils show that ‘the other’, regardless of his/her identity, does not constitute a theme of expanded and deep discussion in the classroom in general. For ordinary schools, the reference to ‘the other’ takes place in the context of national history, where the national historical course coincides with the historical course of other nations and includes selective elements of the latter.

‘We do not discuss about other nations. Occasionally. When the historical events we are taught have to do with other nations, we are taught the very basics’ (Int. 24:3)

The reference to other nations is made in order that national historical events be understood and explained. It entails mostly political and military information and less scenes of ordinary life.

‘We discuss what their political and military leaders did’ (Int. 2:6)
‘Our teacher points out what we need to know about the other nation in order to understand our history’ (Int. 30:3)

For minority schools, ‘the other’ is dealt with as someone without a specific identity, not from a particular nation. It is a general notion which could be identified as human being.

‘We do not discuss about other nations. We deal with other nations in general terms. As human beings’ (Int. 24:3)
‘We discuss what happened in other places not with particular people and nations. For example when we discuss about the ancient Egyptian civilization we discuss what happened in Egypt, or what remained from this civilization, not about Egyptians themselves’ (Int. 26:3)

Nevertheless, ordinary primary school pupils underline that the only expanded discussion they have is about Turks. This discussion is held because the history lessons are *'full of Turks'* (Int. 10:6) and are focused on how the Turks made Greeks suffer. Ordinary junior high school pupils argue that, apart from Turks, British, French and Americans and Africans are discussed. The discussion involves: for the British, the Industrial Revolution, how England developed financially, how it became one of the Great Powers along with France and its role in Greek matters, for the French, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and how it inspired the Greek Revolution, for Americans, the establishment of their political democratic system and its development as super power and for Africans, their poor economic situation and the starvation and illnesses they suffer.

From the focus of the above discussions about these nations, one of the main sources of information ordinary school pupils are based on, when they talk about these is apparent: history lessons.

'I know about Turks from what I have learnt in history' (Int. 18:6)
'I have learnt about France in history lessons' (Int. 5:3)

Even though, another parameter influences pupils' ideas about the particular nations: the media and television in particular.

'I watch on news how the British live. I see them with suits, carrying briefcases and signing contracts in big halls' (Int. 27:6)
'They always report what is happening in England, in France and in America on the news. I have got my information from there' (Int. 31:3)

The information from both sources is combined, according to pupils, in order to construct their images of each of the particular nation.

'What we learn in history about them is what happened in old times. What we watch on news is what is happening now; so, we have the whole picture' (Int. 16:3)

However, it seems that the role of both sources is more than this combination. They confirm each other; history lessons explain the past and the media confirm this past representing the present and via versa.

'In history, we learn how barbaric the Turks were. When I hear on the news that Turkish aeroplanes invaded our airspace, I know that the story goes on' (Int. 19:6)

'For example, I saw yesterday children from Africa starving. They are very poor. I can understand why; colonization' (Int.5:3)

Regarding other nations such as Germany and Russia, ordinary school pupils become aware of them mainly via the media and their relatives' experience while knowledge gained from history lessons comes second. For Germany in particular, although the historical course of this nation is discussed in textbooks, pupils argue that they do not deal with it in depth because of the lack of time. The teaching syllabus is so crowded so that they are hardly taught about Germany and, for example, its role in World War II.

'We were not taught about World War II in primary school and in high school as well. Time is not enough. What we are taught is that Germans conquered us and we suffered a lot' (Int. 17:3)

Minority school pupils comment that:

'We are taught about World War II and its crimes as bad moments in the history of human beings. References to Germans are few' (Int. 21:3)

Pupils from all types of schools construct the image of Germans from what they watch on TV and from what their relatives who are living or lived in Germany as immigrants narrate to them. *'My aunt lives there. When she comes here, she talks a lot about it'* (Int. 29:6). For ordinary school pupils, their information about Russia comes from the media. *'I watch a documentary about Russians'* (Int. 9:3). In contrast, minority school pupils form their ideas about this country from their experiences of coexistence in the same area. *'They are many of them [Russians] here'* (Int. 22:6)

Pupils' experiences are the source of information for other nations as well. The views of ordinary school pupils who coexist with Albanians and Bulgarians in the same area are based on their encounters in order to describe them. Parental views also influential for the image of these particular people. *'My dad told me to be away from Albanians'* (Int. 12:6). Minority school pupils base on their experiences as well, when they discuss about Turks and Greeks.

Pupils' travel experience is very limited in order to contribute to their image of other countries. Few ordinary school pupils (15) have been aboard while almost all minority school pupils have been to Turkey; however their journey there was perceived as visit to their motherland and not as being abroad.

R: Have you travelled abroad?

P: No, not at all.

R: Have you been in Turkey?

P: Of course, I have. It is my motherland not another country' (Int. 24:3)

For the pupils who travelled abroad, their visit confirmed the idea they have about the country they visited or was an opportunity for them to deconstruct this image.

'When I visited Serbia, I realized that Serbians are as I thought about them' (Int. 33:6)

'When I was in Turkey, I saw that Turks are as we are: normal people. There was no bad behaviour. It was quite the opposite from what I learn in history' (Int. 14:3)

For the countries that pupils have a neutral image of, their information derives from what they read on magazines and books or hear in discussions. *'I saw some pictures of Spanish people bullfighting in a magazine' (Int. 27:6)*. *'I heard my parents discussing about Poland' (Int. 30:3)*. Nevertheless, pupils do not think that this information is enough in order to form an idea about these nations. *'I saw some photos somewhere. I do not know about India' (Int. 17:3)*.

Pupils do not discuss with their peers about other people unless something very shocking has happened in other countries. This is also the case with their families.

'When the war in Iraq broke out, we stopped our lessons for three hours as a kind of protest. At that time, I discussed with my mates about it' (Int. 16:3)

'We do not discuss at home about other countries. Just what is happening in Greece... sometimes' (Int. 32:3)

Finally, almost all pupils express the wish to learn more about how other people in other countries live. They stress that this kind of knowledge would be very useful for them because they would be able to understand better other people and civilizations. *'If I knew how Chinese live, I would be able to understand why they eat insects' (Int. 11:6)*. Also, pupils could compare ways of living and adopt features they like.

'If we know how other people live we can compare our lives with them' (Int. 6:3)

'We could also imitate things that are good' (Int. 4:6)

Concluding, pupils base their ideas on a variety of sources in order to substantiate their judgements: history lessons, the media, personal and family encounters and travel experiences. For each nation's image the sources which pupils use to formulate their views vary. However, where other nations are discussed in history lessons, this discussion influences pupils in the way they perceive other nations. The interaction pupils claim between history lessons and the media in regards to these nations is also interesting. It is also worth considering the fact that, according to pupils, the sort of image that textbooks convey for these particular nations is affirmed by the media and the media are affirmed by textbooks. For the nations that are not discussed in history lessons, the media appear to influence considerably pupils' perceptions, along with personal experiences while travel experiences and family seem to be less influential.

5.3.6. History as out of school experience

The research shows that the participants' interest in history outside their classroom is limited. The majority of pupils from both school types and backgrounds claim that they occasionally read books or newspaper supplements on history. Some pupils explain this situation due mainly to their disaffection with the subject. *'I do not like history at school. That's why I do not read such books'* (Int. 4:6). Some others argue that: *'School in general makes us hate reading. When I am out of school, I would like to do something more pleasant'* (Int. 1:3). In the few cases that pupils argue that they take such books in their hands, they browse through them and look mainly at their illustration. *'I browsed some of them. They were full of texts. I looked only at photos'* (Int. 12:6). Only two pupils claim that they like reading such materials because either their father does or they like to learn about battles and armies.

'My father reads a lot about history' (Int. 17:3).

'I am keen on soldiers and military staff. I have subscribed to the journal 'Military history journal' (Int. 21:3)

Further, pupils use the web for fun instead of searching information about a historical event. *'I play games on the internet, not studying history'* (Int. 17:3). They use the

web for historical information only when their teacher asks for a project. Even in these cases, the use of the web is limited:

'I google the events or the person. I take my information from the first page that turns up' (Int. 33:6)

'I do not spare time to search on the web for historical information. When I am asked, I go to the first available website' (Int. 13:6)

The interviews suggest that the limited use of the web derives also from pupils' lack of computers or internet access at home especially in rural areas.

History programmes on television are more welcomed than historical movies by interviewees. Pupils say that when they come across a history programme while zapping TV channels, they watch it with pleasure but they do not plan to watch particular programmes. These programmes combine visual stimulus and knowledge and summarise the most significant events which is what attracts pupils. *'In these programmes, you can see and hear the most important points at the same time'* (Int. 5:3). On the other hand, according to pupils, historical movies are a cinema production which means that they are made in order to sell rather than to inform. Thus, they are fiction based on some historical events or personalities which are exaggerated. Pupils, although they watch them – particularly those which deal with the national history- do not 'trust' them especially those that contrast with what they learn at school.

'I saw the Hollywood production 'Alexander the Great'. The film was full of fiction. It is impossible for Alexander to be homosexual. They give false impressions and mislead the viewer' (Int. 16:3)

So, according to what stated above, history as out of school experience is very limited. History is mainly enclosed in classroom walls because of pupils' disaffection with the subject and the general educational scheme. In general, the media seems to be the more influential means by which pupils learn about the past out of school. Nevertheless, the limited out of school pupils' activities related to history signify the crucial role school history plays in the way pupils conceive and interpret the past.

5.4. Contextual and critical review of the findings

In chapters (2 &3) where the ‘official side’ (curriculum and textbooks) of school history is examined, a number of conclusions are drawn which correspond with the ones from the examination of pupil’s views. More particularly, it was found that the focus of school history is on the national history and the dominant culture emphasizing the ‘glorious’ past, the Greek nation’s ancient origins and struggles in order to assist pupils to construct their national identity and develop the idea of belonging to a nation with great uninterrupted history. Pupils’ comments and the way they represent the national self confirm this conclusion. The main body of knowledge pupils argue that they gain from history lessons involves the national history and dominant culture. Through this knowledge, pupils realize that they belong to a nation which developed an admirable civilization in the past, struggled and suffered for its freedom. Further, pupils are stimulated to build on and continue the glorious national past since they are taught national principles such as the love of freedom and the Greek ‘insubordinate’ spirit as well as role models. It was also found in the ‘official side’ examination that the presentation of the rest of the world is limited, is focused on specific parts of Europe namely the Balkans and Western Europe and a view of world development is not conveyed. As discussed, pupils’ knowledge about other nations aligns with this geographic context. They discuss a lot about some Balkan nations, particularly those which adjacent to Greece, and about countries which are representative of Western Europe. They also acknowledge the common links with Europe and particularly Western Europe and rightfully place Greece in the European neighbourhood mostly due to its ancient civilization. In this way pupils develop, next to the national, the European identity or, at least, ‘half European identity’. So, it can be said that the (history) curriculum and textbooks achieve their objectives related to the construction of national and European identity. However, pupils disagree with the way these aims are implemented. The traditional paradigm of history teaching which is based on the narration of political and military events, glorious national historical moments and national heroes’ achievements does not interest pupils who prefer learning about ordinary people’s lives and cultural development. Only five pupils showed significant interest in political and military history; even these pupils underline that learning about everyday life is also interesting. The way knowledge

about the national past is conveyed to pupils - through the memorization of undeniable facts without personal involvement in the exploration of knowledge - seems to develop in them a feeling of disaffection with the particular subject and history in general. Pupils ask for a re-orientation of history teaching to a more engaging, thoughtful and global approach which is closer to the new history paradigm. Thus, (history) curriculum and textbooks do not seem to achieve other objectives such as the development of critical thinking personalities who are able to form their own model, principles and perceptions of the world since, as pupils' views demonstrate, the latter are imposed on an one-dimensional examination of the past and are supposed to adopt the official and truthful national narration of the past.

Also, the way history is taught fails to provide pupils with a holistic view of the world. Pupils' ideas about other parts of Europe or the world consisted of fragments of knowledge which do not help pupils to construct a full picture of the world and to acknowledge other civilizations significance and contribution. They do not develop a feeling that they belong to a global society to which they can contribute. In the same vein, they develop a view that Europe and its civilization is the most significant and worthy of consideration while other civilizations are ignored. Even within this European view, pupils categorize European nations and their people as 'bad' or 'good' as 'developed' and 'undeveloped' and express stereotypes and biases in regards to some nations. These pupils' stereotypical ideas contrast with the (history) curriculum goals which claim respect and understanding of all people's and 'all times' civilizations and learning to live with others. It seems that the partial examination and/or the ignorance of other nations' historical course and civilizations - even in the context of Europe- contributes to cultivate biases and prejudices which might lead to social exclusion and injustice in the future, if we consider that some of these pupils will take some powerful and influential positions in society.

It is also apparent that injustice is cultivated by the educational system itself since it does not provide equal opportunities to pupils from different backgrounds to be aware of their origins and culture as in the case of minority schools; rather it aims to impose the dominant culture and integrate these pupils in this culture intending homogeneity. On the other hand, the education system does not give the opportunity to pupils from the dominant culture to be aware of the significance of other civilizations and cultures

with which they share the same reality. By this way, pupils are not prepared to enter the pluralist and multicultural Greek society the curriculum acknowledges.

Discrimination is also cultivated by the 'official side' especially in terms of the perceptions of the 'other'. In textbooks examination it was found that the 'other' is presented with three different meanings: as enemy who threatens the national self, as someone with whom the national self tries to resemble or be integrated in and as 'the far away other' with whom the national self has no links. These three meanings of the 'other' are expressed by pupils as well. Pupils have neutral perceptions about nations where they do not have enough information about them; about nations which do not align with the national history or the present society, about nations which are far away not only literally but nationally as well. The nations which are described with negative colours (mostly Turks, Albanians, and Bulgarians) are mainly nations which are thought of as 'significant others' in the sense that Triandafyllidou (1998) employs the terms: the nations or ethnic groups that menace or it is thought that they might threaten the entity of a specific nation; simply as enemies. The pupils' positive ideas deal with nations that history lessons and everyday reality mainly present them as powerful and developed.

Considering that the kind of image of a particular nation conveyed by textbooks, curriculum and the media coincides with the kind of pupils' ideas about this particular nation, and teachers' attempts to neutralize the way they teach about the 'other', the following conclusions are drawn. Firstly, school history influences pupils in the way they perceive the 'other'. Pupils' views demonstrate that school history influences them in three ways: a) providing enough knowledge of some nations in order for pupils to construct an image of them, b) ignoring or withholding information about other nations in order for them to have - or not have- merely an idea of their existence and c) conveying a particular image (negative-neutral-positive) of each nation-state. But, not only is school history the crucial parameter; the media plays also a significant role which espouses and is espoused by school history in terms of the way the 'other' is presented. So, we can discuss not only an educational policy but about a more expanded policy; policy which entails the way the nation is perceived and conveyed to its people in order to construct their national identity. Part of this expanded policy is the educational policy which through curriculum and textbooks is diffused to the

younger generation. Secondly, the powerful role of textbooks regarding the image of the 'other' is demonstrated and teachers are powerless in this sphere. Comparing pupils' with teachers' views, it seems that teachers do not influence them catalytically in the way they perceive the 'other'. If we accept the neutralization of teaching about the 'other' that teachers claim then, textbooks and the media appear more powerful. The pupils' passive and limited role in learning and the memorization of text as a learning approach seems to contribute to this power. Summarising, it could be said that even though the official side argues for the flattening of discrimination and injustice and the promotion of cohesion and cooperation, it is the same side which retracts its own objectives.

Remaining on the same theme, pupils' views show that the educational and general policy referred above achieves another 'hidden' purpose. Pupils' comments show that behind the positive image of some nations is hidden something more important: pupils' acknowledgment of the national self approximation and desirable resemblance with these nations. It is apparent in pupils' interviews that these nations (mainly England, France and Germany) are significant because, on the one hand, they have developed a society with higher standards than the national one and, on the other hand, they 'incarnate' the abstract term 'of being a European'. Also, pupils identify the common links with these nations and, at the same time, a kind of admiration and desire to identify with them. Taking into account the sources of knowledge which pupils use when they comment on these nations, on the one hand, it can be argued that the 'official side' tries to legitimate and integrate the national course in the sphere of (Western) Europe. On the other hand, it can be said that some nations' profile is exemplified and conveyed to pupils as 'models' for imitation by the implemented (educational) policy. These nation-models seem to be significant for pupils' definition of the national self. They represent how the national self and how pupils as citizens of the future of the particular country should develop. Thus, it appears that for this particular context, the term 'significant other' is conceived of as more extended; not only including the nations that are thought of as enemies, but also the nations that are thought as 'models' for further development of the national self. If this is the case, then this conception of the 'significant other' seems to widen its meaning and includes, next to the nations which are thought as enemies, the nations that are thought as models for further development. However, considering the limited sample

and context of this research, a more expanded investigation will identify whether this expansion could be applied in other contexts and samples.

Comparing teachers' and pupils' views, it is found that teachers influence pupils in the way they perceive the role of history and the past. In the context of ordinary school, the use of history teaching in the construction and preservation of national identity is expressed from both sides. Regarding minority schools, the use of history in the understanding of human development is also stressed from teachers and pupils. Further, teachers and pupils agree on the field of challenges they face in history teaching reality; the limited teaching time, the expanded syllabus, the emphasis on details, the difficult texts included in textbooks are some themes which are underlined from both sides. There is also an agreement between them on the changes that should be introduced in history teaching, for example they both suggest less emphasis on details, a less extensive syllabus, improvements in the educational materials used, consideration of children's cognitive abilities, needs and background. A contradiction is detected in relation to the way history is taught by teachers and the way pupils prefer to be taught. Teachers adopt the traditional model of teaching and follow the paradigm of traditional history whilst pupils ask for more engaging teaching methods and their ideas about history teaching align with the new history paradigm. However, it seems that both of them are blocked by the way the educational system works and rewards pupils. Further, taking into consideration the declarations of the official side and the agreement between the recipients of the official design in terms of how history should be taught and is taught, a disconnection between these sides is detected. Teachers and pupils consider the official design for everyday history teaching as too 'ideal' to be applied in history lessons and the official design does not consider the particularities of history teaching reality so that its general objectives are not completely achieved. This disconnection results in a number of issues regarding history education, as discussed above. These issues allow us to be led to the conclusion that history education is successful regarding the promotion of national identity but fails to fulfil the requirements the contemporary Greek society involves and the objectives of schooling and education in general. Suggestions about how history education should be improved are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1. Introduction

The objective of this concluding chapter is to indicate the most significant findings of the research (bibliographical and empirical) and to incorporate these outcomes into, and indicate their contribution, to contingent fields to which the research relates. More particularly, the findings are firstly discussed under the scope of the theoretical discourse about nations' formation in terms of how a nation is constructed, how it preserves and legitimates its existence. In this discussion, special attention is paid to the role that the 'other' plays in nations' formation and what 'new' insights this study adds to this field of knowledge. Secondly, this study considers the implications of its outcomes to Greek educational policy. In the context of this educational policy, the 'nature' and the role of the past and history in general in Greek society are discussed as identified by this study. History education and its development, strengths and weaknesses as well as further suggestions are also depicted based on the insights drawn by this study. The next section deals with how this study contributes to the main question of this thesis: "how does school history influence students' ideas about the 'other'". In this part of the chapter, there are special references to the methodological approaches used in this study and suggestions about how this study could be of use in terms of history education and education in general. Finally, in each of the sections of this chapter, the limitations of this study are discussed as well as areas for further investigation.

