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**HISTORY IN THE TURKISH ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL: PERCEPTIONS AND PEDAGOGY**

Submitted

By

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for the degree of PhD

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To Asuman and Aymete

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates teachers' and pupils' roles in the teaching and learning of elementary history in relation to the social studies curriculum in Turkish schools. The methodological design of the study embraces both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Questionnaires were completed by 219 elementary teachers in Istanbul and Samsun in Turkey. Seven class teachers and three head teachers took part in the interview process based in the study's three case schools in the Bafra district of Samsun. Observations took place in three fourth and three fifth grade elementary classrooms of the same schools and lasted three weeks.

The study argues that children must be given a sense of the discipline of history by introducing historical enquiry as the basis of the school history teaching in order that pupils will develop the skills which make significant contributions to their cognitive development (see Chapter three).

From the analysis of the data the study found that:

- There were gaps between teachers' espoused child-centred curriculum theories and their classroom practices. Teachers preferred whole class teaching techniques (i.e. lecturing and questioning) as the means of delivering the curriculum. The curriculum itself was too broad and too knowledge-based.
- History was seen as a vehicle in citizenship education based on the political events of national history. The subject's classroom activities were dominated by textbooks and the practice of 'pupil's recitation' which was limited to the memorisation of factual information.
- Teachers mostly used a style of questioning which checked pupils' historical knowledge rather than their historical understanding.
- From the analysis of interview data and Turkish curriculum documents, the study argued that the teachers could be classified as 'national utopians' and 'utilitarian/instrumentalists' in their perceptions of elementary education. This affected their teaching styles.
- The analysis of video-tape data showed that teachers used three main teaching styles. On the basis of a further classification teachers were grouped as 'lecturers', 'controllers of proxy teaching' and 'questioners'. The relationship between teaching styles and teachers' perceptions of elementary education is discussed in chapters five and six.
- The teachers thought that they were experts in the teaching of literacy and numeracy and argued that subject specialism was only to be considered in other areas of the curriculum.
- This study also confirmed that the social studies textbooks used in the classrooms involved in the study were not appropriate to pupils' understanding and reading levels (see chapters five and six). During the observations, it was recorded that below average pupils used their textbooks less than the above average and average pupils. The textbooks were less likely to promote the task related behaviour category 'working' than other materials.

The study has implications for the process of educational change beyond the teaching of history. It focuses on issues of curriculum and practice in Turkish elementary schools by analysing the factors affecting teachers' perceptions of curriculum policy and their own practices. It investigates each of these areas and presents the implications for policy, theory, practice and research in Chapter seven by concluding that the starting point for a rational educational policy should be partnership with teachers. Therefore, the study argues that teachers must be included in research projects and that such projects need to use a variety of techniques based on classroom practice, (e.g. interview analysis, observation techniques, questionnaires, document analysis, case studies and action research) explored and evaluated throughout this study.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CACE	Central Advisory Council for Education (England)
CHATA	Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches at Key Stages 2 and 3
DES	Department of Education and Science
DFE	Department for Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector/ Inspector of Schools
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
IEA	International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement
İGM	İlköğretim Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Primary Education: Turkey)
LEA	Local education authority
MEŞ	Milli Eğitim Şurası (National Education Council: Turkey)
NCVQ	National Council for Vocational Qualifications
NPHP	Nuffield Primary History Project
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education
ORACLE	Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation
PACE	The Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience
PRINDEP	Primary Needs Independent Evaluation Project
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SCAA	School Curriculum and Assessment Authority

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION

1.1 The purpose of the study

This study explores Turkish elementary teachers' classroom practices and their perceptions of curriculum policy in relation to history teaching. It also provides a descriptive account of pupils' historical learning. It uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods: the questionnaire, interview and classroom observation.

There is little existing research into the teaching of elementary history in Turkey. This study was undertaken to fill this gap and in doing so sought to put observation techniques onto the research agenda. It was classroom based and focused on the classroom activities of teachers and pupils. It is the first time such a study, using observation techniques, has been undertaken on the teaching of elementary history in Turkey.

Lack of research done in this field in Turkey led me to look at research issues from an international perspective in order to make comparisons and to find relevant

examples in an attempt to provide possible objectives for later research and assess the implications for further developments in the curriculum relevant to elementary history teaching.

The aim of this study, therefore, is to investigate teachers' and pupils' roles in the teaching and learning of history, with respect to the social studies curriculum. As suggested by researchers (see Galton *et. al.*, 1980a; Croll, 1986) for a study of this kind, classroom observations are included in the study.