6.2. The theoretical discourse about the nation's construction and this study

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, a number of theories that explain the nature and the construction of a nation are presented. The findings of this research align with these theories indicating the way the Greek nation is formed and legitimates itself and how it cultivates its members' national identity. More particularly, in the examinations of (history) curricula (see Chapter 2), it is found that the Greek nation was built on the notions of 'time' and 'origin'; 'time' in the sense that the nation has a linear and significant course which secures its continuity, its uninterrupted presentation through time, and 'origin' in regards to the direct link with the ancient Greeks and their civilization, which dignifies the significance and the glory of the nation. These notions which stand as foundation stones for the nation are linked with Anderson's (1991) claims that a nation is a cohesive continuous community sharing a common past, and Smith's (1999) belief that a nation's formation is based on pre-existing cultural motifs (myths, memories, traditions) and the reconstruction of earlier ethnic ties and sentiments. Attention is drawn to the important role the media play in the way the nation is presented that was found in the examination of textbooks (see Chapter 3) and pupils' ideas (see Chapter 5) and the power textbooks have in everyday teaching practice (see Chapter 4 & 5). This aligns with the attention paid by Anderson (1991) and Billig (1995) to the significant role of the media and book printing in the construction of national consciousness, the homogeneity which involves the cultivation of common concerns to the people of a nation stressed by Kedourie (1960) and the significance of a mass public education system which transmits a homogenous and unified culture to the younger generation as underlined by Gellner (2006). Also, the invention of 'national tradition' proposed by Hobsbawm (1983) is present in the findings of this research. In Chapters 3 & 4, it was found that the past constitutes a selection of the glorious national historical events which portray, institutionalize and legitimate the desirable past aiming to reinforce a sense of national cohesion whilst 'the black pages' of the national past are often passed over.

On the other hand, the examination of pupils' ideas (see Chapter 5) about how they perceive the national self indicates that national identity is cultivated in pupils through

'routes' that have been stressed by several theorists. Pupils identify themselves as ancestors of the ancient Greeks demonstrating, at one level, the role of kinship in the construction of national identity which is discussed by primordial theories (Geertz 1973). At another level, this ancestry is related to Anderson's 'imagined communities' (1991) into which all their members, although they do not know or have never met each other, develop 'imaginative' feelings and share the base of belonging to the same communities, as well as, in the sense of similarity and commonality with kin/common ancestry underlined by van den Berge (1995). This kin/common ancestry signifies in its turn what Colley (1992) has characterised as 'discrepancy' in terms of the way pupils distinguish their selves from the 'others' who do not have the same features as them. The pupils' interviews demonstrate that pupils stress the unique incomparable values of the national self such as the Greek 'insubordinate' spirit, love for freedom, peace, fun and life which reflect what Kedourie (1960) calls 'peculiar qualities' of a national self. Pupils, also, define their national self in contrast, and often in opposition, to other national identities underlining differences between the national self and the 'others' confirming, on the one hand, the so called (by Connor, (1978) 'sense of belonging', the psychological bond which binds fellow nationals together and, on the other hand, the notion of the 'other' as significant for the perception of the national self. Especially with regard to the notion of the 'other', the findings of this research agree with the definition of the notion 'significant other' given by Triandafyllidou (1998) as 'enemies' who threaten the entity and purity of a specific nation. Pupils' ideas about the Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians and Russians as described in the relevant chapter (5) show the importance of the 'significant other' in the conceptualization of the national self. The same perceptions also indicate that the 'significant other' is not only conceived outside of the borders of a national community but inside of it as well.

However, the findings of this research re-define the notion of the 'other' and lend new aspects to this notion. The research shows that the 'other' is perceived, in the first instance, as I call it, as 'the far away other'. 'Far away other' refers to nations that are presented to have nothing in common with the national self and less or no attention is paid to their historical course. Pupils' comments (see Chapter 5) demonstrate that they know few things about these nations and do not relate the national self to these nations apart from their existence with the national self on the same planet. Secondly,

the notion of the 'other' entails what I call the 'historically significant other' meaning other nations whose their historical courses are linked with the national history. As discussed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 & 5, the nations which are discussed in depth by the 'official side' (meaning history curriculum and textbooks), teachers and pupils are mainly nations whose course in time coincides with and/or influences the national history. So, the 'historically significant other' is what matters in terms of the construction of national identity. Further, the findings about the 'historical significant other' show that it can be a nation which, on the one hand, menaces or is thought to menace the entity and purity of a nation. In this case, this 'historically significant other' is conceived as 'enemy' as it was defined by Triandafyllidou (1998). On the other hand, the way the participants of this research comment mainly on the British, French and German nation as nations that the national self should imitate contributes to another aspect of the notion 'other' that this research introduces: the 'exemplified significant other'. The 'exemplified significant other' involves a nation which influenced and continues to influence the national course in time and is presented as a 'model' for further development of the national self. This differentiation of the way the 'other' is presented and perceived leads to the formation of different images for each aspect of the 'other'. The research shows that the 'far away other' is perceived often neutrally, the 'historically significant other' which is conceived of as 'the enemy' rather negatively whilst the 'exemplified significant other' rather positively. Nevertheless, the exploratory character of this research and the limited national context questions whether the proposed aspects of the 'other' could be applied to the whole pupils' population and to other national settings and further investigation is needed. For example, whether Greek pupils who do not live in areas close to 'historically significant' countries, pupils who come from different ethnic backgrounds and live in Greece, pupils who live in different social settings perceive the 'other' in the way outlined above.

In general, this study demonstrates that the Greek nation from its establishment until recently adopts a general policy in order to institutionalize and legitimate its existence based on a) its worldwide acclaim ancient roots, which glorify the nation and rightfully place it in the centre of the world b) its uninterrupted and unaffected course through time which ensure its purity c) selective aspects of the desirable past which demonstrate that the nation is a homogeneous cohesive community which share

common cultural features and concerns. The features of this policy lead to the conclusion that the nation adopts a rather ethnocentric policy in order to legitimate its existence and to cultivate in its members and especially to the younger generation, its national identity. In Chapter 5, it was found that the younger generation cultivates its national identity developing a sense of common ancestry and belonging to a ‘great’ nation. Next to these feelings, the younger generation cultivates several national values which are unique and unquestionable and distinguish its identity from other national communities’ identities cultivating often a sense of superiority in relation to other nations. As Chapter 2 demonstrates, this ethnocentric and, in some cases nationalistic, policy has been applied for more than 180 years with few expansions which involve mainly European aspects. The enduring policy with these features imposes the question: what are the causes that have sustained the same policy for so long? The ethnocentric and nationalistic policy the authorities adopted after the establishment of the Greek nation (1830) can be understood if we take into consideration that the policy was adopted in order for the new state to be founded especially in a century where nationalism dominated Europe. In the 20th century, the Balkans and World wars could be considered as the reasons which caused this policy to continue to be enforced. But, after the second half of the 20th century until today, there are no obvious social and political causes for Greece to continue to adopt what Φραγκουδάκη (2010) calls ‘national mythology’ in the political and social scene meaning that the implementation of this policy, that perpetuate nationalistic views, hatred and ill-feelings. Does the state continue to think that its existence is still under ‘threat’ or is this strategy that was successful in the past and that is why it is still in use? Does the gradual transformation of Greek society to a multicultural society constitute a ‘threat’ against which the state should protect itself or should it try to respond to the challenges that the modern Greek society imposes? Future research might identify these issues.

6.3. Educational policy, history education and this study

In the examination of the 'official side' (Chapters 2 & 3), it is found that, regardless of the orientation of each government which controlled the country and the time period, education always was -still is- a significant institution employed by the state in order for the latter to diffuse its general policy. Each time a new government got to power, it introduced its own educational policy. This educational policy always aligned with the general policy each party adopted. However, as discussed above, the main principles and values of the state policy remains the same from the establishment of the state until today. Thus, several features which are in the core of the state's educational policy and influence history education can be identified and discussed.

The introduction of a new educational policy is always accompanied by the editing of a new curriculum. As Chapter 2 shows, in the course of time, the curricula were expanded and reformed including, whenever it was possible, elements that the psychological and pedagogical research and social circumstances indicated each time. For example, it was found that, at the beginning of the 20th century, the curriculum was influenced by Dewey's educational theories and at the beginning of 1970s by the dictatorship regime. However, all curricula which are based on the model of 'concentric circles', are 'closed curricula' and pay attention to the cognitive skills pupils should develop promoting a rather passive attitude towards learning as the Pedagogical Institution declares (2003). The textbook is always the basic educational material which particularises and implies the objectives described by curricula and represents the core of knowledge pupils should have gained. Also, the state's insistence on the policy of the sole textbook and its permission in order for a textbook to be circulated in schools signifies the important role the textbook plays in each educational policy (Chapter 3).

The presentation of the current curriculum (Chapter 2) shows that authors of the new curriculum try to introduce a cross-thematic approach to learning which involves student-centred and creative learning, the development of critical thinking, collaborative skills and creative activities (Pedagogical Institution 2003). However,

this research, through the investigation of everyday practice (Chapters 4 & 5), indicates the ineffectiveness of the curriculum to achieve its objectives. More particularly, it is found that teachers largely ignore the curriculum, its philosophy and objectives and those who are aware of them think that they are not properly trained to apply the curriculum in classroom settings. Pupil examinations also indicate that they continue to be educated through discipline-centred, sterile and ineffective teaching practices. Thus, this study demonstrates that there is a disconnection between the curriculum and its way of implementation. As the implementers of the curriculum suggest in this study, this disconnection derives mainly from educational policy makers' weakness to consider all the parameters an education reform involves such as pilot testing and assessment. Apart from this kind of consideration, this study contributes to shed light to another weakness of this educational reform which could be thought as more important than the previous one.

Fullan (2007:109), referring to educational change, argues that:

'innovators need to be open to the realities of the others: some times because their ideas of the others will lead to alterations for the better in the direction of change, and sometimes because the others' realities will expose the problems of implementation that must be addressed and at the very least will indicate where one should start'.

This research indicates that the designers of this educational reform did not take into consideration 'the realities' of teachers and pupils. Teachers and pupils who participated in this research stress that they have been out of the whole design of this educational reform and suggest that in order for an education reform to be planned, applied and successful all interested parties should participate in each step of a reform. Also, what this study particularly demonstrates is that young people are not persons whose views are 'immature' and are not to taken seriously as some (e.g. Mason & Fattore 2005) believe, but are persons who can expose problems of implementation and 'indicate where one should start'. In general, although '*research on the experiences of students has been limited and dispersed across many fields*' (Fullan 2007:179), this study contributes giving 'voice' to pupils and uncovering their 'reality' of educational matters in general and of history teaching in particular.

In terms of how the past and history in general is employed by the state, Chapters 2 & 3 indicate that the past is always a significant reference point for the state and it is

used in order to unite and inspire the members of the state. In order for unity and inspiration to be achieved, the state considers the past through ethnocentric, nationalistic and selective lenses which correspond with its general policy discussed above. The initial exclusion of Byzantine times from the national history and afterwards their inclusion in it (see Chapter 2) exemplifies how the past was manipulated by the state in order to promote its self. The significance of the selective aspects of the past appears also in each educational policy implied. In the same chapter, it is found that even when the orientation of a government is not conservative (for example, in the beginning of the 1920s and 1980s when the country was controlled by a liberal and socialistic government respectively) the ethnocentric and selective aspects of the past are always in the core of each educational policy. The innovating features that are introduced and related to the way the past is seen mainly involve the 'geographical' expansion of the past, meaning the expansion of the focus from the Greek territory to the European one. However, this expansion does not happen without ethnocentric and nationalistic motives. As it is found, the expansion is made in order for the national past and present to be glorified, embedded and legitimated in the contemporary situations the European scene imposes (European Union).

The above discussed political and educational tendencies influence history education. The historical review of the curricula and textbooks shows that school history has adopted the traditional paradigm of history teaching for nearly two centuries. More particularly, it is found that school history is employed in order to promote national consciousness and pride, patriotic feelings, devotion to the nation and provide models of behaviour. It also involves the transmission of a body of selective and ethnocentric historical knowledge employing the teaching approach of narration. This body of knowledge presents the past through a 'top-bottom' approach emphasizing political and military events and personalities that should be memorized by pupils. This memorization aims to further pupils' cognitive development but limits their active participation in learning about the past. Also, the discipline of history is mainly ignored. Pupils do not become aware of how historical knowledge is constructed and learn to accept unquestionably the national version of the past.

The examination of the current history curriculum and textbooks (particular the history textbook of 3rd grade of Gymnasium) shows that, at the beginning of the 21st century, history education and school history try to align with the developments in the international/European scene and the discipline of history. The official side, although it does not abandon the features of the traditional history, adopts features of the ‘new’ model of history teaching such as the emphasis on skills, a variety of teaching approaches, the study of sources and the familiarisation with history as a discipline. The adoption of these ‘new’ features, however, as discussed in relevant chapters, does not reject the traditional model of history teaching but ‘subjugates’ these feature in order that the latter model to be promoted. For example, the primary sources embedded in textbooks discuss mainly political and military events, are referred mainly to the national history and used to sustain the knowledge provided in texts and not to debate it (Chapter 4). Although it seems that the official side combines the two models of history teaching, this study illustrates that history education is not re-orientated but enriched with some innovating features which make the traditional model of history teaching look ‘new’.

Additionally, this study goes further and examines whether the implementation of objectives of the official side is effective in paying attention to its implementers and mainly to pupils. In Chapter 4 & 5, it is found that some of the objectives the curriculum and textbooks promote are fulfilled while some remain written statements with no further application. As teachers and pupils interviews demonstrate, the objectives which derive from the traditional model of history teaching such as the cultivation of national pride and consciousness are fully implied. Pupils’ drawings also demonstrate the emphasis given to the ancient origins and the continuity of the nation through time. Objectives that involve features of the ‘new’ history such as the development of critical historical thinking and competences, the promotion of understanding between cultures and civilization remain unapplied. The way pupils comment on other cultures/nations and the way history teaching takes place in the classrooms that examined (Chapters 4 & 5) advocate the inefficiency of the official side to achieve these objectives. Also, in accordance with what is discussed about the implementation of education policy, the ineffectiveness of the ‘official side’ derives also from its failure to consider the reality that the implementers experience. Teachers who participate in this research consider the official objectives as ‘ideal’ and far away

from their reality. In the context of this research, pupils also identify the difficulties they face in their school reality (for instance, linguistic difficulties) which are not taken into consideration by the official side. Thus, these identifications in conjunction with the way the educational system rewards pupils (Chapter 4) indicate that the official side is the one which states objectives and the one which retracts these objectives at the same time.

Further, this study contributes to the field not only by identifying the above discussed inefficiency but also by indicating how school history should be developed, based on the ideas of the last recipients of the official educational design. In Chapter 5, it is found that, although pupils consider school history as a significant subject, they cultivate a feeling of disaffection to it due to the traditional model of history teaching that is in the core of school history and does not interest pupils. The participants of the research that argue in order for history teaching to become more interesting and useful for their lives, it should follow the path of approaching the past suggested by the 'new' history. More particularly, they argue that their involvement in the past and history should be more active on the base of a 'bottom-up' approach (emphasis on ordinary people), a debatable construction of knowledge, an expanded geographical and cultural context and multi-perspectivity.

The above discussed points allow us to draw the following insights regarding history education. The features of the 'new' history embedded in history curriculum are fragments added in a pre-existed design based on traditional history teaching. Educational policy makers have not managed to integrate them into, and link them with, the 'traditional' features in order for the history curriculum to be well-designed, applicable and efficient. Further, an official design of history education with these features regards the past as a body of knowledge which if it is learnt, can contribute to pupils' future lives. Nevertheless, as pupils' interviews show, regarding the past in this way, the usefulness of the knowledge of the past is limited in nationalistic and cognitive contexts and competences and pupils' personal development are ignored. Also, this kind of history education fails to take into consideration the demands modern society imposes. In Chapter 2, it is discussed that policy makers consider the rapidly transforming character of Greek society and the international scene and the inter-national character of human being's heritage. The implementation of a history

education which orientates itself to ethnocentric aspects shows (Chapter 4 & 5) that it does not meet the demands of the modern society and, more importantly, does not contribute to prepare pupils for the future. As pupils' interviews show, pupils are fully aware of what happened and happens in Greek society but unaware about what happened and happens in the international scene in which they will be called to participate. In other words, pupils are prepared to be citizens of the particular nation but not citizens of the world, 'equipped' to form their own national model and principles but not their 'cosmo-idol' and cosmo-theory which the general objectives of education claim (Pedagogical Institution 2003).

In general, this study, as far as its findings allow, suggests that the presentation of some innovative features in history curriculum does not presuppose its reformation unless they are well embedded and integrated within it. It also proposes that if policy makers plan to introduce a history curriculum which combines both models of history teaching, this should be made on the basis of a well judged combination and interaction between them and not in the form of a fragmental fusion. Further, history education in order to be aligned with modern society, it should re-define its objectives. Suggesting this re-definition, this study does not reject the ethnocentric aspects that history education should serve and the attention that should be paid to the provision of knowledge but it stresses that the modern social circumstances impose a number of demands that education and history education should meet. Next to knowledge, educational and history educational policy should focus on the development of pupils' skills, competencies and critical thinking, on approaching the national and the international past through a variety of dimensions and perspectives, on educating the younger generation to be not only democratic citizens of a nation but of the world at the same time. History education should become not only a matter of 'learning about the past' but mainly of 'learning to think about the present and design the future through the study of the past' for the common good of the world.