The research process consists of the application of three research methods detailed in chapters four and five: First, a preliminary questionnaire was conducted within nineteen elementary and primary schools for the purpose of gathering data from a large population in order to address problems and to develop criteria for interviews and classroom observations. Second, three schools were chosen to illustrate the country's elementary tradition in which the system comprises elementary and primary schools and in the study's case, a third was added as a 'Curriculum Laboratory School'¹. Last, interviews were carried out in these schools along with classroom observations.

1.2 Outline of the study

This study is divided into six chapters. Chapter two is devoted to the review of related literature: the first section informs the reader about the current educational system in Turkey and its historical roots. The second section examines the

educational reforms in England and the teachers' reaction to the change process. Chapter three explores the psychological perspectives in relation to the teaching and learning of primary history.

Chapter four is divided into two sections. The first section identifies the specific research questions, while the second section addresses these questions attempting to justify the research methods chosen.

Chapter five analyses the data in separate sections. Each section begins with detailed information about the research process and ends with a summary or/and discussion of results.

Chapter six is devoted to a synthesis of the data and discussion of the main issues. Chapter seven gives a short summary of the main findings and presents implications for curriculum development. It also makes suggestions for future research.

¹ In 1990 the National Education Development Project was introduced by the Government of Turkey. The project organised Curriculum Laboratory Schools (MLO) in which science, social studies laboratories and libraries were established with the provision of a range of text materials (e.g. computers, video-films and so on).

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXTS FOR EDUCATION: REFORM IN TURKEY AND IN ENGLAND

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section attempts to inform the reader about the current educational system in Turkey and examines its historical roots. The second section is devoted to a number of issues arising from examining educational reform in England and the teachers' reaction to the change process.

2.1 Education in Turkey

2.1.1 Current educational system¹

a. Background information about the country

Turkey, once the centre of the Ottoman Empire, lies between Asia and Europe as a cultural and geopolitical isthmus. In 1919, in the immediate aftermath of World War I, the Turkish National Struggle began. Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the leader of the nationalist congress, led the successful defence of Turkish soil against the Italian, British, French, and Greek forces between 1919 and 1922. Turkey was established as an independent republic in 1923, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk taking his place as first President of the Republic. 1946 marked the point when Turkey became a democratic republic seeing its first free election. The Republican period brought with it a secular constitution, and eventually a parliamentary democracy with a free

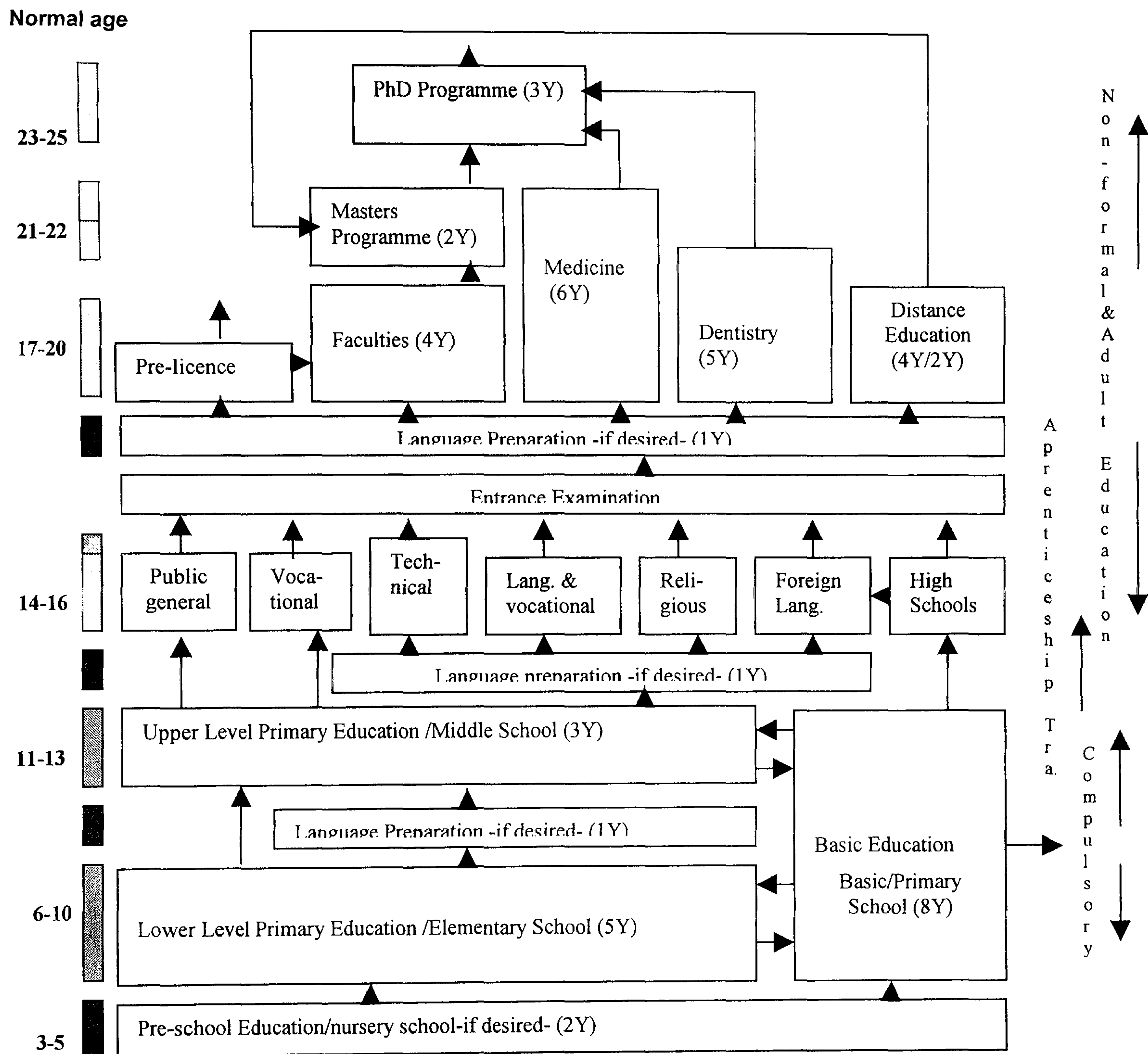
market economy, which has endured throughout most of the post-war period.