6.4. School history, the ‘other’ and this study

The contribution of this study to identify to what extent school history influences pupils’ ideas about the ‘other’ can be found in several areas. The first area entails the methodological approaches used in this research in order to draw insights into the influence of school history. The second involves the aspects of school history the study examines and the connections it makes between them and the ‘new’ dimensions it adds to each of these aspects and the last involves the answer this research gives to the main question of this thesis and how it could be useful to national and other contexts.

In terms of methodological approaches, this study aims to secure, as far as possible, the subjectivity and validity of its findings. For this reason, it employs triangulated techniques

‘attempting to both map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it for more than one standpoint and, in doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data’ (Cohen et al. 2007: 141)

It uses three types of triangulation (Cohen et al. 2007): ‘combined levels of triangulation’; examining the individual level (each teacher, pupil independently), the interactive level (pupils as groups) and the level of collectivities (educational policies), ‘investigator triangulation’; employing two or more coders in data analysis and ‘methodological triangulation’; using different methods on the same object of study (e.g. textbooks are examined by quantitative and qualitative approaches). These types afford a deeper insight into the study of the theme of this thesis.

Additionally, this thesis introduces to the field either approaches which have been used in other fields or expands the application of an approach used for other reasons. More particularly, this research brings in the use of an approach that has been used for visual data analysis in the field of textbook illustration analysis (Chapter 3). Investigating pupils’ ideas (Chapter 5), this research employs an art-based approach which is thought as more appropriate in order to stimulate and inspire pupils to express their ideas. For the pupils’ drawing analysis, this research uses a technique that has been used for detecting pupils’ ideas in conflict situations (human figure

drawing, Chapter 5) expanding the technique and applying it to investigate pupils' ideas in general settings. These techniques are initially applied to different fields such as visual communication and psychological research. This study suggests that they can be applied to this field as well. However, as stated in the introductory chapter of this thesis, this study does not claim the generalization of its findings due to its small-scale sample; it is an exploratory study. It intends to provide insights into the theme it explores which could be used for further and future research.

Regarding the second area, this study examines school history through several aspects; it examines history curriculum, textbooks, history teachers and pupils. It also links each aspect with the others providing a multi-faceted image of how school history is designed, applied and experienced by immediate interested parties in contrast with relevant previous research which examines each aspect separately (e.g. Dragonas et al. 2005, Θώδης et al. 2008) assuming and not identifying the links each aspect should have with the other aspects of school history. Thus, this thesis indicates that school history constitutes a net of interactive parameters which should be studied as a whole in order for the nature of school history to be identified. It also shows that if one of these parameters is problematic, the problems are diffused across the other parameters. Chapters 2, 3 &4, for instance, show that the reform of the history curriculum does not lead to the successful implementation of its objectives because textbooks do not align with this reform and teachers are not aware of how to apply it to their reality. So, it proposes that interventions in one of the factors school history involves do not presuppose the reformation of school history; proportional interventions should take place in relation to the other factors.

Examining each of the above aspects, this study adds and identifies 'new' dimensions to each of them. More particularly, this study does not only focus on the current history curriculum but as Chapter 2 demonstrates, relates this particular curriculum to previous history curricula in order to depict how school history developed through time. Previous research examines either a particular or a set of history curricula of a particular time period and of each level of compulsory education without linking with them with the previous ones (e.g. Μπούντα 2006) or examines educational policies of a particular time with some references to history curriculum (e.g. Ιμβριντέλη 2002). Thus, this thesis, focusing on and linking the developments of history curricula of

both levels of compulsory education from the establishment of the Greek nation until today, provides a complete report of how history curricula of whole compulsory education developed through time which could be used in future research.

Regarding history textbooks, this study advances knowledge in this field, firstly, relating them to the national educational policy about textbooks and, more importantly, focusing on the development of history textbooks through time. Previous research does not focus on the development of history textbooks but embeds it into the development of textbooks in general under the scope of history of education (e.g. Καψάλης & Χαραλάμπους 2008). As in the case of the curricula, this study examines both textbooks of both levels of compulsory education and does not focus on one of them as other researchers do (e.g. Xochellis & Toloudi 1998) contributing to depict the ‘whole picture’ that history textbooks provide. Further, the examination of textbooks entails all elements- visual and textual- ; it is not limited to analysis of the text as is the case with other research (e.g. Φλουρής & Ιμβριντέλη 2005) and examines sources as well. The examination of visual representations (photos, maps, diagrams and so on) of this study contributes to the area of textbooks research mainly because it demonstrates that illustration is a significant part of textbook which does not only serve decorative and cognitive purposes but has a ‘hidden’ ideological influence on which future research should focus.

The examination of teachers’ views that this study includes advances the knowledge in this field because it does not only identifies the ‘reality’ they experience after the implementation of the current history curriculum as other researches did previously (e.g. Ξωχέλλης 1989, Γουστέρης 1998), but mainly because it touches upon how their encounters influence their perceptions of school history and their teaching and to what extent they influence their pupils’ perception of history. This study signifies (Chapter 4) that teachers’ encounters play a significant role in the way the subject is taught and influence significantly their pupils in the way the latter consider history and the past. It also underlines that teachers are less powerful in comparison with the textbook in terms of the image of the ‘other’ suggesting, due to the limited sample, that further investigation on these issues would be helpful both in and out of the national context.

This research's contribution to the field of pupils' ideas investigation can be found in several areas. The previous relevant research mainly examined pupils from junior-high school (e.g. Dragonas et al. 2005) and from urban areas. The sample of this research includes pupils from both levels of compulsory education and rural areas. It also introduces to the field a number of parameters such pupils' ethnic background, place of living and its adjacency with other countries which have not been investigated before. Thus, it is found that pupils' ethnic background does not influence the way they regard the usefulness of the past but it plays an important role in the way they construct the image of the 'other'. As Chapter 5 reports, pupils from minority schools have a positive regard for the Turkish nation and suggest that they should be more aware of the historical course of their ethnic background. In the same chapter, it is suggested that adjacency with other countries is an agent that significantly influences pupils, especially if controversy is involved between the homeland and neighbour countries.

This study does not claim that it has examined exhaustively all aspects that school history involves. It has examined some of the aspects that are involved in school everyday practice. However, it indicates that there are several others factors that influence the 'nature' of school history and there are out of school settings. More particularly, this research provides some insights in regard to parental involvement in school history. In the section discussing the recent history war that broke out (see Chapter 3), it is shown that parents reacted and claimed for their right to decide what sort of history their children should learn. In the same section, the important role that the media, the web, the Church, political parties and non-governmental organizations played in this history war is discussed as well as the weakness of the scientific community of historians. Through this discussion, this study indicates that school history constitutes a 'hot potato' for the Greek society; everyone has the right to has his/her own say on school history and less attention is given to historians and specialists. At a more general level, these findings reflect the on-going debate about whether the past is a 'public property' or it should be left to specialists; debate that takes place not only in the Greek society but in other national settings as well. These findings also indicate how important school history is for a society which continues to espouse the traditional model of history and how difficult for a government or this kind of society is to re-define the use of history and accept innovation and more away

from mainstream initiatives and policies. The latter might stand as a reason to the issue discussed above in terms of why the Greek governments continue, more or less, to introduce the same educational policy about history education for so long.

In terms of whether and how school history influences pupils' ideas about the 'other', this study provides evidence that school history does influence the perception of the national self and the 'other'. In Chapter 5, it is found that school history influences pupils in terms of strengthening the 'good aspects' of the national self and cultivating national pride and consciousness. It contributes to pupils' perception of the 'other' providing or withholding knowledge of some nations/cultures and, more importantly, contributes in such a way that the 'shade' of the image of a particular nation conveyed by school history to coincide with the pupils' image of the particular nation. So, if school history can influence pupils to construct different images of particular nations/cultures, it can also influence them on discarding any biases and prejudices in relation to other nations and promoting better understanding, tolerance and cohesion. Taking into account the latter, this study proposes that school history is a powerful means for policy makers to flatten the differences between nations/cultures. However, this flattening presupposes the existence of political will as discussed above.

Further, based on pupils' comments, this study shows that not all aspects of school history examined have the same effect on pupils; the textbook is identified as the more powerful aspect as compared to the examined ones. Teachers, although they influence pupils on the way they consider the past, are less powerful to influence pupils on the way they think about the 'other'. This conclusion signifies the significant role textbooks play in this educational context as well as could explain the unceasing, intensive and intentional interest the society shows in textbooks. Given the significance of textbooks, the question that derives is whether a textbook modification would affect the way pupils think about the 'other' and the national self. On the other hand, the teachers' commentary (Chapter 4) demonstrates that they mainly reproduce the way they have been taught history as pupils in their teaching; this way does not differentiate in its core with the way current textbooks impose. How and to what extent, for example, will a textbook which conveys a positive image of Turks influence teachers' teaching? In other words, how could a textbook modify or change teachers' encounters and ideas? The answer to these questions can be found if we

consider the case of the history textbook that has been withdrawn (Chapter 3). Pupils who have been taught by this textbook and participated in this research claim that they used to be taught by the same way as before and the introduction of this textbook did not change their 'reality'. This statement espouses the suggestion made previously that school history should be considered as a whole and if innovations are to be introduced they should involve all its aspects.

Moreover, apart from school history, this study provides evidence that the media (especially television) play also a significant role in the construction of pupils' perceptions. As discussed in Chapter 5, school history and the media are interrelated; school history provides evidence from the past about a nation and the media confirms this evidence providing information about this nation for the present on the same lines. Pupils' everyday encounters with people of other countries are also significant. Other agents such as pupils' travel experiences, family, and the web seem to influence less the way pupils' construct their perceptions. The identification of the agents that influence pupils and the interrelation between school history and the media signifies that both school history and the media are part of the general policy the nation adopts as discussed above and are acknowledged as such by many theorists of national identity construction. Thus, this study suggests that if policy makers plan to promote cooperation and understanding among nations/cultures, the media could be a useful and effective means for the diffusion of this policy. Regarding history, the media could also be used to advance pupils' knowledge and interest in the past and be an alternative teaching approach for teachers in order to make their teaching more attractive.

Finally, the usefulness of this study can be found in several areas either in national or other settings. For this national context, it can stand as an indicator for the educational authorities and teachers concerning the status of school history and history education. As the study discusses, the strengths and weaknesses of history curriculum and educational policy have not been officially assessed. So, this study could be considered as an informal assessment that provides some insights of how school history and history education is implied. These insights can also be taken into account and stimulate a more expanded investigation on this particular theme in the context of reforms that should be made in the field. The evidence this study provides

could be used by teachers' trainers in order to develop a training plan focusing on teachers' ideas and needs. It can be useful for those who are involved in history teaching since this study provides an expanded 'picture' of school history and history education. For example, it suggests which parts and points of history teaching should be changed and how history teaching could be developed in order to be more engaging for pupils. The findings of this research can also stimulate all interested parties to think about the usefulness of history and history teaching, especially providing evidence from pupils' 'reality'.

Beyond the national context, this study can be considered in other national contexts which have the same characteristics such as a centralizing and ethnocentric educational system and sole textbook policy. As relevant research shows, many countries in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world adopt similar educational policies or have similar educational orientations. So, this study provides an example which can be used for further investigation in other settings. It can also 'inspire' a comparative research among countries of a geographic area which aim to depict how the 'other' and the national self are conceived and suggest relevant adjustments in their school history. For instance, this study can be the base of an expanded research which will investigate what the Balkans pupils think about the Balkan 'other', how school history contributes to their perceptions and what suggestions could be made in order that better understanding be promoted among these countries. Regarding educational schemes which do not share these characteristics, this study could provide some evidence to whoever is interested in how history education has developed in different settings. Also, it discusses and makes suggestions about issues which have been underlined in other educational schemes. For example, pupils' views on identity, usefulness of history (e.g. Grever & Ribbens 2008) and disaffection with the subject (e.g. Harris & Haydn 2009) have been examined in other settings. This study aligns with and contributes to this discussion through the perspective of a different educational scheme.

APPENDIX 1

Protocols of analysis

- 1. Protocol of curriculum analysis**
- 2. Protocol of textbook analysis**
- 3. Protocol for the category ‘direction’**
- 4. Protocol for the nations’ drawings analysis**

1. Protocol of curriculum analysis

Category 1: *Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena*

In this category, there are text extracts that present historical terms, notions and phenomena e.g. 'To understand the meaning of the notion 'nationalism'', 'To understand terms related to this unit such as: slogan, initiation, organisation'

Table 1. Category 1.

Category 2: *References to Greece*

This category includes the text extracts which refer to the political-economic and military events which took place in Greece, the cultural formation and the social history of Greece. Due to the great range of the category, it was judged to be necessary to form subcategories for the more objective and functional classification of the text extracts:

Subcategory 2.1.: *'Political-economic events':*

this subcategory includes text extracts mentioning political and economic events like political organization, the contribution of leaders to the government, the diplomacy, the legislative regulations, the financial progress and development of Greece since the French revolution up to the latest decades of the 20th century, e.g. 'To weigh I. Kapodistrias' attempts to organize the Greek state', 'To know the economic developments which took place in Greece after the civil war'.

Subcategory 2.2.: *'Military events':*

includes text extracts referred to military events such as wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Greece was involved, e.g. 'To know the great successes of the Greek revolution in the military sector', 'To know the most important war operations which were organized by the Greeks in order to gain their freedom'.

Subcategory 2.3. *'Cultural references':*

includes text extracts referring to the Greek culture and heritage and the intellectual development of Greece like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore, e.g. 'To know the development of literature and art during the Ottoman occupation'

Subcategory 2.4. *'Social history':*

in this subcategory are included text extracts referring to the everyday life of the Greeks of each period, e.g. 'To know elements from the everyday life in Otto's years', 'To relate the change of the Greek every day life due to the presentation of the Europeans.

Table 2. Subcategories of Category 2.

Category 3: 'References to Europe'

This category involves text extracts which are referred to the political-economic and military events which took place in Europe, the cultural formation and the social history of Europe. Due to a) the great range of this category and b) the interest in what part of Europe is more emphasized, it was thought necessary to form subcategories for the more objective and functional distribution of the text extracts.

Subcategory 3.1. 'References to Europe in general': includes text extracts mentioning to Europe as political body and a general term with no specific references to particular nations. In order to identify to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed.

Subcategory 3.1.1. 'Political-economic events': this subcategory includes text extracts mentioning, in parallel with the case of Greece, political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Europe, e.g. 'To know how it was form the political powers in the context of the new political map of Europe'.

Subcategory 3.1.2. 'Military events': includes text extracts referred to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.1.3. 'Cultural references': includes text extracts mentioning the European culture and heritage as well as the European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore, e.g. 'To know the most significant scientific achievements of 19th century in Europe'

Subcategory 3.1.4. 'Social history': this subcategory includes text extracts referring to the every-day life of the Europeans e.g. 'To know about the social consequences from the industrial revolution'

Subcategory 3.2. 'References to West-Europe': this subcategory includes text extracts relating to the nations located in West-Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of Europe in general.

Subcategory 3.2.1. 'Political- economic references': in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe, this subcategory includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of West Europe, e.g. 'To know about the circumstances which led to the development of nations-states in West Europe'

Subcategory 3.2.2. 'Military events': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which West Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.2.3. 'Cultural references': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the West European culture and heritage as well as the West European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore, e.g. 'To know about the intellectuals of the Enlightenment'

Subcategory 3.2.4. 'Social history': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the West-Europeans, e.g. 'To understand the social crisis of West-Europe at the end of 18th century'.

(to be continued)

Subcategory 3.3. *'References to Northern-East Europe/Balkans'*: includes text extracts in relation to the nations located in Northern- East Europe/ Balkans. In order to define to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in previous cases.

Subcategory 3.3.1. *'Political- economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Northern-East Europe/Balkans, e.g. 'To distinguish the reasons which led Ottoman Empire to economic decay'

Subcategory 3.3.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Northern-East Europe/Balkans was/were involved, e.g. 'To distinguish the reasons which led Ottoman Empire to military decay'

Subcategory 3.3.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the Northern-East European/Balkan culture and heritage as well as the Northern-East European/Balkan intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.3.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the Northern- East Europeans/ Balkans, e.g. 'To weigh the consequences of social changes which took place in Northern-East Europe'.

Subcategory 3.4. *'References to East Europe'*: this subcategory includes text extracts in relation to the nations located in East-Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 3.4.1. *'Political-economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of East Europe, e.g. 'To assess the circumstances which led to the decay of communist regimes in East Europe'

Subcategory 3.4.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which East Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.4.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the East European culture and heritage as well as the East European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.4.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the East Europeans.

Subcategory 3.5. *'References to Central Europe'*: this subcategory includes text extracts in relation to the nations located in Central Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 3.5.1. *'Political-economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Central Europe, e.g. 'To assess the circumstances which led to the decay of communist regimes in Central Europe'

Subcategory 3.5.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Central Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.5.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the Central European culture and heritage as well as the Central European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.5.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the Central Europeans.

Table 3. Subcategories of Category 3.

Category 4. 'References to the Americas'

This category involves text extracts which refer to the political-economic and military events which took place in the Americas, the cultural formation and the social history of the Americas. In order to be defined to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 4.1. '*Political-economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, this subcategory includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of the Americas, e.g. 'To assess the circumstances which led to the decay of communist regimes in Central Europe'

Subcategory 4.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which America was involved.

Subcategory 4.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the Americans culture and heritage as well as the Americans intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 4.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the Americans.

Table 4. Subcategories in Category 4

Category 5. 'References to Asia'

This category involves text extracts which are referred to the political-economic and military events which took place in Asia, the cultural formation and the social history of Asia. In order to be defined to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 5.1. '*Political-economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Asia, e.g. 'To know the most significant parts of the historical course of Asia'

Subcategory 5.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Asia was involved.

Subcategory 5.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the Asian culture and heritage as well as Asian intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 5.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of the Asians.

Table 5. Subcategories of Category 5.

Category 6. 'References to events of world interest'

This category involves text extracts which are referred to events which influenced the world such as the political-economic, military and cultural events. In order to be defined to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed.

Subcategory 6.1. '*Political-economic references*': in parallel with the previous subcategories includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress which influenced the world, e.g. 'To know the political circumstances under which the World War II was spread in all continents'

Subcategory 6.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters which had effect on the world, e.g. 'To know the military operations which held during the World War II'

Subcategory 6.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the universal culture and heritage.

Subcategory 6.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of human beings.

Table 6. Subcategories of Category 6.

2. Protocol of textbook analysis

Category 1: Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena

In this category, there are paragraphs that present historical terms, notions and phenomena

Table 1. Category 1.

Category 2: References to Greece

This category includes the paragraphs which refer to the political-economic and military events which took place in Greece, the cultural formation and the social history of Greece. Due to the great range of the category, it was judged to be necessary to form subcategories for the more objective and functional classification of the paragraphs:

Subcategory 2.1. : 'Political-economic events':

this subcategory includes paragraphs mentioning political and economic events like political organization, the contribution of leaders to the government, the diplomacy, the legislative regulations, the financial progress and development of Greece since the French revolution up to the latest decades of the 20th century.

Subcategory 2.2.: 'Military events':

includes paragraphs referred to military events such as wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Greece was involved.

Subcategory 2.3. 'Cultural references':

includes paragraphs referring to the Greek culture and heritage and the intellectual development of Greece like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore.

Subcategory 2.4. 'Social history':

in this subcategory are included paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the Greeks of each period.

Table 2. Subcategories of Category 2.

Category 3: 'References to Europe'

This category involves paragraphs which refer to the political-economic and military events which took place in Europe, the cultural formation and the social history of Europe. Due to a) the great range of this category and b) the interest in what part of Europe is more emphasized, it was thought necessary to form subcategories for the more objective and functional distribution of the paragraphs.

Subcategory 3.1. '*References to Europe in general*': includes paragraphs mentioning to Europe as political body and a general term with no specific references to particular nations. In order to identify to what sort of events these paragraphs refer, subcategories were formed.

Subcategory 3.1.1. '*Political-economic events*': this subcategory includes paragraphs mentioning, in parallel with the case of Greece, political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Europe.

Subcategory 3.1.2. '*Military events*': includes paragraphs referred to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.1.3. '*Cultural references*': includes paragraphs mentioning the European culture and heritage as well as the European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore.

Subcategory 3.1.4. '*Social history*': this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to the every-day life of the Europeans.

Subcategory 3.2. '*References to West-Europe*': this subcategory includes paragraphs relating to the nations located in West-Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs refer, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of Europe in general.

Subcategory 3.2.1. '*Political- economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe, this subcategory includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of West Europe.

Subcategory 3.2.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which West Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.2.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the West European culture and heritage as well as the West European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore.

Subcategory 3.2.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the West-Europeans.

(to be continued)

Subcategory 3.3. *'References to South Europe'*: includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in Northern- East Europe/ Balkans. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs refer, subcategories were formed as in previous cases.

Subcategory 3.3.1. *'Political- economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of South Europe.

Subcategory 3.3.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which South Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.3.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the South European culture and heritage as well as the South European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.3.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the South Europeans.

Subcategory 3.4. *'References to East Europe'*: this subcategory includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in East-Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs refer, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 3.4.1. *'Political-economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of East Europe, e.g. 'To assess the circumstances which led to the decay of communist regimes in East Europe'

Subcategory 3.4.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which East Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.4.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the East European culture and heritage as well as the East European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.4.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the East Europeans.

Subcategory 3.5. *'References to Central Europe'*: this subcategory includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in Central Europe. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs refer, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 3.5.1. *'Political-economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Central Europe.

Subcategory 3.5.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Central Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.5.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the Central European culture and heritage as well as the Central European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.5.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the Central Europeans.

(to be continued)

Subcategory 3.6. *'References to North Europe'*: includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in Northern-East Europe/ Balkans. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in previous cases.

Subcategory 3.6.1. *'Political- economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of North Europe.

Subcategory 3.6.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which North Europe was involved.

Subcategory 3.6.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the North European culture and heritage as well as the North European intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.6.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the North Europeans.

Table 3. Subcategories of Category 3.

Category 4. 'References to Asia'

This category involves paragraphs which are referred to the political-economic and military events which took place in Asia, the cultural formation and the social history of Asia. In order to be defined to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 4.1. *'Political-economic references'*: in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Asia, e.g. 'To know the most significant parts of the historical course of Asia'

Subcategory 4.2. *'Military events'*: in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Asia was involved.

Subcategory 4.3. *'Cultural references'*: as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the Asian culture and heritage as well as Asian intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 4.4. *'Social history'*: as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the Asians.

Category 5. 'References to the Americas'

This category involves paragraphs which are referred to the political-economic and military events which took place in the Americas, the cultural formation and the social history of the Americas. In order to be defined to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of America.

Subcategory 5.1. '*References to North America*': includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in North America. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in previous cases.

Subcategory 5.1.1. '*Political- economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and America includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of North America.

Subcategory 5.1.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which North America was involved.

Subcategory 5.1.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the North American culture and heritage as well as the North American intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 5.1.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the North Americans.

Subcategory 5.2. '*References to South America*': includes paragraphs in relation to the nations located in South America. In order to define to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in previous cases.

Subcategory 3.3.1. '*Political- economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and Europe includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of South America.

Subcategory 3.3.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which South America was involved.

Subcategory 3.3.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the South American culture and heritage as well as the South American intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 3.3.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the South Americans.

Category 6. 'References to Africa'

This category involves paragraphs which are referred to the political-economic and military events which took place in Africa, the cultural formation and the social history of Africa. In order to be defined to what sort of events these paragraphs are referred, subcategories were formed as in the case of Greece and of other parts of Europe.

Subcategory 6.1. '*Political-economic references*': in parallel with the cases of Greece and of the other parts of Europe, includes paragraphs relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress of Africa.

Subcategory 6.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes paragraphs referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters in which Africa was involved.

Subcategory 6.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves paragraphs mentioning the African culture and heritage as well as African intellectual development like literature and arts, education, myths and folklore etc.

Subcategory 6.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves paragraphs referring to the everyday life of the Africans.

Category 7. 'References to events of world interest'

This category involves text extracts which are referred to events which influenced the world such as the political-economic, military and cultural events. In order to be defined to what sort of events these text extracts are referred, subcategories were formed.

Subcategory 7.1. '*Political-economic references*': in parallel with the previous subcategories includes text extracts relating to political and economic events like political organization, the diplomacy, legislations, financial progress which influenced the world, e.g. 'To know the political circumstances under which the World War II was spread in all continents'

Subcategory 7.2. '*Military events*': in accordance with previous relative subcategories, this subcategory includes text extracts referring to military events like wars, expeditions, war operations, military encounters which had effect on the world, e.g. 'To know the military operations which held during the World War II'

Subcategory 7.3. '*Cultural references*': as in previous categories, this subcategory involves text extracts mentioning the universal culture and heritage.

Subcategory 7.4. '*Social history*': as in previous cases, this subcategory involves text extracts referring to the everyday life of human beings.

3. Protocol for the category ‘direction’

In order the ‘direction’ of a paragraph / reference to a nation to be judged, attention should be paid to the linguistic elements of it. More particular:

Positive direction can be given in cases that a paragraph/reference includes:

- Adjectives which give a positive sense to the image of a nation such as: ‘sublime’, ‘glorious’, ‘friendly’ etc.
- Verbs which give to the meaning of the sentences a positive sense such as: ‘benefit’, ‘profit’, ‘make good’
- Nouns which labelling the image of a nation positively
- Actions and behaviours which are described with positive ‘colours’
- Phrases which demonstrate benevolent, humanistic, antiracism and peaceful actions.

Neutral direction can be given in cases that a paragraph/reference includes:

- Discourse without adjectives
- Description of an event without any emotional characterization e.g. ‘Greece entered to the war’, ‘Montenegro established independent state in 1878’

Negative direction can be given in cases that a paragraph/reference includes:

- Adjectives which give a negative sense to the image of a nation such as: ‘barbarian’, ‘savage’ etc.
- Verbs which give to the meaning of the sentences a negative sense such as: ‘devastate’, ‘loot’, ‘massacre’
- Nouns which labelling the image of a nation negatively such as ‘loot’, ‘massacre’, ‘destitution’
- Actions and behaviours which are described with negative sense e.g. ‘The Turks invaded Istanbul and destroyed everything’, ‘Dictatorship was imposed to the Greeks by the Germans’
- Phrases which demonstrate bellicose, chauvinistic, racism perceptions of the nation in question.

4. Protocol for the nations' drawing analysis

In order for the image conveyed by each nation drawing to be judged particular attention should be paid to the way human figures are portrayed. More particular:

Attributed status is related to level of education of profession expressed by each human figure. For example: If a human figure presents a high status profession such as a businessman or a profession of this status is stated in child's comments, the attributed status of the particular human figure is characterized as positive. If a human figure presents a garbage collector or so is stated in child's comments, the attributed status is low and judged as negative. In the cases that there is no indications about the education/profession of a human figure, the attribute status is judged as unspecified – neutral.

Attributed effect. In the cases that a human figure reflects a specific feeling/ effect by his/her face, body position and thoughts in bubbles, the attributed effect is judged as follows: Negative if the reflected effect derives from depicted anger, disappointment, sadness, threat etc. Neutral if a human figure does not reflect a feeling/effect. Positive if a human figure reflects feelings such as happiness, joy, satisfaction etc.

Attributed behaviour. In order for a human figure to be judged for his behaviour two elements should be taken into consideration. Firstly, the content of verbal expression stated in bubbles and attached to human figures. Content is judged as negative when bad feelings, statements for a country are stated such as 'I like killing people' and 'My country is very dirty'. Neutral is characterised a content when a neutral statement is made such as 'I am from X (country)'. Positive in the cases content includes good feelings, statements for a country are stated such as 'My country is very clean', 'I love my country'. Secondly, the decoration accompanied a human figure. Decoration that brings to mind bad actions, feelings or behaviours such as weapons, bombs etc. is judged as negative. In the cases that there is no decoration, these are judged as neutral. Decoration that brings to mind good actions, feelings or behaviours such as flowers, shops, university buildings is characterized as positive.

Attributed appearance. In order for a human figure attributed appearance to be judged two parameters are taken into consideration. Firstly, the type of clothing each human figure is dressed in. An appearance is judged as negative in the cases that a human figure is depicted in old fashioned, ragged clothes; as neutral when is dressed in casual clothes and traditional costumes and positive when a figure is dressed in in-fashion, rich clothes with accessories. Secondly, body cleanliness should be taken into consideration. If a figure's face is drawn dirty and/or his/her body with smudges, his/her appearance is judged as negative. If a figure presents a clean and cared face/body is characterized as positive. If you can not specify the face and body situation, then you can judge this appearance as neutral.

NOTICE: At each stage of coding, attention must be paid not only to the way a child draw a human figure but also to the child's comments which specify and define his/her ideas.

APPENDIX 2

Samples of coding sheets

- 1. Sample of coding sheet for curriculum analysis**
- 2. Sample of coding sheet for textbook analysis**
- 3. Sample of coding sheet for second classification (textbook analysis)**
- 4. Sample of 'Nation sheet'**
- 5. Sample of coding sheet for written sources**
- 6. Sample of coding sheet for visual data (external characteristics)**
- 7. Sample of coding sheet for the nations' drawings analysis**

1. Sample of Coding Sheet for curriculum analysis

Text extract (sentence)

The coders ticked in which subcategory the text extract was classified

Structure of Categories	
Category 1.	Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena
Category 2.	References to Greece
Subcategory 2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 3.	References to Europe
Subcategory 3.1	References to Europe in general
Subcategory 3.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.2	References to West Europe
Subcategory 3.2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.3	References to South Europe
Subcategory 3.3.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.3.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.4	References to East Europe
Subcategory 3.4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.5	References to Central Europe
Subcategory 3.5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 4	References to Asia
Subcategory 4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 5.	References to the Americas
Subcategory 5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 6.	References to the events of world interest
Subcategory 6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 6.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>

2. Sample of Coding Sheet for textbook analysis

Paragraph

Structure of Categories	
Category 1.	Understanding of historical terms, notions and phenomena
Category 2.	References to Greece
Subcategory 2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 3.	References to Europe
Subcategory 3.1	References to Europe in general
Subcategory 3.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.2	References to West Europe
Subcategory 3.2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.3	References to South Europe
Subcategory 3.3.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.3.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.3.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.4	References to East Europe
Subcategory 3.4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.5	References to Central Europe
Subcategory 3.5.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.5.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.5.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 3.6	References to North Europe
Subcategory 3.6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 3.6.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 3.6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 3.6.4	<i>Social history</i>

Category 4	References to Asia
Subcategory 4.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 4.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 4.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 4.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 5.	References to the Americas
Subcategory 5.1	References to North America
Subcategory 5.1.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 5.1.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 5.1.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 5.1.4	<i>Social history</i>
Subcategory 5.2	Reference to South America
Subcategory 5.2.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 5.2.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 5.2.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 5.2.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 6.	References to Africa
Subcategory 6.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 6.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 6.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 6.4	<i>Social history</i>
Category 7.	References to the events of world interest
Subcategory 7.1	<i>Political-economic events</i>
Subcategory 7.2	<i>Military events</i>
Subcategory 7.3	<i>Cultural references</i>
Subcategory 7.4	<i>Social history</i>

The coders ticked in which subcategory the paragraph was classified

3. Sample of coding sheet for second classification (textbook analysis)

Coding sheet				
Second Classification				
History textbook for 6th grade				
Category 3: References to Europe				
Subcategory 3.3: References to South Europe				
Coder 1				
Number of Paragraph	Name of the nation	Kind of reference	Direction of reference	Justification of judgment
15	<i>Turks</i>	<i>Political events</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Loot, savagery</i>
99	<i>Bulgarians</i>	<i>Military events</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Same desire for freedom with the Greeks</i>
...
...

4. Sample of 'Nation sheet'

Nation Sheet				
Serbians				
Textbook	Number of paragraph	Kind of reference	Direction of reference	Justification of judgment
6 th grade	99	<i>Military events</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Same desire for freedom as the Greeks</i>
6 th grade	222	<i>Political events</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	
6 th grade	236	<i>Military events</i>	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Ally, Christian</i>
6 th grade	246	<i>Political events</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	
6 th grade	240	<i>Political events</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	
...

5. Sample of coding sheet for written sources

Coding sheet for written sources								
History textbook for 3 rd grade								
Number of source	Kind of source			Sort of reference				Nation mentioned
	Primary	Secondary	Literary	Political events	Military events	Cultural references	Social history	
1		✓					✓	English
2	✓					✓		French
...								
Total	

6. Coding sheet for the external characteristics of visual data

Coding sheet for the external characteristics of visual data																
No of illustration	Subtitling			Nation	Sort of illustration								Size of illustration			
	Adequate	Inadequate	Semi-adequate		tableau	poster	postcards	sculpture	caricature	Official documents	photos	press	sketch	Very big	big	medium
1																
2																
3																
4																
5																
6																
7																
8																
....																
....																

7. Coding sheet for the nations' drawings analysis

'Nation Drawings' analysis Ordinary Primary School Nation: _____								
Human Figure No 1	Negative	Judgement (Why?)	Neutral	Judgement (Why?)	Positive	Judgement (Why?)	Sources of knowledge	
Attributed Status								
Attributed Affect								
Attributed behaviour	Bubbles							
	Items							
Attributed appearance	Type of clothing							
	Face/body cleanliness							
Human Figure No 2	Negative	Judgement (Why?)	Neutral	Judgement (Why?)	Positive	Judgement (Why?)		Sources of knowledge
Attributed Status								
Attributed Affect								
Attributed behaviour	Bubbles							
	Items							
Attributed appearance	Type of clothing							
	Face/body cleanliness							

APPENDIX 3

Sample of tables of recoding units' distribution made by the researcher and the coders

1. Sample of table of text extracts distribution (curriculum for primary school)

1. Table of text extracts distribution
(curriculum for primary school)

No	Coder A	Researcher	Coder B
1	3.1.1	3.1.1	3.1.1
2	1	1	1
3	1	1	1
4	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
5	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
6	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
7	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
8	3.3.2	3.3.2	3.3.2
9	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
10	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
11	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
12	2.4	2.4	2.4
13	2.4	2.4	2.4

14	2.4	2.4	2.4
15	2.4	2.4	2.4
16	2.1	2.1	2.1
17	2.1	2.1	2.1
18	2.1	2.1	2.1
19	2.1	2.1	2.1
20	2.1	2.1	2.1
21	2.1	2.1	2.1
22	2.4	2.4	2.4
23	2.3	2.3	2.3
24	2.3	2.3	2.3
25	2.3	2.3	2.3
26	2.3	2.3	2.3
27	2.3	2.3	2.3
28	2.3	2.3	2.3

29	2.3	2.3	2.3
30	2.3	2.3	2.3
31	2.3	2.3	2.3
32	2.3	2.3	2.3
33	2.4	2.4	2.4
34	2.4	2.4	2.4
35	2.2	2.2	2.2
36	2.2	2.2	2.2
37	2.2	2.2	2.2
38	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
39	2.3	2.3	2.3
40	2.3	2.3	2.3
41	2.1	2.1	2.1
42	2.1	2.1	2.1
43	1	1	1

44	2.1	2.1	2.1
45	2.1	2.1	2.1
46	2.1	2.1	2.1
47	3.3.1	3.3.1	3.3.1
48	2.1	2.1	2.1
49	2.1	3.5.1	3.5.1
50	2.1	3.5.1	3.5.1
51	2.2	2.2	2.2
52	2.2	2.2	2.2
53	2.1	2.1	2.1
54	2.2	2.2	2.2
55	2.2	2.2	2.2
56	2.2	3.3.2	3.3.2

APPENDIX 4

Consent sheets

- 1. Consent sheet for parents**
- 2. Consent sheets for pupils**

Project information/consent sheet

Dear Parent,

I am conducting a research as a part of my postgraduate studies at the University of East Anglia, England. This study is a part of students' history studies and a part of a current research study on the history curriculum in Greek Schools. The aim of my research is to find out what effect school history has on Greek students' ideas about their own nation and other nations and peoples.

It would be very helpful to my research if you would give your consent to your child to take part in it.