The European part of the country is called Thrace, while the Asian part is known as Anatolia (Asia Minor). Turkey has a land area of 770,760 square kilometres and most of which is in Anatolia (755,688 square km.). According to the November 1997 census, the population of Turkey is 62,606,157 and more than two thirds of people live in urban areas. Although Ankara is the capital city of Turkey, Istanbul has the biggest population (9,198,229) and is still the cultural and commercial capital of the country.

b. School system

Amongst the major reforms adopted by the Turkish Republic were those in the field of education. The 1924 law which unified the education system put all schools under the centralised authority of the Ministry of Education. The task entrusted to the Ministry was that of the development of opening new elementary and secondary schools and other institutions, thus creating a modern education system. (*Handbook of Primary Education in Europe*, 1989; Akyuz, 1997).

Figure1.1: Structure of Turkish education system



Source: Education at a Glance © OECD 1996: modified according to current changes.

c. Education governance

This has created a situation in which the administration of educational system is centralised under the control of the Ministry of Education. It is divided into two major areas: *formal* and *non-formal education*. Included in the area of formal education are the institutions of *pre-school education*, *primary education*, *secondary education* and *higher education* (*Handbook of Primary Education in Europe*, 1989).

Non-formal education organises learning activities both inside and outside the formal education institutions. It caters for those who feel the need to improve their general educational level or who need to serve an apprenticeship in a trade, or to undertake some type of vocational training.

The responsibilities of the Ministry of Education are varied. It is charged with: the responsibility for drawing up curricula, co-ordination of the different areas of the work of the private and voluntary educational organisations which are officially recognised; the design, building and the maintenance of schools; and the provision and development of educational materials. The central system accommodates two advisory bodies: the Supreme Council of National Education and the Board of Education. Within the Supreme Council both public and selected private institutions are represented. The Minister of Education convenes the Supreme Council annually which makes recommendations for the coming year on all matters related to education. The other advisory body operating under the auspices of the Ministry, the Board of Education, is seated permanently and its specific responsibilities involve designing the curricula, control of examinations and the approval of textbooks. Its decisions, however, are subject to Ministerial approval. Policy on matters with regard to higher education is determined by the Higher Education Council (*Handbook of Primary Education in Europe*, 1989).

The operation of secondary schools is regulated by the Board of Ministerial Inspectors, which has direct responsibility for the inspection of secondary schools

while supervising the provincial inspectors of lower primary schools. In the provinces, the inspection and supervision of elementary schools is undertaken by the Inspectors of Elementary Education. In these areas educational affairs are organised by the Directors of National Education, who while being appointed directly by the Minister are responsible, when carrying out their day to day tasks, to the provincial governor who directs their operations (*ibid.*).

d. Educational finance

Education at all levels is supported by central government. This area of the budget constitutes approximately ten per cent of overall public spending. Local associations for the construction and maintenance of schools also give financial support to primary education. Every school also has associations such as the School and Family Union which cover some expenses of the school.

e. Aims of primary education

The Constitution of the Republic declares that all shall have the right to education. In line with this state schools administer primary education which is both compulsory and free. Classes must be taught in Turkish, and religious education is a compulsory subject in the curricula of primary and secondary schools (see 2.1.2: b. The republican period). The only institutions exempt from these rules are those which are specially licensed. The principles of education codified in the Constitution are as follows: universality and equality, fulfilment of individual and social needs, freedom of choice, right to education, equality of opportunity, education for all

throughout life, adherence to Atatürk's reforms and principles including secularism, the building of democracy, a scientific approach, co-education, and school parent co-operation.