The student will be interviewed individually and as a member of a group, will make drawings and will comment on them. The interviews and the comments will be anonymous and the answers will be treated in confidence.

The School Director and the School History Teacher have been informed about my research and have given their consent as well.

If you have any questions or concern about any aspects of the work involved, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thank you very much for your help,

Chrysa Tamisoglou
Researcher

I understand the aims and purposes of the research and I give my consent to my child to take part in it

Student name:.....

Parent Name:

.....

I understand the aims and purposes of the research but would rather not give my consent to my child to take part in it

Student name:.....

Parent Name:

.....

Participant information/consent sheet

Dear Student,

I am conducting research as a part of my postgraduate studies at the University of East Anglia, England. The aim of my research is to find out what effect school history has on Greek students' ideas about their own nation and other nations and peoples which are discussed in history textbooks. It would be very helpful to my research if you would be willing to tell me what you think about this.

If you are willing to take part in my research, you will be asked to talk about school history and knowledge you gain from that school subject in relation with your own country and other countries. Also, you will be engaged in a drawing exercise. You will be asked to draw a representative person (man or woman) of each nation presented in history textbooks indicating external and internal features of each person. Finally, you will discuss your ideas with your peers. The interviews will be anonymous and your answers will be treated in confidence.

If you do not wish to take part in the research, that is fine.

Thank you very much for your help,

Chrysa Tamisoglou
Researcher

I understand the aims and purposes of the interviews and am happy to take part in the research

Name:

.....

I understand the aims and purposes of the questionnaire and interviews but would rather not take part in the research

Name:

.....

Bibliography

(in English)

- Aldrich, R. (2006) *Lessons from the history of education: the selected works of Richard Aldrich*, London: Routledge
- Antoniou, V.L. & Soysal Nuhoglu Y. (2005) 'Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks' in Hanna, Sch. & Soysal Nuhoglu Y. (ed) *The nation, Europe and the world textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, Oxford: Berghahn Books
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso
- Anyon, J. (1979) 'Ideology and United States History textbooks', *Harvard Educational Review*, 49,361-386
- Apple, M. & Christian-Smith, L. (1991) *The politics of the textbook*, New York: Routledge
- Apple, M. (1993) *Official knowledge: democratic Education in a Conservative Age*, London: Routledge
- Baker, T. (2006) 'National history in the Age of Michlet, Macaulry and Bancroft' in Kramer, L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 185-204
- Bal-Tar, Y. & Bal-Tar, D. (1990) 'Social psychological analysis of classroom interaction' in Feldman, R. (ed) *The social psychology of Education*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 132-151
- Bal-Tar, D. (2000) *Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychological analysis*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Bal-Tar, D. & Teichman, Y. (2005) *Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Barton, K. C. (2001) 'You'd be waiting to know about the Past': Social Contexts of children's historical understanding in Northern Ireland and the USA', *Comparative Education*, 37,1, 89-106
- Barton, K. C. & Levstik, L.S. (2004) *Teaching history for the common good*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Barrett, M., Wilson, H. & Lyons, E. (2003) 'The development of national in-group bias: English children's attributions of characteristics to English, America and German people', *British Journal of Development Psychology*, 21, 193-220
- Barrett, M. (2007) *Children's knowledge, beliefs and feelings about nations and national groups*, New York: Psychology Press
- Baycroft, T. (1998) *Nationalism in Europe 1789-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Becker, C. (1935) *Everyman His Own Historian*, New York: Crofts.
- Bell, D. A. (2006) 'Total history and Microhistory: The French and Italian paradigms' in Kramer, L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 262-276
- Bentley, M. (1997) 'Introduction: Approaches to Modernity: Western Historiography since the Enlightenment' in Bentley, M. (ed) *Companion to historiography*, London: Routledge
- Bentley, M. (2006) 'The new World history' in Kramer, L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell, 393-416
- Berger, S. (2007a) 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing national History in Nineteenth – and Twentieth- Century Europe' in Berger, S. (ed.) *Writing the nation a global perspective*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan
- Berger, S. (2007b) 'History and national identity: why the should remain divorced' available

on <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/papers/policy-paper-66.html>

- Berelson, B. & Lazarsfeld, P. F. (1948) *The analysis of communication content*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Berelson, B. (1952) *Content analysis in communication research*, New York: Hafner Press
- Berghahn, V.R. & Schissler, H. (1987) 'History textbooks and perceptions of the past' in Berghahn, V.R. & Schissler, H. (eds) *Perceptions of History. International textbook Research on Britain, Germany and the United States*, Oxford: Berg
- Bernstein, B. (1971) 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge' in Young, M. (ed) *Knowledge and Control*, London: Collier-MacMillan, 47-69
- Bickerton, C. 'France's History Wars' in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 2006
- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, London: Sage Publications
- Black, J. & MacRaild, D.M. (2007) *Studying history*, London: Palgrave MacMillan
- Blaut, L.M. (1993) *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, New York: Guilford Press
- Bloom, B. S. (ed.) (1956) *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, the classification of educational goals – Handbook I: Cognitive Domain*, New York: McKay
- Bochner, A. & Ellis, C. (2003) 'An introduction to the Arts and Narrative research: Art as inquiry', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9, 506- 514
- Booth, M. B. (1984) 'Skills, Concepts, and Attitudes: The Development of Adolescent Children's Historical Thinking', *History and Theory*, 22, 4, Beiheft 22: The Philosophy of History Teaching (Dec., 1983), 101
- Bowe, R., Ball, S. & Gold, A. (1992) *Reforming education and changing schools*, London: Routledge
- Brabant, M. (2007) 'Greek Church attacks history book', BBC NEWS, 04/04/2007
- Brenner, M. (2006) 'Interviewing in Educational Research' in Green, J., Camilli, G & Elmore, P. (eds) *Handbook of complementary methods in educational research*, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 357-370
- Breuilly, J. (1999) 'Nationalism and Modernity' in Muller, J. & Strath, B. (eds) *Nationalism and Modernity*, EUI Working Paper HEC No. 99/1, Florence: European University Institute
- Burke, P. (1991) 'Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future' in Burke, P. (ed), *New perspectives on historical writing*, Oxford: Polity Press
- Burke, P. (2007) *Eye witnessing: The uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, New York: Cornell University Press
- Cajani, L. (2006) 'Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, Europeanism. History teaching in Germany, Italy and France during 18th-20th century' in Κόκκινος, Γ. & Νάκου, Ε. (eds) *Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορική εκπαίδευση στις αρχές του 21^{ου} αιώνα [Approaching history education at the beginning of 21st century]*, Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο, 105-131
- Carr, E. H. (2001) *What is history?*, Hampshire: Palgrave
- Carras, C. (2004) 'Greek identity: a long view' in Todorava, M. (ed) *Balkan identities, Nation and Memory*, London: Hurst and Company, 294-326
- Carretero, M., Jacotr, L., Limon, M., Manjon, A.L. & Leon, J.A. (1994) 'Historical knowledge: cognitive and instructional implications', in Carretero, M & Voss, J.F. (eds) *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and Social Sciences*, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 357
- Chambers, R. (1994) 'Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): Analysis of Experience', *World Development*, 22, 9, 1253-1268
- Choppin, A. (1990) 'Aspects of design' in Bourdillon, H. (ed) *History and social studies : methodologies of textbook analysis : report of the educational research workshop held in Braunschweig, Germany, 11-14 September 1990*, Amsterdam: Council of Europe

- Clark, A. (2003) 'What do they teach our children?' in Macintyre, S. & Clark, A. (eds) *The History Wars*, Victoria: Melbourn University Press, 171-190
- Cohen, J. (1960) 'A Coefficient of Agreement for Nominal Scales', *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 20, 37-46.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education*, Oxon: Routledge
- Colin, M. (1984) 'Mémoire collective et changement des mentalités: livre d'école et enseignement de l'histoire en Italie de 1860 à 1900' in Moniot, H. (ed.) *Enseigner l'histoire Des manuels a la mémoire*, Berne: Peter Lang SA
- Colley, L. (1992) *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, London: Yale University Press
- Connor, W. (1978) 'A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a...', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1,4, 377-400
- Cooper, H. (1995) *History in the Early Years*, London: Routledge
- Cooper, H. (1999) 'History - a Hot Potato or a Staple Diet' in Phillips, R. and Arthur, J. (eds.) *Issues in History Teaching*, London: Routledge Falmer
- Cooper, H. (2002) *History in the Early Years*, London: Routledge
- Council of Europe (2000) *The misuse of history*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing
- Counsell, Ch. (2000) 'Historical knowledge and Historical skills: A distracting Dichotomy' in Arthur, J. & Phillips, R. (eds) *Issues in History Teaching*, London & New York: RoutledgeFalmer
- Cox, M.V. (1993) *Children's drawings of the human figure*, Hove: Erlbaum
- Crano, W.D. & Brewer, M.B. (2002) *Principles and Methods of Social Research*, (2nd ed.) Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Crawford, K. (2000) 'Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook: Issues and Methods', *International Journal of Historical Learning Teaching and Research*, 1, 1-8
- Crawford, K. (2001) 'Constructing national memory: the 1940/41 Blitz in British history textbooks', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 23, 3, 323-338
- Cullingford, C. (2000) *Prejudice From individual identity to nationalism to young people*, London: Kogan Page
- Curtis, S. (2000) *Educating the Faithful. Perigion, Schooling and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*, Illinois: University Press
- Davidson, N. (1999) 'In perspective: Tom Nairn', *International Socialism Journal*, 82 available on <http://pubs.socialstreviewindexorguk/isj82/davidson.htm>
- Davies, I. (2000) 'Citizenship and the teaching and learning of history' in Arthur, J. & Phillips, R. (eds) *Issues in history teaching*, London: RoutledgeFalmer
- Deese, J. (1969) 'Conceptual categories in the study of content' in Gerbener, G., Holsti, O. R., Krippendorff, K., Paisley, W. J., & Stone, P. J. (eds) *The analysis of communication content*, New York: Wiley, 39-56
- Deletant, D., Hanak, H. & Seton-Watson, H. (eds) (1988) *Historians As Nation Builders: Central and Southeast Europe (Studies in Russia and East Europe)*, London: Intl Specialized Book Service Inc
- Deutch, K. (1966) *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, MA: the MIT Press
- Dickinson, A., Gard, A. & Lee, P. (1978) 'Evidence in History and the Classroom' in Dickinson, A. & Lee, P. (eds) *History Teaching and Historical Understanding*, London 1-20
- Doyle, A. V., Beaudet, J. & Aboud, F.E. (1988) 'Developmental patters in the flexibility of children's ethnic attitudes', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 19, 3-18

- Dragonas, T., Ersanli, B. & Frangoudaki, A. (2005) 'Greek and Turkish students' views on history, the nation and democracy' in Birtek, F. & Dragonas, T. (eds) *Citizenship and Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, London and New York: Routledge
- Dupeyron, B. (2009) 'How history becomes a cross-border matter: death foretold of a French–German–Swiss textbook', *The Curriculum Journal*, 20, 4, 345–364
- Epstein, T. (2008) *Interpreting National History*, New York: Routledge
- European Committee (2004) 'Public procurement: Commission requests six Member States to rectify violations of EU rules', IP/04/428, Brussels, 31st March 2004, available on <https://europa.eu/rapid>
- Evans, R.J. (2000) *In Defense of History*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co
- Ferro, M. (2003) *The use and the abuse of history*, New York: Routledge
- Fleiss, J. L. (1971) 'Measuring nominal scale agreement among many raters' *Psychological Bulletin*, 76, 5, 378–382
- Fleming, D., Schuetz, A. Yorocho, W. (1989) 'The Berlin War in History Textbooks. Three National Perspectives: United States, West and East Germany', *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 11, 2, 165-181
- Foner, E. (2002) *Who owns history? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*, New York: Hill & Wang
- Fourliga, E. (1993) *The use of labels in the interpretation of museum objects: some suggestions for the production of highly effective museum texts*. University of Leicester Department of Museum Studies. Unpublished MA Dissertation.
- Frederick, B. (1992) *Enlightenment, Revolution and Romanticism: The Genesis of Modern German Political Thought*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Fullan, M. (2007) *The new meaning of educational change*, New York: Teachers College Press
- Gazi, E. (2000) "Scientific" National History. *The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective (1850-1920)*, Frankfurt am Main
- Geertz, C. (1973) *The interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Gellner, E. (2006) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Gibbon, E. (1990) *The decline and the fall of the Roman Empire*, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth
- Green, A. & Troup, K. (1999) *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*, New York: New York University Press
- Grever, M. & Ribbens, K. (2008) 'Identity and School history: The perspective of young people from the Netherlands and England', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 56,1, 76-94
- Crosby, S. (1994) 'The Verdict of History: The inextinguishable ties of primordiality – a response to Eller and Coughlan', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17, 1, 167-171
- Grosby, S. (2001) 'Primordiality' in Leousi, A. (ed) *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 253-255
- Halliday, M. (1994) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, London: Arnold
- Harris, R. & Haydn, T. (2009) 'Pupils' enjoyment of history: what lessons can teachers learn from pupils', *Curriculum Journal*, 14, 7, 315-333
- Hastings, A. (1997) *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Haydn, T. (1999) 'Citizenship and School History: In defence of, or as a protection against the state?', *The school Field*, X, 3-4, 33-46
- Haydn, T. (2000) 'Control and resistance: The war of school history in England and Wales, 1984-1996', in Majorek, C. & Johannmeier, E. (eds) *Educational Reform in International Perspective: Past Present and Future*, Krakow: Polska Akademia Nauk, 111-122
- Haydn, T. (2003) 'History' in White, J. (ed) *Rethinking the school curriculum*, London RoutledgeFalmer, 87-103

- Heater, D. & Oliver, D. (1994) *The foundations of Citizenship*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf
- Heath, D. & Boreham J. (2005) *Introducing Romanticism*, Cambridge: Icon Books
- Hetcher, M. (1975) *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Hobsbawn, E. (1983) 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions' in Hobsbawn, E. & Ranger, T. (eds) *The invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 13-45
- Hobsbawn, E. & Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) *The invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Hobsbawn, E. (1997) *On history*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson
- Hodnett, E. (1986) *Image and Text studies in the illustration of English literature*, Hamshire: Scholar Press
- Hoffer, P.C. (2008) *The Historians' Paradox*, New York: New York University Press
- Holsti, O. (1969) *Content analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, University of British Columbia: Adlison – Wesley Co.
- Holt, T. (1990) *Thinking Historically. Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding*, New York: College Entrance Examination Board
- Howard, M. (1991) *The lessons of history*, New York: Yale University
- Huppert, G. (2002) 'The Annales Experiment' in Bentley, M. (ed) *Companion to Historiography*, London: Routledge
- Husbands, C. (1996) *What is history teaching?*, Basingstoke: Open University Press
- Iggers, G. (2000) 'Historiography in the 20th century' in Council of Europe, *The misuse of history*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing
- Iggers, G. G. (2006) *Historiography in the 20th century: From Scientific objectivity to Post-modern challenge*, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press
- Johnson, N. (1973) 'Development of English children's concept of Germany', *Journal of Social Psychology*, 90, 259-267
- Kaye, H. J. (1995) *The British Marxist Historians*, New York: St. Martin's Press
- Kedourie, E. (1960) *Nationalism*, London: Hutshinson
- Kitroeff, A. (1989) 'Continuity and change in cotemporary Greek historiography', *European History Quarterly*, 19, 269-298
- Koppitz, E.M (1985) *Psychological evaluation of human figure drawings by middle school pupils*, New York: Grune&Stratton
- Koulouris, Ch. & Ventura L. (1994) 'Research on Greek textbooks: a survey of current trends', *Paradigm*, 14
- Kress, G. & van Leeuwen, T. (1996) *Reading Images: The Grammar of visual Design*, London: Routledge
- Krippendorff, K. (1980) *Content analysis: An introduction to its Methodology*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Krippendorff, K. (2004) *Content analysis: An introduction to its Methodology*, 2nd edition, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage
- Krueger, R. A. (1994) *Focus groups. A practical guide for applied research*, 2nd edition, Newbury park, CA: Sage
- Kumar, K (2006) 'English and French national identity: comparisons and contrasts', *Nations and nationalism*, 12,3, 413-432
- LaBelle, J.T. (2010) 'Selecting ELL textbooks: A content analysis of L2 Learning strategies' in *Journal of Language, Teaching and Research*, 1,4, 358-369
- Lakassas, A. (2007) 'Educational pretext for ideological attack', *Herald tribute*, 4th April 2004,3
- Lee, P., Ashby, R. and Dickinson, A. K. (1996) 'Progression in Children's Ideas about