Most pre-primary education is private and is not considered to be an integral part of public education, though some of these schools are organized and operated by State primary schools. Pre-primary education is concentrated in the urban areas, where it serves the rapidly increasing demands of more and more working mothers.

The Basic Law of National Education (1989) aims to ensure that children in primary education gain the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary for what is considered to be the most appropriate course in their transition to adult life. It aims to facilitate the development of characteristics conducive to life in a balanced and healthy society. This necessitates the advancement of physical, mental, ethical, spiritual and emotional health amongst the widest section of the population.

f. Primary school organization

There are three stages in primary education: Stage 1 (6-8 age group), Stage 2 (9-10 age group); these two are in lower primary (elementary) education and Stage 3 (11-13 age group) which comprises upper primary (middle school) education. Although the classes consist of the same age groups, they are comprised of children of mixed ability. Pupils may be asked to repeat one year of a stage if they fail the examinations set by teachers during the academic term.

The average class size is 40 pupils. The schools of many cities carry out both morning and afternoon teaching sessions due to the enrolment of an excessive number of pupils. Especially in primary schools (consisting of elementary and middle schools), some elementary pupils attend morning classes and the rest attend afternoon classes.

g. Curriculum

In the first stage of the school children are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, life studies, and basic sciences together with arts, music and physical education. Specialization only occurs in the last two stages (*Handbook of Primary Education in Europe*, 1989).

The academic year commences in September and lasts through until May or June. It is divided into two academic terms: autumn (*güz*) and spring (*bahar*). Allocation of time to each subject is based on a maximum and minimum number of hours and it changes according to the stage. Turkish and mathematics are given more time allocation than other subjects. However, ‘life studies’ (a combination of social studies and science) shares this priority with Turkish and mathematics at Stage 1 (IGM, 1995) art, music and physical education take place throughout all stages. At Stage 2, these three subjects are taught by specialist teachers if there is enough staffing at the school.

Throughout the eight-years of compulsory primary education the stated aims are to achieve programme integrity; to improve educational quality, and the curricula for mathematics, science, artistic crafts, handicrafts, and a foreign language in the middle schools; and to advance individual and co-operative activities in elementary schools. A foreign language was also introduced at Stage 2 in the 1997-1998 academic year. From the same academic year, 'national history' and 'national geography' are integrated as 'social studies' in Stage 3. Courses are developed to meet the requirements of integrity demanded by the eight-year program. They concentrate upon the implementation of programs relating to Turkish language, the social sciences, general knowledge and culture, music and elective courses (İGM, 1997).

Children are tested by teachers in each academic term and parents are informed by students' record cards. There have been entrance examinations prepared by the Ministry for pupils before entering Stage 3 to attend some state or private middle and high schools. After the introduction of the eight-year compulsory primary education, these entrance examinations are now being considered at the end of Stage 3.

h. School staffing

Teachers in Turkey are officials and are directly responsible to, and paid by, the Ministry of Education. In 1983 teacher-training institutes were attached to universities and have been providing four years university education for subject

teacher candidates. Since 1992 pre-primary and primary teacher training have been raised from two years to four years. According to 1992 statistical records 57.2 per cent of lower primary teachers are male and on average, a teacher teaches 28.5 pupils and an average elementary school, whether unique or as a part of a primary school, employs 4.7 teachers. Likewise, 59 per cent of upper primary teachers are male. An upper primary teacher (specialist) teaches 45.6 pupils and an average upper primary or middle school employs 7.4 teachers.

In order to meet the Ministry of Education's needs for class teachers, the Higher Education Council made some structural changes in education faculties. From 1997 all teacher candidates in faculties can get a 'primary teaching certificate' if they complete courses which are arranged by primary education departments. Therefore, all teacher candidates, in theory, will have teaching qualifications for primary education while they will have their subject specialism in secondary education.