- History' in Hughes, M. (ed) *Progression in Learning*, Clevedon: BERA Dialogues, 11, 50-81
- Lee, P. & Ashby, R. (2000) 'Progression in Historical Understanding among Students' in Stearns, P. N. – Seixas, P. – Wineburg, S. (eds) *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, New York: New York University Press, 199-222
- Lee, P. & Ashby, R. (2001) 'Empathy, Perspective taking and Rational Understanding' in Davis, O., Yeager, E. A. & Foster, S. J. (eds) *Historical empathy and perspective taking in the social studies*, New York & Oxford: Rowman, 21-50
- Levie, W.H. (1987) 'Research on Pictures: A guide to the Literature' in Willows, D. M. & Houghton, H. A (eds) *The psychology of Illustration*, vol. 1, New York: Spinger-Verlag, 1-50
- Levin, J.R. (1981) 'On function of pictures in prose' in Pirozzlo, F.J. & Wittrock, M.C. (eds) *Neuropsychological and cognitive process in reading*, New York: Academic Press, 203-228
- Levin, J. R., Anglin, G. J. & Carney, R. N. (1987) 'On empirical validating functions of pictures in prose' in Willows, D. M. & Houghton, H. A (eds) *The psychology of Illustration*, vol. 1, New York: Spinger-Verlag, 51-86
- Levstik, L. S. & Barton, K.C. (1996) 'They still use some of their past': historical salience in elementary children's chronological thinking', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 28, 531-576.
- Levstik, L. S. & Barton, K. (2001) *Doing History*, London & New Jersey: Erlbaum
- Levstik, L. S. & Barton, K. (2004) *Teaching history for the common good*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Lewis, A. (1992) 'Group child interviews as a research tools', *British educational research Journal*, 18, 4, 413-421
- Liakos, A. (2004) 'Modern Greek historiography (1974-2000). The Era of tradition from dictatorship to Democracy' in Brunbauer, U. (ed) *(Re)writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism*, Munster: LIT Verlag, 351-178
- Liakos, A. (2008a) 'History wars: testing tolerance', *Tolerance and Discrimination in History*, CLIOHRES Publication
- Liakos, A. (2008b) 'Hellenism and the making of Modern Greek: Time, Language, Space' in Zacharia, K. (ed) *Hellenisms, Culture, Identity and Ethnicity From Antiquity to Modernity*, Hampshire: Ashgate, 201-236
- Liakos, A. (2008-09) 'History Wars: Notes from the field', in Popp, S. (ed.) *Yearbook of the International Society for the Didactics of History*, Schwabach: Wochenschau Verlag, 57-74
- Linenthal, E. & Engelhardt, T. (eds) (1996) *History wars. The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, New York: Metropolitan Books
- Loewen, J. (1995) *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbooks got wrong*, New York: Simon and Schuster
- Lombard, M., Snyder & Duch, J. & Bracken, C. C. (2002) 'Content Analysis in Mass Communication. Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability', *Human Communication Research*, 28 (4), 587 – 604.
- Lombard, M., Snyder, Duch, J. & Bracken, C. C. (2003) 'Correction', *Human Communication Research*, 29,3, 469 – 472
- LowBeer, A. (2003) 'School history, National History and the issue of national identity', *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, 3, 1, available on www.heirnet.org/IJHLTR/journal5/Low-Beer.rtf
- Macintyre, S. & Clark, A. (2003) *The History Wars*, Victoria: Melbourn University Press
- MacMillan, M. (2009) *The use and the abuse of history*, London: Profile Books LTD
- MacNeill, W. (1990) 'The rise of the West after twenty-five years', *Journal of World History*, 1, 1-21
- MacNeill, D. (2007) 'Japan's history wars' *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27-04-2007 available on <http://chronicle.com/article/Japan-s-History-War/34474>
- Mah, H. (2006) 'German Historical thought in the age of Herder, Kant and Hegel' in Kramer,

- L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 144-165
- Makrakis, L. & Diamantouros, N. (eds) (1982) *New trends in Modern Greek Historiography*, Hanover: Hew Haven
- Marienstras, E. (1994) 'Histoire et mythe identitaire aux Etats-Unis' in Moniot, H. & Serwanski, M. (eds.) *L' Histoire en partage I. Le récit du vrai*, Paris: Nathan
- Marsden, W.E. (1989) 'All in a good cause: geography, history and politicization of the curriculum in 19th and 20th century in England, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 21,6, 509-526
- Marsden, W.E. (2001) *The school textbook. Geography, history and social studies*, London: Woburn Press
- Mason, J. & Fattore, T. (eds) (2005) *Children taken seriously: in theory, policy and practice*, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers
- Mercer, N. (1995) *The guided construction of knowledge: talk amongst teachers and learners*, New York: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Moun, S. (2006) 'Empathy in history, empathizing with humanity', *History and Theory*, 35, 397-415
- Mylonas, Th. (2008) 'The strong tendency to transfer Legislation from France to Greece in the first half of the nineteenth Century and Mauer's Organic Law on Greek Primary education (1834)' in Terzis, N. (ed.) *Education in Balkans: From the Enlightenment to the founding of the nation-states*, Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis Brothers S.A.
- Nairn, T. (1977) *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, London: New Left Books
- Nash, G., Grabtree, C. & Dunn, R. (2000) *History on trail. Cultural wars and the teaching of the Past*, New York: Vintage Books
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002) *The content analysis guidebook*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Nicholls, J. (2006) *School History textbooks across Cultures*, Oxford: Symposium
- Nisbet, H. B. (1999) 'Herder: the Nation in History' in Branch, M. (ed.) *National History and identity: Approaches to the writing of national history in the North-Eat Baltic Religion, 19th and 20th centuries*, Helsinki, 78-96
- OECD (1997) *Reviews of National Policies for education-Greece, Paris*
- Oelkers, J. (2008) 'Elementary textbooks in the 18th century and their theory of the learning child' in: Campi, E; De Angelis, S; Goeing, A S; Grafton, A T., *Scholarly knowledge: textbooks in early modern Europe*, Geneva, Switzerland, 409-432.
- Oppenheim, A. (1992) *Questionnaire Design, Interviewing and Attitude measurement*, London: Pinter
- Osgood, C. E. (1959) 'The representational model and relevant research methods' in I. de Sola Pool (ed), *Trends in content analysis* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 33-88
- Özkırmı, U. (2000) *Theories of Nationalism A Critical Introduction*, London: MacMillan Press LTD
- Pedagogical Institution (2003) *A Cross Thematic Curriculum Framework for Compulsory Education, Diathematikon Programma*, available on http://www.pi-schools.gr/programs/depps/index_eng.php
- Phillips, R. (2004) 'Reflections on history, nationhood and schooling' in Roberts, M. (ed) *After the wall History teaching in Europe since 1989*, Hamburg: Korber-Stiftung
- Pingel, F. (1999) *UNESCO Guidebook on textbook research and textbook revision*, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung
- Poster, M. (2003-2004) 'History in the Digital Domain' in 'Historein', 4, 17-32
- Puri, J. (2004) *Encountering nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Rabiee, F. (2004) 'Focus-group interview and data analysis', *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, 63, 655-660

- Repousi, M. (2009) 'Battles over the national past of Greeks. The Greek History Textbook Controversy 2006-2007' in *Geschichte für heute. Zeitschrift für historisch-politische, Bildung* 2/2009, 56-63
- Riffe, D., Lacy, St. & Fico, F.G. (2005) *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum
- Robinson, J. H. (2009) *The New History: Essays illustrating the modern Historical outlook*, Bibliobazaar
- Rogers, P.J. (1984) 'The power of visual presentation' in Dickinson, A.K., Lee, P. J. & Rogers P. J. (eds) *Learning History*, London: Heinemann Educational Books, 154-167
- Rose, G. (2001) *Visual Methodologies*, London: Sage
- Segal, R. (ed) (2000) *Hero myths*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers
- Seixas, P. (1993) 'Historical understanding among adolescents in a multicultural setting, *Curriculum Inquiry*, 23, 301-327.
- Seixas, P. and Peck, C. (2004) 'Teaching Historical Thinking' In Sears and Wright, (eds), *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, Vancouver: Pacific Education Press, 109-117
- Slater, J. (1995) *Teaching history in the New Europe*, London: Cassell Council of Europe
- Smart, D. (2009) 'The history Curriculum in England and Wales' in Aktekin, S., Harnett, P., Ozturk, M. & Smart, D. (eds) *Teaching history and social studies for multicultural Europe*, Ankara: Harf Egitim yayinciligi, 77-98
- Smart, D. (2010) 'Going to the pictures: learning to see the life histories of minorities within majority narratives' in Bathmaker, A. and Harnett P. (eds) *Exploring Learning, Identity and Power through Life History and Narrative Research*, London: Taylor and Francis, 97-114
- Smith, A. (1991) *National identity*, London: Penguin Books
- Smith, A. & Hutchinson, J. (eds) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Smith, A. (1999) *Myths and the memory of the Nation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Smith, A. (2001a) 'Perennialism and Modernism' in Leoussis, A. (ed) *Encyclopaedia of nationalism*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers
- Smith, A (2001b) *Nationalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press
- Spiegel, G. (2006) 'Historical thought in Medieval Europe' in Kremar, L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A companion to western historical thought*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Stearns, P. (1998) Why study history? American Historical Association available on <http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/WhyStudyHistory.htm>
- Stemler, S. (2001) 'An Overview of Content Analysis', *Practical Assessment Research and Evaluation*, 7, (17) available on <http://PAREonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17>.
- Stow, W. & Haydn, T. (2000) 'Issues in the teaching of chronology' in Arthur, J. & Phillips, R. (eds) *Issue in history teaching*, London: Routledge
- Stradling, R. (2003) *Multi perceptivity in history teaching: a guide for teachers*, Council of Europe
- Stugu, O. S. (2000) 'History and national identity in Norway' in Symposium Proceedings 'Facing the misuses of history', Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 111-126
- Sylvester, D. (1994) 'Change and Continuity in history teaching' in Bourdillon, H., *Teaching History*, London: Routledge, 9-26
- Tesch, R. (1990). *Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools*. Bristol, PA: Falmer
- Theodoridis, M. & Chalkis, K. (2001) 'Latent aspects in science textbook pictures', *Science Educational Research in the Knowledge Based Society*, 2, 850-852
- Thomson, P (2005) 'Children and young people. Voices in visual research' in Thomson, P. (ed) *Doing visual research with children and young people*, Oxon: Routledge, 1-19
- Todorova, M. (2004) 'Learning memory, remembering identity' in Todorava, M. (ed). *Balkan*

- identities, Nation and Memory*, London: Hurst and Company, 1-24
- Toebes, J. G. (1987) *History: A distinct(ive) subject? The problem of the combination of history with the Human and Social studies, in particular with Social Studies in Secondary Education in the Federation of Germany, England and the Netherlands*, Leyden: Brill
- Tosh, J. with Sean Lang (2006) (4th ed.) *The pursuit of history*, United Kingdom: Pearson education Limited
- Triantafyllidou, A. (1998) 'National identity and the 'other'', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21, 593-612
- Valls, R. (1994) 'Bilder in den spanischen Geschichtsbuchern von 1900 bis 1990', *eitschrift des Georg-Erckert-Instituts fur Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 16,4,pp. 423-445
- van den Berghe, P. (1995) 'Does the race matters?', *Nation and Nationalism*, 1, 3, 357-368
- van der Leeuw-Roord, J. (ed.) (2001) *History for today and tomorrow. What does Europe mean for school history*, Hamburg: Körber Stiftung
- van der Leeuw-Roord, J. (2009) 'Beyond the Doorstep: The nature of history teaching across Europe' in Aktekin, S., Harnett, P., Ozturk, M. & Smart, D. (eds) *Teaching history and social studies for multicultural Europe*, Ankara: Harf Egitim yayinciligi, 155-176
- Vaughn, S., Schumm, J.S. & Sinagub, J. (1996) *Focus group interviews in education and psychology*, Thousands Oak, CA: Sage
- Verduin-Muller, H. S. (1989) 'The future of the Geography and History Textbook. The 'old' textbook and the 'new' media'' in *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, 11,4, 367-376
- von Borries, B. (2000) 'Methods and Aims of Teaching History in Europe. A Report on Youth and History' in Stearns, P. N., Seixas, P., Wineburg, S. (eds) *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, New York: New York University Press, 246-261
- von Borries, B. (2001) 'Multi-perspectivity-Utopian Pretension or feasible Fundamen of history learning in Europe?' in van der Leeuw-Roord, J. (ed.), *History for today and tomorrow. What does Europe mean for school history*, Hamburg: Körber Stiftung, 269-295
- Weber, R. P. (1990) *Basic Content analysis*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Weinbrenner, P. (1992) 'Methodologies of textbooks analysis used to date' in Bourdillon, H. (ed.) *History and Social Science – Methodologies of Textbook Analysis. Report of the educational Research Workshop held in Braunschweig (Germany) 11-14 September 1990*, Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger
- Williams, R. (1971) *The Long Revolution*, London: Chatto & Windus
- Wilschut, A.H. (2009) 'History at the mercy of politicians and ideologies: Germany, England and the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th centuries', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 2009, 1-31
- Wineburg, S. (2001) *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts: charting the future of teaching the past*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Wright, J. K. (2006) 'Historical Thought in the era of Enlightenment' in Kramer, L. & Maza, S. (eds) *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 123-142
- Xochellis, P. & Toloudi, F. (eds) (1998) 'The image of 'other'/neighbour in the school textbooks of the Balkan countries: proceedings of the International Conference, Thessaloniki, 16-18 October 1998, Athens: Topithito
- Yerxa, D. A. (ed) (2008) *Recent Themes in Historical Thinking: Historians in Conversation*, Columbia: University of South Carolina
- Yoshida, T. (2006) *The Making of "Rape of Nanking". History and Memory in Japan, China and the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

(in Greek)

Αβδελά, Ε. (1997) 'Χρόνος, ιστορία, εθνική ταυτότητα στο ελληνικό σχολείο [Time, History,

- national Identity in the Greek school]’ in Φραγκουδάκη, Α. & Δραγώνα Θ. (επιμ) «*Τι είν’ η πατρίδα μας;*» *Εθνοκεντρισμός στην εκπαίδευση [What is our country? Ethnocentrism in education]*, Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια
- Αβδελά, Ε. (1998) *Ιστορία και Σχολείο [History and School]*, Αθήνα: Νήσος
- Αβδελά, Ε. (1998) ‘Χρόνος, ιστορία και εθνική ταυτότητα στο ελληνικό σχολείο [Time, history and national identity in the Greek school]’ in Φραγκουδάκη, Α. & Δραγώνα Θ. (eds) «*Τι είν’ η πατρίδα μας;*» *Εθνοκεντρισμός στην εκπαίδευση*’ Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια
- ‘*Αιτιολογική Έκθεση του νομοσχεδίου περί διδακτικών βιβλίων της Στοιχειώδεις και της Μέσης εκπαίδευσως [Casual report about the Primary and Secondary Education school textbooks]*’, Παράρτημα της Εφημερίδος της Βοθλής (1904), Εναθίναις 1908, 121-131
- Ακτύπης, Δ., Βελαλίδης, Α., Καΐλα, Μ. Κατσουλάκος. Θ., Παπαρηγορίου, Γ., Χωρεάνθης, Κ. (2008) *Στα νεότερα χρόνια [In modern times]*, Αθήνα: ΟΕΔΒ
- Ακτύπης, Δ., Βελαλίδης, Α., Καΐλα, Μ. Κατσουλάκος. Θ., Παπαρηγορίου, Γ., Χωρεάνθης, Κ. (2008) *Στα νεότερα χρόνια [In modern times] Βιβλίο Δασκάλου [Teacher’s book]*, Αθήνα: ΟΕΔΒ
- Αναγκαστικός Νόμος 952 (1937) ‘*Περί ιδρύσεως οργανισμού προς έκδοσιν σχολικών κλπ. Βιβλίων [About the foundation of school textbooks etc. publishing organization]*’ ΦΕΚ 469, 12 Νοεμβρίου 1937, 3017-3019
- Αναγκαστικός Νόμος 1644 (1939) ‘*Περί τροποποιήσεων και συμπληρώσεως του Αναγκαστικού Νόμου 952/1937 «περί ιδρύσεως Οργανισμού προς έκδοσιν σχολικών κλπ. βιβλίων» και τινων περί διδακτικών βιβλίων κειμένων διατάξεων [About amendments and completions of the Obligatory Law 952/1937 “about the foundation of school textbooks etc. publishing organization” and about school textbooks relevant arrangements]*’, ΦΕΚ 103, 695-699
- Ανδρέου, Α. (1989) ‘Σχέδια Νόμου για την εκπαίδευση 1870-1880 [Bills for education 1870-1880]’, *Θέσεις*, 26, Ιανουάριος-Μάρτιος
- Ανδρέου, Α. (1999) ‘Η εκπαιδευτική πολιτική (1967-1974) [Educational Policy 1967-1974]’, *Θέσεις*, τ.66, Ιανουάριος-Μάρτιος
- Ανδρέου, Α. (2002) *Τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα του Δημοτικού Σχολείου (1881-1981) [Curriculum of primary school (1881-1981)]* available on www.elemedu.upatras.gr/eriade/synedria/praktika/adreou.htm
- Ανδρέου, Α. & Κασβίκης, Κ. (2007) ‘Τα καινούρια εγχειρίδια Ιστορίας ή αλλιώς «παλιό κρασί» σε «νέο ασκί»: κάποιες πρώτες παρατηρήσεις και ερευνητικές προτάσεις [The new history textbooks or differently ‘old’ wine in ‘new wineskin’: some first observations and research proposals]’, *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου: Η πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση και οι προσκλήσεις της εποχής μας*, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, 17-20 Μαΐου 2007, 697-702
- Ανδρέου, Α. & Τζήκα, Χ. (1988) *Προγράμματα Δημοτικού Σχολείου Αναλυτικά και Ωρολόγια Βιβλιογραφία-Αρθρογραφία για τα προγράμματα του Δημοτικού Σχολείου (πρώτη καταγραφή) [Programmes of primary schools Curricula and Timetables Bibliography and Arthrography of primary schools Curricula (first record)]*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Τεκμηρίωση, 95-96
- Αντωνίου, Δ. (1987) *Τα προγράμματα της Μέσης εκπαίδευσης (1833-1929) [Programmes of Secondary Education (1833-1929)]*, τομ. Α’, Αθήνα: Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας
- Ασωνίτης, Π. (2002) ‘Ο ρόλος της εικόνας στα αναγνωστικά βιβλία του Δημοτικού Σχολείου από το 1834 έως σήμερα [The role of image in primer books of primary school from 1834 until today]’ in Καψάλης, Γ. & Κατσίκης, Α. (eds) *Σχολική Γνώση και Διδασκαλία στην Πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση*, Ιωάννινα: Θεοδωρίδη
- Αχλίας, Ν. (1983) *Οι γειτονικοί μας λαοί, Βούλγαροι και Τούρκοι, στα σχολικά βιβλία ιστορίας Γυμνασίου και Λυκείου [Our neighbour people, Bulgarians and Turks in Gymnasium and Lyceum history textbooks]*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1856, ‘*Περί του διαγωνίσματος προς συγγραφή προσφορότερων βιβλίων*