Classroom teachers teach all subjects at Stage 1. Art, music and physical education can be taught by specialists at Stage 2. On the other hand, all subjects are taught by specialist teachers at Stage 3. There are special working groups in schools and each teacher is an active member of one of these groups. Groups are arranged according to subject areas (in Stage 3), stages and special education needs. The role of the head teacher is administrative.

k. Facilities

Facilities vary widely between rural and urban areas and between western and eastern parts of the country. The contribution of school-parents unions in primary schools is an important issue. In many cases, these associations help schools to provide text materials, to repair school buildings, to improve library facilities, to construct additional buildings and so on.

l. Contemporary issues

Many changes have recently been made in the field of primary education. Compulsory primary education has been extended from five years to a continuous period of eight years by the 1997 law. Also new financial provision is given in order to support this extension. The draft bill previously caused many discussions. The Welfare (*Refah*) Party, the main partner in the conservative coalition government, did not accept continuous compulsory eight-year primary (basic)² education, since it was suggested that all vocational middle schools, which formed a part of the vocational high schools, would be closed and there would be real integration of elementary and middle schools, in the form of primary education. According to the draft bill middle school departments of the religious high schools would be closed. This was unacceptable to the Welfare party and its small partner the True Path (*Doğru Yol*) Party. However, the political opposition, the press and other institutions strongly supported continuous compulsory eight-year primary education, and this was one of the most important reasons behind the defeat of the conservative government. The National Assembly accepted the draft bill as law via the efforts of

current government.

According to the new law vocational education and apprenticeship training will be given after the eight-year primary education; classroom sizes will be reduced to 30 (it is currently above 50 in some schools) and to accommodate this, the number of classrooms will be increased by 140,000 and 190,000 more teachers will be employed; new primary schools will be constructed; computers and audio-visual equipment will be widely used during primary education, and finally the financial status of teachers will be improved.

Extensive work on the aforementioned improvements and modifications in the primary school curricula has now begun. The Ministry of Education plans to revise textbooks with regard to contemporary requirements. Meanwhile, however, the National Education Development Project continues to co-ordinate research on curriculum development.

m. Patterns of achievement

There is no available source to make international comparison for the achievement of Turkish students. The Ministry of Education's statistics showed that 93 per cent of primary pupils had been received to next grade at the end of the 1988-89 academic year as a result of their successes in all curriculum areas (Baloğlu, 1990, p.76). Government statistics also show that adult literacy rate is approximately 90 per cent and the government attempts to raise this figure.

2.1.2 Educational reform in Turkey

a. The Ottoman period

Whatever the characteristics of any educational system it cannot be explained without its roots. Turkey was created as a nation state from a multinational and a multicultural empire. The so called westernisation movement was started with the easternisation of the Balkans and Eastern Europe by the Ottomans. Mehmet the Conqueror announced himself as the emperor of the west and east when he conquered Istanbul in 1453 who established the Palace School (*Mekteb-i Enderun*) alongside the Madrasahs (Islamic universities including teacher training institutions) soon after the conquest (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.15). The aim of the Palace School was ‘to train ablest children for leadership positions in the political body of the Ottoman Empire ... who were selected, on the basis of physical and intellectual criteria’, from non-Moslem families as male Ottoman citizens (*ibid.*). The philosophy underlying the selection system was to create a ruling class which could be easily controlled by the Sultan and to drive off Turkish aristocrats from the governing body of the empire. The schools were organized into grades. ‘Selection took place at all stages, both before entering the school and while in the school, and it was carried out by highly-trained officials’ (*ibid.*). Instruction was broad consisting of ‘Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Moslem religion and culture, Turkish customs and rules of courtesy and etiquette, riding, archery, wrestling and sword practice, music and apparently mathematics’ (*ibid.*).

On the other hand, infant (*sibyan*) schools were the main primary institutions in Ottoman educational system from the early period of Ottoman history which, later, became insufficient in both quality and quantity. Sultan Mahmud II's attempt to arrange compulsory primary education in 1824 failed (Öztürk, 1998, p.6).

In 1839 the promulgation of Gülhane Imperial Firman (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu*) known as the Tanzimat (Reorganization) brought legislative changes in the political and administrative systems of the empire. In 1845 a commission gathered inspired by the ideas of the Tanzimat *era* and proposed the establishment of a Ministry of Public Schools (*Mekâtib-i Umumiye Nezareti*) in an attempt to reorganize public education under the supervision of the state. A permanent Council of Public Instruction, which became the Ministry of Public Schools in 1847, was set up and entrusted with the responsibility of reforming the infant (elementary) and the intermediate schools (*Rüşdiyeler*) in order to fulfil the gaps between primary and secondary education (*Turkish Review*, 1989, pp.21-3).

In 1856, a new Imperial Rescript (*the Hatt-ı Hümayun*) was proclaimed as the second phase of the Tanzimat *era* and the Ministry of Public Schools was replaced with the Ministry of Public Education (*ibid.*, p.24). In the 1860s infant schools were re-formed and a new training college (*Dârülmualлимîn-i Sibyan*) was opened in Istanbul seeking to implement new teaching methods and techniques. In 1869 Regulation for General Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnâmesi*) was introduced (*ibid.*). According to the new regulations the first phase of the primary schooling

became compulsory for girls between six and ten years olds and for boys between seven and eleven years olds (Öztürk, 1998, p.6). History, geography and arithmetic took place in the infant school curriculum besides religious education and reading (Akyüz, 1997,p.182). With the proclamation of the first Parliamentary Monarchy these regulations became law in the 1876 Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasî*). In the same year a general syllabus was introduced for infant schools. Later it would become a basic for the elementary curriculum (Öztürk, 1996 pp.6-7). After the late 1860's new method schools (*usûl-i cedîd mektepleri*) were established as elementary schools (*iptidaî mektepler, ilkokullar*). Teachers followed 'new teaching methods and new methods of the use of instructional materials (*usûl-i cedîd*)' in these schools. Especially in reading, they applied a pedagogical rule which was 'the unknown should be taught in terms of the known' (Akyüz, 1997,p.182), building on the existing knowledge of the child. Between 1891-1892 the first comprehensive elementary curriculum was introduced. The period of elementary schooling was reduced to three-year education in rural areas while it stayed four-year education in urban areas. The elementary curriculum subjects defined as alphabet (*Elifba*), Holy Koran (*Kur'ân-i Azîmüşşân*), proper reading of the Koran (*Tecvîd*), primary religious instruction (*İlm-i Hâl*), ethics (*Ahlâk*), the Ottoman language grammar (*Sarf-i Osmânî*), spelling (*İmlâ*), reading (*Kıraat*), the Ottoman history (*Tarih-i Osmânî*), the Ottoman geography (*Coğrafya-yi Osmânî*), arithmetic (*Hesap*) and calligraphy (*Hüsn-i Hat*). According to new regulations, elementary teachers had to graduate from the training college or others had to take teaching certificate examinations, establishing their credentials as good natured persons, before

embarking on their career as elementary teachers in Istanbul (Öztürk, 1996 pp.6-7).

After the proclamation of the second Parliamentary Monarchy (1908), the 1913 Provisional Law for Primary Education (*Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Kanun-ı Muvakkati*) united elementary and middle schools and six-year primary education became compulsory. The Regulation divided primary schools into three stages and a new curriculum subjects were introduced as reading, calligraphy, the Ottoman language (*Lisan-i Osmânî*), arithmetic, geometry (*Hendese*), geography, history, finance (*Dürûs-i Esiya*), science (*Malûmât-i Tabîiye ve Tatbikati*), health education (*Hifzissihha*), civilisation and ethics and economy education (*Malûmât-i Medeniye ve Ahlâkiye ve İktisâdiye*), handicraft and painting (*El İşleri ve Resim*), physical education and educational plays (*Terbiye-i Bedeniye ve Mektep oyunları*), military training (*Tâlim-i Askerî*) for boys and house keeping and sewing (*İdare-i Beytiye ve Dikiş*) for girls. The Regulation also permitted five-year primary education which were attached to lycées (*sultanîler*). Therefore, there were two types of primary schools in the educational system until 1924 (*ibid.*, pp.7-8).

The period between 1908 and 1923 was notably ‘different from earlier reform periods in education. One of the major differences was the amount of attention given to ideas and issues as opposed to curriculum content’ (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.26).

The opponents of the educational system, who could be classified as *social constructivists* like sociologist Ziya Gökalp (1874-1924) and pedagogue İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978), and *individualists* like Sati Bey (1880-1968)

‘developed new ideas, methods of assessment and experiments in education’ (*ibid.*) who more or less affected Republican *era*. According to Gökalp ‘the purpose of education is the adaptation of the individual to his social and natural environment. Such an education is deeply rooted in the national culture, but having universal ideas in its scientific teaching’ (quoted in *ibid.*, pp.26-7). However, Sati Bey believed:

The perfecting of individuals through persuasion and training seemed to be first step in the improvement of society. Therefore, schools had to be organised in which individuals could develop their own capacities to the utmost. I believed that the best results could be attained through active, inventive and creative methods rather than learning through rote memory (quoted in *ibid.*, p.28).

Sati Bey also practiced his ideas establishing a school when he was the director of Teacher Training Collage in Istanbul. Unlike others he strongly emphasized the place of primary education in educational reform (Akyüz, 1997; Sakaoğlu, 1991).

b. The republican period

With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 Turkey was officially established as a nation state. After the establishment of the Turkish republic, the 1924 Law of Unification of the Education System (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*), named later as *secular education* (Baloğlu, 1990, p.6), was accompanied by other reforms. For the first time in Turkish history all educational institutes were systematically controlled and governed by the Ministry of Education.