- για τα δημοτικά σχολεία [*About the competition of more appropriate textbooks for primary schools*]', ΦΕΚ 48, τχ. Α'
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1917 'Περί διδακτικών βιβλίων [*About textbooks*]', Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 138, 11 Ιουλίου 1917
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 702 (1969) 'Περί του ωρολογίου και αναλυτικού προγράμματος των μαθημάτων του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [*About timetable and Curriculum of subjects of primary schools*]', ΦΕΚ 218, τχ. Α' 31/10/1969
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1884 'Πρόγραμμα των εν τοις ελληνικοίς σχολείοις και τοις γυμνασίοις διδασκτέων μαθημάτων [*Programme of the teaching subject of Greek schools and Gymnasiums*]', Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 267, 27 Ιουνίου 1884
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1939 'Περί του Αναλυτικού Και του Ωρολόγιου προγράμματος των Μαθημάτων των διδασκτέων εις τους μαθητάς των επί τη βάσει του υπ' αριθ. 1846/1939 Αναγκαστικού Νόμου ιδρυθέντων εξατάξιων γυμνασίων [*About the Curriculum and the Timetable of the subjects taught to pupils of the six-grade Gymnasium established by the Law no. 1846/1939*]', Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 477, 9 Νοεμβρίου 1939
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 1966 'Περί ωρολογίων και αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων τάξεων τινών σχολείων Δευτεροβαθμίου (Μέσης) Εκπαιδεύσεως [*About timetable and Curriculum of Secondary (Middle) education grades*]', ΦΕΚ 16, 26/1/1966
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 723 'Περί των ωρολογίων και αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων των μαθημάτων των σχολείων Μέσης εκπαίδευσης [*About the timetable and the Curriculum of the subject of Secondary Education schools*]', ΦΕΚ 225, 10/11/1969
- Βασιλικό Διάταγμα 672 'Περί του αναλυτικού και ωρολόγιου προγράμματος των Γυμνασίων της πρώτης βαθμίδος [*About the Curriculum and the timetable of first level Gymnasiums*]', ΦΕΚ 160, 13/11/1961
- Βέικος, Χ. (ed.) (2005) *Διδακτικό βιβλίο και εκπαιδευτικό υλικό στο σχολείο: προβληματισμοί, δυνατότητες, προοπτικές* [*Didactic book and educational material in school: concerns, competences, perspectives*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Ζήτη
- Βενθύλος, Γ. (1884) *Θεσμολόγιο της Δημοτικής Εκπαιδεύσεως* [*Legislation of primary education*], τομ. Α' & Β', ΕνΑθήναις: Σ. Κ. Βλαστώ
- Berger, J. (1993) *Η εικόνα και το βλέμμα* [*Image and gaze*], μτφρ. Ι. Σολομών, Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια
- Βρετός, Γ. (1994) *Η εικόνα στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα και στο σχολικό εγχειρίδιο της ιστορίας* [*Image in curriculum and history textbook*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Art of text
- Βουγιούκας, Α. (1977) *Προβλήματα ανατροφής και μόρφωσης των παιδιών μας* [*Problems of our children breeding and education*], Αθήνα
- Chapman, L. (1993) *Διδακτική της τέχνης. Προσεγγίσεις και καλλιτεχνική αγωγή* [*Didactic of arts. Approaches an art education*], Αθήνα: Νεφέλη
- Γέρου, Θ. (1996) *Η ελληνική παιδεία* [*The Greek education*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Μαλλιάρης Παιδεία
- Γιαννάκου, Μ. (2004) 'Η ανάγκη του διαλόγου για την παιδεία [*Need for discourse about education*]', *Εμφαση*, 21, 56-57
- Γιωτοπούλου-Σισλιάνου, Ε. (2007) 'Ένορχηστρωμένη επίθεση του συντηρητισμού [*Coordinated attack of conservatism*]' *Εφημερίδα 'ΤΑ ΝΕΑ'*, 19/05/07 available on <http://www.tanea.gr/default.asp?pid=96&ct=19&artid=22431&nid=0>
- Γουστέρης, Σ. (1998) *Η διδασκαλία της Ιστορίας στο Δημοτικό σχολείο* [*History teaching at primary school*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Δημαράς, Α. (1986) *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας)* [*The reformation that did not happen (History documentations)*], τομ. Α' (1821-1894), Αθήνα: Νέα Ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη
- Δημαράς, Α. (1986) *Η μεταρρύθμιση που δεν έγινε (Τεκμήρια Ιστορίας)* [*The reformation that*

- didn't happen*], τ.Β', Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Ερμής
- Δημαράς, Κ. (1998) *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός [Modern Greek Enlightenment]*, Αθήνα: Ερμής
- Δήμος, Χ. Η. & Καποθανάση, Α. (2002) 'Το σχολικό βιβλίο στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση κατά την Περίοδο 1917-1920 [The textbooks of primary education during the period 1917-1920]' in Καψάλης, Γ. & Κατσίκης, Α. *Σχολική Γνώση & Διδασκαλία στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση*, Ιωάννινα: Θεοδωρίδη, 494-500
- Διαμαντάκου, Π. (2007) 'Ιστορική...υστερία [Historical...hysteria], *ΤΑ ΝΕΑ*, 9 Μαρτίου 2007, 47/7
- Διάταγμα 1932 'Περί αναλυτικού προγράμματος διδασκείων μαθημάτων Μ. Εκπαιδύσεως δια το σχολικό έτος 1931-1932 [About the Curriculum of secondary education teaching subjects for the school year 1931-1932]', Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 12, 13/1/1932
- Διάταγμα 1935 'Περί του αναλυτικού προγράμματος της Μ. Εκπαιδύσεως [About the Curriculum of Secondary Education]', Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 537, 9/11/1935
- Διαμαντής, Δ. (2006) 'Η εκπαίδευση κατά τον Καποδίστρια' [Education during the years of Karodistrias' governing], *Επιστημονικό Βήμα*, 6, 24-31
- Διδασκαλικόν Βήμα* (1968) 'Η τελετή της αποστολής των βοηθητικών βιβλίων εις τα σχολεία [The ceremony of 'supportive' textbooks distribution to schools]', 638, 1
- Διδασκαλικόν Βήμα* (1970) 'Ολοκληρούται η πραγματική δωρεάν παιδεία [The real 'free' education is completed]', 676, 5
- Dosse, F. (1993) *Η ιστορία σε ψίχουλα. Από τα Annales στη «Νέα Ιστορία» [L'histoire en miettes: Des Annales à la "nouvelle histoire"]*, Πανεπιστημιακές εκδόσεις Κρήτης
- Έλατος, Ν. (1929) 'Το πρόβλημα των διδακτικών βιβλίων [The problem of didactic books]', *Διδασκαλικόν Βήμα*, 243, 3-9
- Εξαρχάκος, Θ. 'Εισαγωγή [Introduction]' in ΥΠΕΠΘ/Π.Ι. 'Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο 1997-2000. Το έργο μιας τριετίας, Αθήνα, 30-35
- Εφημερίδα 'Ελευθεροτυπία'* (2007) '«Το κίνημα» για το βιβλίο της Στ' Δημοτικού [The movement' of the 6th grade textbook]' 18 Φεβρουαρίου 2007 available on www.iospress/ios2007/ios20070218.htm
- Εφημερίδα 'Η Καθημερινή'* (1965) 'Το κείμενο της επιτροπής δια το διδακτικόν βιβλίον του κ. Κ. Καλοκαιρινού' [The report about Kalokairinos' didactic book], 11 Νοεμβρίου 1965
- Εφημερίδα 'Το Βήμα'* (1974) 'Έκτυπώνονται τα νέα βιβλία του Δημοτικού [New textbooks for primary school are printing]', 3 September 1974
- Εφημερίδα 'Το Βήμα'* (1990) 'Χωρίς βιβλία η επόμενη χρονιά: Ο Οργανισμός Εκδόσεως Διδακτικών βιβλίων δεν προλαβαίνει να τυπώσει! [Next school year without textbooks: the Didactic textbooks Publishing Organization can not catch up with publishing!]', 10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1990, 37
- Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως 139, 'Έκθεσις περί εις των κρίσιν υποβληθεισών Ιστοριών εις χρήσιν των γυμνασίων [Report about the judgement of the submitted Histories for Gymnasium's use], 31 Μαΐου 1908
- Εφημερίδα των συζητήσεων της Βουλής (1867) *Έκθεση επί του περί διδακτικών βιβλίων νομοσχεδίου του υπουργού Χ. Χριστόπουλου [Report of the Bill about the textbooks by the minister X. Christopoulos]*, Αθήνα: Εκ του Εθνικού Τυπογραφείου, 254-255
- Ευαγγελόπουλος, Σπ. (1987) *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης [History of the Modern Greek Education]*, τ. Α, Αθήνα: Διανά
- Ζαμπέλιος, Σπ. (1858) *Βυζαντιναί Μελέται. Περί πηγών νεοελληνικής εθνότητας από Η' άχρι Ι' εκατονταετηρίδος μ.Χ. [Byzantine studies. About new Hellenic ethnicity from 7th to the beginning of 9th century]*, Αθήναι
- Θεοδωρίδης, Σ. (2007) 'Για το βιβλίο της Ιστορίας ή αλλιώς «ούτε με τη Σκύλα ούτε με τη Χάρυβδη [About the history textbook or otherwise 'neither with Scylla nor with Charybdis']

available http://www.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=844&Itemid=30

Θώδης, Γ. & Μουταβελής, Α. (2008) *Διδακτέα και εξεταστέα ύλη στο μάθημα της Ιστορίας. Απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών μέσα από τα κυρίαρχα επιστημολογικά ρεύματα [Teaching and examined syllabus at school history. Teachers' views through dominant discipline trends]*, in Τριανάλος, Α. & Καραμηνάς, Ι. (eds) *6ο Πανελλήνιο συνέδριο Ελληνική Παιδαγωγική και Εκπαιδευτική Έρευνα*, Αθήνα: Ατραπός, 162-171

Ιμβριντέλη, Μ. (2002) 'Η παρουσία της ετερότητας/ του 'άλλου' στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα της ελληνικής πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης [The existence of diversity / the 'other' in the Greek primary education curriculum]' in Μπαγάκη, Γ. (ed.) *Ο εκπαιδευτικός και η ευρωπαϊκή διάσταση στην εκπαίδευση*, Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο, 147-159

Ισηγώνης, Α. Μ. (1964) *Ιστορία της Παιδείας [History of Education]*, Αθήνα

Καγκαλίδου, Α. (1999) 'Εκπαίδευση και πολιτική: η περίπτωση του καθεστώτος της 4^{ης} Αυγούστου [Education and policy: the case of the regime of 4th August]' Θεσσαλονίκη: Κυριακίδης

Κακαρούμπας, Β. (2008) *Η ιστορικότητα του έθνους και η εθνικότητα της ιστορίας [The historicity of nation and the nationality of history]*' available on www.alfavita/artra/artro20080129a.php

Καλαντζής, Κ. (2002) *Η παιδεία εν Ελλάδι 1935-1951 [Education in Greece 1935-1951]*, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα

Καλλέργης, Κ. 'Υστατη προειδοποίηση από Ε.Ε. για την έκδοση των σχολικών βιβλίων [Last call from the E.U. about the publishing of textbooks]', *Οικονομική Καθημερινή*, 1-4-2004

Καραγεώργου- Κούρτζη, Ο. (2004) 'Η ιστορία της Γ' γυμνασίου: Σταθμοί στη μορφή και το περιεχόμενο των σχολικών εγχειριδίων της ιστορίας των νεότερων χρόνων κατά την περίοδο 1980-2000 [The history textbook of the 3rd grade of Gymnasium: Landmark in the shape and the context of history school textbooks of modern times during the period 1890-2000]', available <http://www.elemedu.upatras.gr/eriande/synedria/synedrio3/praltika%2011/karageorgou.htm>

Καραφύλλης, Α. (2002) *Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση: Δύο αιώνες μεταρρυθμιστικών προσπαθειών [Modern Greek Education: two centuries of reforming attempts]* Αθήνα: Κριτική

Κάτσικας, Χ. & Θεριανός, Κ. (2004) *Ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Εκπαίδευσης: Από την ίδρυση του ελληνικού κράτους μέχρι το 2004 [History of the Modern Greek Education: From the establishment of the Greek State until 2004]*, Αθήνα: Σαββάλας

Καψάλης, Α. & Χαραλάμπους, Δ. (2008) *Σχολικά εγχειρίδια. Θεσμική εξέλιξη και σύγχρονη προβληματική [School textbooks. Institutional development and contemporary questioning]*, Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο

Κιτρομυλίδης, Π. (1996) *Νεοελληνικός διαφωτισμός [Modern Greek Enlightenment]*, Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης

Κιτρομυλίδης, Π. & Σκλαβενίτης, Τ. (2004) (eds) 'Ιστοριογραφία της νεότερης και σύγχρονης Ελλάδας 1833-2002 [Historiography of modern and contemporary Greece 1833-2003]', Αθήνα: Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών

Κόκκινος, Γ. (2002) 'Η διδασκαλία των ιστορικών εννοιών στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια Ιστορίας του Δημοτικού σχολείου [The teaching of historical knowledge in history textbooks of primary school]' in Καψάλης, Γ & Κατσίκης, Α. (eds) *Σχολική Γνώση & Διδασκαλία στην Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση*, Ιωάννινα, 249-262

Κόκκινος, Γ., Αθανασιάσης, Η, Τράντας, Π. & Βούρη, Σ. (2002) *Χαρτογράφηση και στατιστική ανάλυση της ιστορικής κουλτούρας των εκπαιδευτικών και των μαθητών της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα [Cartography and statistical analysis of primary education teachers' and pupils' historical culture in Greece]*' available on www.elemedu.upatras.gr/eriande/synedria/synedrio3/paktika%2011/kokkinos.htm

- Κοκκώνης, Π.Ι. (1850) *Εγχειρίδιον ή οδηγός της αλληλοδιδασκτικής μεθόδου νέος, τελειοποιημένος και πληρέστερος του μέχρι τούδε εν χρήσει οδηγού του σ.: εκδοθείς κατά το υπ' αριθμ. 2000 (21 Ιουλίου 1841) Βασιλικό διάταγμα, προς χρήσιν των δημοτικών σχολείων της Ελλάδος [Textbook or Guidebook of mutual teaching method, new, perfect and complete edition of the used guidebook of S.: edited according to no 2000 (21st June 1841) Royal Decree, in order to be used at primary schools of Greece]*, εν Αθήναις Τύποις Χ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφείας
- Κοκκώνης, Π.Ι. (1864) *Εγχειρίδιον ή οδηγός της αλληλοδιδασκτικής μεθόδου νέος, τελειοποιημένος και πληρέστερος του μέχρι τούδε εν χρήσει οδηγού του σ.: εκδοθείς κατά το υπ' αριθμ. 2000 (21 Ιουλίου 1841) Βασιλικό διάταγμα, προς χρήσιν των δημοτικών σχολείων της Ελλάδος [Textbook or Guidebook of mutual teaching method, new, perfect and complete edition of the used guidebook of S.: edited according to no 2000 (21st June 1841) Royal Decree, in order to be used at primary schools of Greece]*, εν Αθήναις Τύποις Χ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφείας
- Κονδύλης, Π. (2008) *Ο Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός. Οι φιλοσοφικές ιδέες [The Modern Greek Enlightenment. The philosophical ideas]*, Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο
- Κουλούρη, Χ. (1988) *Ιστορία και Γεωγραφία στα Ελληνικά σχολεία, 1834-1914: γνωστικό αντικείμενο και ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις: ανθολόγιο κειμένων, βιβλιογραφία σχολικών εγχειριδίων [History and Geography at Greek schools, 1834-1914: cognitive subject and ideological extensions: anthology of texts, bibliography of school textbooks]*, Αθήνα: Γενική Γραμματεία Νέας Γενιάς
- Κυπριανός, Π. (2004) *Συγκριτική ιστορία της ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης [Comparative history of the Greek education]*, Αθήνα: Βιβλιόραμα
- Κωφός, Ε. (2001) *Η Ελλάδα και το Ανατολικό ζήτημα 1875-1881 [Greece and the issue of East 1875-1881]*, Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών
- Λιάκος, Α. (2006) 'Γλώσσα και Έθνος στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα [Language and Nation in modern Greece]' available on www.greek-language.gr
- Λέφας, Χ. (1942) *Ιστορία της εκπαιδύσεως [History of education]*, Αθήνα: ΟΕΣΒ
- Λούβη, Ε. & Ξιφαράς, Δ. (2008) *Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη Ιστορία [Modern and Contemporary History]*, Αθήνα: ΟΕΔΒ
- Μαγουλάς, Κ. (2005) 'Προβλήματα στο σύστημα παραγωγής και διανομής των σχολικών βιβλίων [Problems in the system of textbooks production] in ΥΠΕΠΘ/ Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο ' *Διδακτικό βιβλίο και εκπαιδευτικό υλικό στο σχολείο: προβληματισμοί – δυνατότητες-προοπτικές*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Ζήτη
- Μαξούρης, Δ. (2008) 'Η Νεότερη Ελληνική Ιστορία στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση [Modern Greek History in primary education]' in Τριλιανός, Α. & Καραμηνάς, Δ. (eds) *6ο Πανελλήνιο συνέδριο Ελληνική Παιδαγωγική και Εκπαιδευτική Έρευνα*, Αθήνα: Ατραπός, 276-284
- Μάππα, Σ. (1982) 'Ιστορία και ιδεολογία: τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια [History and ideology: the school books]' in Κέντρο Μεσογειακών Μελετών, *Κριτική της Εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής (1974-1981)*, Αθήνα: ΚΜΕ
- Μαργαρίτης, Γ. (2007) 'Η "ιμπρεσιονιστική" μέθοδος διδασκαλίας της ιστορίας, η ευτέλεια των βαρβάρων και ημών των ιδίων [The impressionistic history teaching method and the unworthiness of barbarians and us ourselves]', *Αυγή*, 18 Μαρτίου 2007
- Ματθαίου, Δ. (2002) *Η εκπαίδευση απέναντι στις προκλήσεις του 21^{ου} αιώνα. Νέες ορίζουσες και προοπτικές [Education in front of 21st century challenges. New determinants and perspectives]*, Αθήνα: Α.Α. Λιβάνη
- Μαυρογιώργος, Γ. (1990) 'Για το σχεδιασμό δραστηριοτήτων καινοτομία στη διδασκαλία της ιστορίας [About the design of innovating activities in history teaching]', *Σύγχρονη Εκπαίδευση*, 55, 17-26
- Μαυροσκούφης, Δ. (1996): *Εκπαίδευση και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα 1821-*