According to Zaim and Dinçer (1985) innovations which underlie educational policy in the republican *era* might be classified into three different periods (1923-1980) and

characteristics of such innovations are:

Revolutionary movements of the republican era – Atatürk

Aim – to change, by means of secularisation and Westernisation, the Eastern, Islamic, structure of society into a Western type (1923-48). This period can be further subdivided:

A. The period of revolutionary movements, 1923-41.

B. The intermediate period, 1942-8, with the attempt to reverse the revolutionary movement, and bring the one-party state into a secular-democratic structure.

Democratic Party period 1948-60

The attempt at economic, social and cultural development based on Islamic and national traditional cultural values within a secular democratic state.

Pluralistic society – 1960-80

Cultural polarisation in a secular state. The social, cultural and political forces of Islamic and traditional- nationalist movements v. those of revolutionary-secularist Westernist (cosmopolitan) (p.2).

Apart from these a further classification might be made in the light of changes in the political life which have taken place since the late 1970's and onwards affecting the country's education policy:

Military coup period 1980-83

The Coup of 1980 followed a period of what the military perceived as 'anarchism' between 1975 and 1980. During this period education policy re-shaped and focused on the ideas of Atatürk taking into account national and Islamic values of the society. This was justified on the basis of the need to protect the country's people against communism. There was compulsory religious education in secondary schools and an increase number of religious high schools. Ideas and revolutions of Atatürk were strongly emphasized in every aspect of the national curriculum and

practised throughout the schools in an attempt to establish a balance between secularism and Islam.

Post-military coup period 1983-1997

Democratic and industrial developments were on the agenda of every government in this period. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, communism was no longer perceived as being a danger to the political life of Turkey. However, the press, left wing parties and the army argued that Islamic fundamentalism had been strengthened by the conservative governments and secular education based on the revolutionist ideas of the first republican *era* had been sacrificed to the fundamental ideas of Islam. By contrast, conservatives claimed that while secular education was protected against the rise of fundamentalism, the educational system was required to meet the needs of pluralistic society as a result of democratic changes. Eventually with the support of pressure groups, the liberalized Motherland Party and the Democratic Left Party came into government in 1997. Eight-year compulsory education and the abolishment of middle school departments of religious and vocational high schools were accepted by the National Assembly. A new *era* of what I call *national utopianism* was spelt out by the government (see also chapters five and six) taking its inspiration from the first republican period.

National utopianism

Following the 1789 French Revolution, nationalism gradually began to spread all over the Ottoman world. However, the Turks were the last nation who felt

nationalistic ideas in the Ottoman lands. On the other hand, the idea of Westernisation in military and technology levels goes back to the eighteenth century and culminated through sending students to France and establishing schools -mostly military technical- in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Turkish students who went to France came back to the country with revolutionary ideas and were called the Young Turks. They influenced Ziya Gökalp as the first Turk who 'formulated a systematic theory of Turkish nationalism' (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.37). 'Gökalp's educational background included both traditional Islamic and Western, secular characteristics... [H]e avidly read the Islamic classics and the writings of the Young Turks' (*ibid.*) who were educated in France, and 'those of Western thinkers, particularly the French sociologist Emile Durkheim' (*ibid.*) and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

According to Gökalp:

The individual adjusts himself to his natural environment by means of reality judgements. These are the products of the conscious mind and the capacity to form them may be developed by a scientific process of training. Reality judgements and the process of developing them are universal. They are the basis of modern technology and civilization. The goal of teaching is to instruct children in reality judgements, scientific knowledge. Therefore the process of teaching is international or universal rather than culture-bound within the nation. This fact must be taken into consideration in developing an educational system for modern Turkey. On the other hand, the process of education should have two aspects: national training and international or universal teaching (quoted in *ibid.*, p.27).

Gökalp believed that 'the new life of the nation must be drawn from a rediscovery of the indigenous Turkish culture, its traditions, values and spirit' (*ibid.*, p.38). He, arguably, had the idea of *classical nationalism* which refers to the nationalism

associated with ‘the rise of the nation-state and includes a cultural interpretation of national identity, based on a specific interpretation of the past history of a country in order to weld together a unitary state’ (Giddens, 1993, p.342). Therefore, ‘the rise of classical nationalism was closely connected with the development of a mass education system and through education, especially the role of national history, people think of themselves as belonging together in the same national community’ (*ibid.*)

In the Turkish context, *classical nationalism* was converted to *national utopianism* in order to create not only a unification between the people in a nation-state but also to create a new and a dynamic society. Therefore, the philosophy which underlies the modern educational system in Turkey is a mixture of nationalist and Westernist ideas. As a social constructivist Ziya Gökalp ‘occupies a pivotal position in the intellectual and educational modernisation of Turkey ... during the formative period of Turkey’s national development’ (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.37). He advocated ‘the following social policy: “to be of the Turkish nation, of the Islamic religion, and of European civilization”... Atatürk claimed him as his intellectual “father” and appointed him to ‘the Parlimentary Education Committee [in 1923] ... which formulated proposals for the reform of the school curriculum’ (*ibid.*, p.37-8). Later on, the social policy that Gökalp had advocated was tranformed and turned out in the form of “for the Turkish nation, for secularism and for European civilisation”, to be achieved by the Turkish Government on the basis of the idea that ‘the conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind’ (Dewey, 1916, p. 112).