- 1832[*Education and educational policy in Greece 1821-1832*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Ενυάλιο Κληροδότημα
- Μαυροσκούφης, Δ. (1997) *Η σχολική ιστορία στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση (1975-1995)* [*School history in Secondary education (1975-1995)*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Μαυροσκούφης, Δ. (1999) *Εμπειρίες και απόψεις μαθητών και φοιτητών σχετικές με το μάθημα της ιστορίας: θεωρητικά ζητήματα και εμπειρική έρευνα* [*Pupils' and students' experiences of and views on school history: theoretical issues and empirical research*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Αδελφοί Κυριακίδη
- Μηταφίδης, Τ. (2002) '«Πατρίς, Θρησκεία, Λογοκρισία»: η σχολική ιστορία σε καθεστώς επιτήρησης και πολιτικής ομηρίας [Patris, Religion, Censorship': school history under the regime of state supervision and politically kept as a hostage]', *Σύγχρονη Εκπαίδευση*, 125, 24-32
- Μπονίδης, Κ. (2004) *Το περιεχόμενο του σχολικού βιβλίου ως αντικείμενο έρευνας* [*School book content as subject of research*], Αθήνα: Μεταίχιμο
- Μπουζάκης, Σ. (2002a) *Νεοελληνική Εκπαίδευση 1821-1998: Εξαρτημένη ανάπτυξη* [*Modern Greek Education 1821-1998: Contingent Development*], τομ. Β', Αθήνα: Gutenberg
- Μπουζάκης Σ. (2002b) *Εκπαιδευτικές Μεταρρυθμίσεις στην Ελλάδα. Πρωτοβάθμια και Δευτεροβάθμια Γενική και Τεχνικοεπαγγελματική Εκπαίδευση* [*Educational Reforms in Greece. Primary and Secondary General and Techno-vocational Education*], τομ. Β', Αθήνα: Gutenberg
- Μπούντα, Ε. (2006) *Η ιστορία στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση: Αναλυτικά προγράμματα και ιστορική σκέψη* [*History in primary education: curricula and historical thinking*], διδακτορική διατριβή, Αθήνα: Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο
- Νατσιός, Δ. (2006) 'Τα νεοταξικά βιβλία ιστορία του δημοτικού [The 'new-class' history textbooks for primary school]' available on http://palio.antibaro.gr/society/natsios_biblia.php
- Νομοθετικό Διάταγμα 4320 (1963) 'Περί κυρώσεως της υπ. Αρ. 142/14-11-1962 πράξεως του Υπουργικού Συμβουλίου «περί ρυθμίσεως θεμάτων αφορώντων εις τη συγγραφήν, κρίσιν και έκδοσιν διδακτικών βιβλίων κτλ.» [*About ratification of the no. 142/14-11-1962 Ministers Council enactment 'about regulation of matters concerning authorship, judgement and publishing of didactic books etc.'*] ' ΦΕΚ 96
- Νόμος ΑΜΒ' (1882) 'Περί των διδακτικών βιβλίων της μέσης και κατώτερης εκπαιδύσεως [*About the textbooks of the secondary and primary education*]', ΦΕΚ 62
- Νόμος ΓΣΑ' (1907) 'Περί διδακτικών βιβλίων[*About school textbooks*]', ΦΕΚ 60, 4 Απριλίου 1907, 221-224
- Νόμος 827 (1917) 'Περί διδακτικών βιβλίων[*About school textbooks*]', ΦΕΚ 188, 5 Σεπτεμβρίου 1917
- Νόμος 1332 (1918) 'Περί διδακτικών βιβλίων[*About school textbooks*]', ΦΕΚ 89, 27 Μαΐου 1918
- Νόμος 186 (1975) 'Περί του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικών Μελετών και Επιμορφώσεως και διατάξεων τινων του προσωπικού της Κεντρικής Υπηρεσίας του Υπουργείου Εθνικής Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων[*About the Centre of Educational Studies and in-Service training and the staff of Main Office of Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs*], ΦΕΚ 214
- Νόμος 2525 (1997) 'Ένιαίο Λύκειο, πρόσβαση των αποφοίτων του στην τριτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση, αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού έργου και άλλες διατάξεις [*Eniaio Lyceum, access of its graduate to third level education, assessment of educational achievement and other orders*]', ΦΕΚ 188
- Νούτσος, Χ. (1988) *Ιδεολογία και εκπαιδευτική πολιτική* [*Ideology anf educational policy*] Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο
- Νούτσος, Χ. (1988) *Προγράμματα Μέσης εκπαίδευσης και κοινωνικός έλεγχος (1931-1973)* [*Curriculum of secondary education and social control (1931-1973)*], Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο

- Νούτσος, Π. (2005) *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός [Modern Greek Enlightenment]*, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα
- Ξωγέλλης, Π. (1987) *Η διδασκαλία της Ιστορίας στο Γυμνάσιο και το Λύκειο [History teaching at Gymnasium and Lyceum]*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Παληκίδης, Α. (1997) 'Οι ηρωικές προσωπογραφίες στα εγχειρίδια Ιστορίας του Δημοτικού σχολείου (1950-2005)[*The heroic portraits in history textbooks of primary school (1995-2005)*] στο Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου με θέμα «Η πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση και οι προκλήσεις της εποχής μας» που πραγματοποιήθηκε από το Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, 17-20 Μαΐου 2007, 703- 711
- Παληκίδης, Α.(2009) 'Ο ρόλος της εικόνας στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια ιστορίας της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (1950-2005)[*The role of image in history textbooks of secondary education*], Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Παπαγιαννίδου, Μ. (1989) 'Σχολεία και... ρούχα «σινιέ» [Schools and... 'soignée' clothes], *Εφημερίδα 'Το Βήμα'*, 3 Σεπτεμβρίου 1989, 53
- Παπαρηγόπουλος, Κ. (1853) *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους Από των αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τη σήμερον, Προς διδασκαλία των παιδων [History of the Greek nation From the ancient times until today, For the use of teaching children]*, Αθήνα: εκ της Τυπογραφίας Ανδρέου Κορομηλά
- Παρίσης, Σ. Μ. (1893) 'Ανώτερα και Μέση εκπαίδευση ήτοι Συλλογή Νόμων[*Upper and secondary Education, Law Collection*]', εν Αθήναις
- Πασιάς, Γ. & Ρουσσάκης, Ι. (2002) 'Οι σχηματισμοί λόγου της Ευρωπαϊκής Κοινότητας και οι επιδράσεις τους στη διαμόρφωση της ελληνικής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής. Μελέτη Περίπτωσης: Τα ΕΠΕΑΕΚ 1 και 2 και η εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση 1997-2001' [Discourse formations of the European Community and their influences on the form of the Greek educational policy. Case Study: EPEAK 1 and 2 and the educational reform of 1997-2001] , available on www.elemedu/upatras.gr/eriande/synedria/synedrio2/practica/passiasroussakis
- Πελώνη, Α. (2007) 'Σχολικά εγχειρίδια στην πυρά [School textbooks on fire]', *Εφημερίδα 'Τα Νέα'*, 19 Ιανουαρίου 2007, 6
- Πεσματζόγλου, Σ. (1994) 'Τεχνική βοήθεια και εκπαιδευτικές ανταλλαγές κατά την πρώτη μεταπολεμική περίοδο (1945-1967) [Techinal support and educational exchanges during the first postwar area (1945-1967)]' in Ίδρυμα Καράγιωργα, *Η ελληνική κοινωνία κατά την πρώτη μεταπολεμική περίοδο (1945-1967)*, Αθήνα , 457-470
- Πετρίδης, Δ.Ι. (1881) *Στοιχειώδεις πρακτικά οδηγία περί διδασκαλίας μαθημάτων εν τοις δημοτικοίς σχολείοις [Basic and practical instructions about teaching primary school subjects]*, Αθήνα
- Πολίτης, Α. (1993) *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα του 1830-1880 [Ideologies and Attitudes in Greece of 1883-1880]*, Αθήνα: Ε.Μ.Ν.Ε.- Μνήμων
- 'Πρόγραμμα της ποσότητας και της οικονομίας της ύλης των αναγνωστικών βιβλίων [Programme of the quantity and economy of primer textbooks syllabus]', *Εφημερίδα της κυβερνήσεως* 105, 30 Μαΐου 1907, 42-59
- 'Πρόγραμμα της ποσότητας και της οικονομίας της ύλης των διδακτικών βιβλίων της μέσης εκπαίδευσως [Programme of the quantity and economy of secondary education history textbooks]', *Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως* 139, 12 Ιουλίου 1907
- Πρακτικά των συνεδριάσεων της Βουλής (1855), Β' Σύνοδος, Δ' Περίοδος, τ. Β', Συνεδρίαση ΟΣΤ', 23 Ιουνίου 1855, Αθήνα: Εκ του Δημοσίου Τυπογραφείου, 7
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 1034 'Περί των διδασκόμενων μαθημάτων και του Αναλυτικού και Ωρολόγιου Προγράμματος του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [About the teaching subject, Curriculum and timetable of Primary School]', ΦΕΚ 347, 12/11/1977
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 197 'Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα ιστορίας της Γ' τάξης του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [History Curriculum for 3rd grade of Primary School]', ΦΕΚ Α 91/15 /6/1987

- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 416 ‘Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα ιστορίας της Δ’ τάξης του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [History Curriculum for 4th grade of Primary School]’, ΦΕΚ Α 186/19 /10/1987
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 431 ‘Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα ιστορίας της Ε’ τάξης του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [History Curriculum for 5th grade of Primary School]’, ΦΕΚ Α 203/23 /11/1987
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 540 ‘Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα ιστορίας της Στ’ τάξης του Δημοτικού Σχολείου [History Curriculum for 6th grade of Primary School]’, ΦΕΚ Α 226/6/10/1989
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 831 ‘Περί αναλυτικού προγράμματος του Ημερήσιου Γυμνασίου και του αναλυτικού προγράμματος των Α’ και Β’ τάξεως αυτού [About the Curriculum of Day Gymnasium and the Curriculum of A’ and B’ grades of Day Gymnasium]’, ΦΕΚ 270, 20/9/1977
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 374 ‘Περί του Αναλυτικού προγράμματος της Γ’ τάξης του ημερήσιου Γυμνασίου και του ωρολογίου και αναλυτικού προγράμματος του Εσπερινού Γυμνασίου [About the Curriculum of C’ grade of Day Gymnasium and the timetable and Curriculum of Evening Gymnasium]’, ΦΕΚ 79, 15/5/1978
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 438 ‘Ωρολόγιο και Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα Γυμνασίου [Timetable and Curriculum of Gymnasium]’, ΦΕΚ 158, 19/9/1985
- Προεδρικό Διάταγμα 117 Τροποποίηση αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σχολικών μονάδων Δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης [Amendment of secondary education school units Curricula]’, ΦΕΚ 87, 24/5/1996
- Πυργιωτάκης, Ι. Ε. (1992) *Η οδύσσεια του διδασκαλικού επαγγέλματος [The odyssey of teaching profession,]* Θεσσαλονίκη: Αφοι Κυριακίδη
- Πυργιωτάκης, Γ. (2001) *Εκπαίδευση και κοινωνία στην Ελλάδα: οι διαλεκτικές σχέσεις και οι αδιάλλακτες συγκρούσεις [Education and society in Greece: dialectic relationship and irreconcilable conflicts]*, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα
- Ρεπούση, Μ. (2004) *Μαθήματα Ιστορίας, Από την ιστορία στην ιστορική εκπαίδευση [History lessons From history to history education]*, Αθήνα: Καστανιώτη
- Ρουσσάκης, Ι. (2002) ‘Τρεις αφηγήσεις για την εκπαίδευση στις αρχές του 21^{ου} αιώνα: Ουσία και επίφαση [Three narratives about education in the beginning of 20th century: Substance and Appearance]’ στο Ματθαίου, Δ. (ed) *Η εκπαίδευση απέναντι στις προκλήσεις του 21ου αιώνα. Νέες ορίζουσες και προοπτικές*, Αθήνα : Α.Α. Λιβάνη
- Σαλονικίδη, Γ. (2006) *Αναφορά στην ιστορία της νεοελληνικής εκπαίδευσης (Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός-1985)[Reference to the history of modern Greek education (Modern Greek Enlightenment-1895) available on www.eduportal.gr*
- Σιφναίος, Κ. (1956) ‘Πανδέκται νέων νόμων και διαταγμάτων [Omnibus Book of new laws and decrees]’, τομ. ΙΒ’, Αθήναι
- Σκιαδάς, Ε. (1981) *Χρονικό της ελληνικής τυπογραφίας [Memorial of the Greek typography]*, τομ. Β’ (1833-1883), Αθήνα: Gutenberg
- Σκοπετέα, Ε. (1988) *Το "Πρότυπο Βασίλειο" και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα [The ‘Ideal Kingdom’ and the Great Idea. Aspects of the national issue in Greece]* Αθήνα: Πολύτυπο.
- Τζήκας, Χ. (1999) *Ο Ι.Π. Κοκκόνης και ο ρόλος του στη θεμελίωση και τα πρώτα βήματα της δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης στην Ελλάδα [I.P. Kokkonis and his role in the establishment and the first steps of primary education in Greece]*, Αθήνα: Gutenberg
- Τύπας, Γ. (2005) ‘Τα νέα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια των Μαθηματικών της Πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης: το πλαίσιο δημιουργίας και τα ειδικά χαρακτηριστικά τους [The new textbooks for Maths for primary education: the context of their creation and their special characteristics]’ in ΥΠΕΠΘ/ΠΙ ‘*Διδακτικό βιβλίο και εκπαιδευτικό υλικό στο σχολείο: προβληματισμοί-δυνατότητες-προοπτικές*’, Θεσσαλονίκη: Ζήτη, 48-55
- ΥΠΕΠΘ (1992) *Εθνικός Διάλογος για την παιδεία. Πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση*, Αθήνα

- ΥΠΕΠΘ (1998) *Μεταρρυθμίζοντας την παιδεία (Οκτώβριος 1996-Οκτώβριος 1998)* [Reforming the education (October 1996- October 1998)], Αθήνα
- ΥΠΕΠΘ/ΠΙ (2000) *Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο 1997-2000. Το έργο μιας τριετίας* [Pedagogical Institution 1997-2000. The Achievement of three years time], Αθήνα 2000
- ΥΠΕΠΘ (2003) *Πρόσκληση εκδήλωσης ενδιαφέροντος για τη συγγραφή διδακτικών πακέτων (βιβλίο μαθητή, βιβλίο εκπαιδευτικού, εργαστηριακός οδηγός, τετράδιο εργασιών) για το δημοτικό* [Invitation of interest in didactic package authorship for primary school] available on www.pi-schools.gr/prokindex.php
- ΥΠΕΠΘ/ΠΙ (2004) *Απολογισμός 2000-2004* [Review 2000-2004], Αθήνα 2004
- ΥΠΕΠΘ/ΠΙ (2007) *Έκθεση πεπραγμένων του Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου 2005-2007* [Report of Pedagogical Institution proceedings 2005-2007], Αθήνα 2007
- ΥΠΕΠΘ (2008) *Οδηγίες για τη διδασκαλία των Μαθημάτων των Α΄, Β΄ και Γ΄ τάξεων Ημερήσιου και Εσπερινού Γυμνασίου* [Guidelines for the teaching of subjects of A΄, B΄ C΄ grades of Daily and Evening Gymnasium], 24 Σεπτεμβρίου 2008
- Υπόμνημα (1894) *Περί διδακτικών βιβλίων συνταχθέν μεν υπό του Θεοδ. Ν. Αποστολοπούλου ως εισηγητού, υποβληθέν δε τω πρωθυπουργώ κ. Χαρ. Τρικούπη υπό επιτροπείας των συγγραφέων* [About the textbook, the memorial was compiled by the introducer Theod. N. Apostolopoulos on behalf of the authors and submitted to the prime minister Char. Trikoupis], Εν Αθήναις
- Φλουρής, Γ. & Ιβρίντελη Μ. (2005) *Από την Ευρώπη των 15 στην Ευρώπη των 25. Οι νέες χώρες-μέλη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (ΕΕ) ως λόγος στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα (ΑΠ) του ελληνικού δημοτικού σχολείου. Συγκριτική θεώρηση των δύο τελευταίων μεταρρυθμίσεων (1982-1985, 1998-2000)* [From Europe of 15 to Europe of 25. The new countries-members of the European Union as discourse in the Greek primary curriculum. Comparative view of the last two reforms (1982-1985, 1998-2000)] in Μπουζάκης, Σ. (ed.) *Ιστορία της Εκπαίδευσης*, Πάτρα: Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών
- Φλουρής, Γ. & Ιμβριντέλη, Μ. (2009) *Η εικόνα του μεσογειακού 'άλλου' στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια της ελληνικής πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης* [The image of the Mediterranean 'other' in the Greek primary education school textbooks], available on http://www.alfavita.gr/artra/art4_8_9_828.php
- Φραγκουδάκη, Α. (2001) *Η γλώσσα και το έθνος 1880-1980:εκατό χρόνια αγώνες για την αυθεντική ελληνική γλώσσα* [Language and nation 1880-1980:a hundred years conflicts about the authentic Greek language], Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια
- Φραγκουδάκη, Α. & Δραγώνα Θ. (1997) (eds) *«Τι είν' η πατρίδα μας;» Εθνοκεντρισμός στην εκπαίδευση* [What is our country? Ethnocentrism in education], Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια
- Φραγκουδάκη, Α. (2010) *Ιστορία Ευρωπαϊκή ή Βαλκανική* [European or Balkan history], ΤΑ ΝΕΑ, available on <http://www.tanea.gr/default.asp?pid=30&ct=19&artid=4607507>
- Χαιδάς, Α (1997) *Η αλληλοδιδασκτική μέθοδος διδασκαλίας στην Ελληνική εκπαίδευση του 19^{ου} αιώνα* [The mutual teaching method in the Greek education of 19th century] available on www.sfp.gr/getfile_g.aspx?file=χαιδας-veo.doc
- Χαραλαμπίκης, Μ. (2007) *Γιαννάκου: Το βιβλίο της έκτης τάξης δεν θα αποσυρθεί* [Giannakou: The book for the sixth grade will not be withdrawn] available on <http://www.tanea.gr/default.asp?pid=2&ct=1&artid=7600>
- Χαραλάμπους, Δ. (1992) *Το σχολικό βιβλίο στην Ελλάδα: σταθμοί στην εξέλιξη ενός θεσμού* [School textbook in Greece:stages of the development of a institution] paper present in the meeting *Σχολικό βιβλίο: εξέλιξη, λειτουργίες, διαπιστώσεις* [School textbook: development, roles and ascertainments] organized by Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Pedagogy School, Φλώρινα