Therefore, the idea of Turkish nationalism was strongly emphasised in the Turkish educational system. After the death of Atatürk (1938) it was called *Atatürk's nationalism* based on his ideas and reforms. As in the economic model, curriculum theory was also based on a mixture of universal theories. French encyclopaedism (classical humanism), Russian polytechnicalism and American pragmatism (social reconstructionism) with the addition of theories of the Turkish nationalism for the preparation of a future desired society influenced theoretically the development of a national curriculum. In sum, curriculum theory was humanistic and knowledge-based which primarily aimed to give cultural heritage 'in terms of literature, music and history' (Lawton, 1989, p.4) as in the 'encyclopaedistic view'. It was designed to prepare good and productive citizens of the republic as in the 'polytechnic view' (Holmes and McLean, 1989, pp. 11-5; Lawton, 1989, pp.4-6). It later advocated 'social reconstructionism' because it was believed that education is a way of improving society, and at the same time developing individuals as members of society laying stress upon social values: experiences appropriate for developing citizenship and social cooperation. Knowledge is justified in terms of 'social needs' (Lawton, 1989, p.6) which 'enables young people to tackle problems and prepares them to solve the problems they are likely to meet as adults in a democratic society' (Holmes and McLean, 1989). Hence, I call it *national utopianism* because it was a nationalistic interpretation of the very ideas of those curriculum theories (see İGM, 1995) in which the curriculum meets the needs of a non exist society not the current needs of individuals.

b.1 The role of foreign advisors in the development of the Turkish educational system

Education was in the political agenda of the new Turkish Assembly in the early days of National Struggle. Therefore, ‘the first educational congress was held on July 1921 in Ankara and inaugurated by Mustafa Kemal Pasha who said “we will have national education and principles to improve its organization” ’ (quoted in Zaim *et al.*, 1985, p. 10). In 1923, the Izmir Economic Congress was convened primarily in order to decide Turkey’s new economic policy but it also dealt with the problems in the elementary and secondary education, with particular reference to agricultural training (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p. 46-7). In the same year, at sessions of an Educational Commission, Gökalp and Baltacıoğlu ‘proposed the introduction of practical work into the curricula of all schools, although the theory of learning by doing was rejected by the Commission’ (*ibid.*).

On the other hand, to invite foreign educators was seen as inevitable because the educational system, inherited from the Ottoman Empire, was inadequate in both quality and quantity. For this purpose John Dewey, a well-known American educator, was invited to Turkey in 1924 (*ibid.*). During his short stay Dewey prepared a short report indicating the amounts of money which should be appropriated in the national budget and how the appropriations should be used. The second report was sent to the Ministry after Dewey returned to the United States (Dewey, 1960). ‘He proposed a series of subjects to be studied by Ministerial

commissions' (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.47) including 'school buildings; professional instruction of teachers, head teachers and inspectors; publication of education oriented literature; the establishment of libraries; and the role of the school in agricultural development' (*ibid.*). Dewey (1960, p.1) argued that 'the first and most important point is to settle upon the aim and purpose of the schools of the country' making the following statement which has been included every curriculum since 1924:

It is the development of Turkey as a vital, free, independent and lay republic in full membership in the circle of civilized states. To achieve this end the schools must (1) form proper political habits and ideas; (2) foster the various forms of economic and commercial skill and ability, and (3) develop the traits and dispositions of character, intellectual and moral, which fit men and women of self-government, economic self-support and industrial progress; namely, initiative and inventiveness, independence of judgement, ability to think scientifically and to cooperate for common purposes socially. To realize this ends, the mass of citizens must be educated for intellectual participation in the political, economic and cultural growth of the country, and not simply certain leaders (*ibid.*, p.1).

Dewey (*ibid.*, p.10) made clear that 'attracting to the teaching profession the right kind of intelligent and devoted men and women and of equipping them with both knowledge of subjects taught and with modern and progressive pedagogical ideas was the crucial problem'. He believed that this could be solved when the teachers have better economic status and a right kind of in service training.

Dewey emphasized that unity and uniformity were different things in the formation of an educational system. He urged that 'a mechanical system of uniformity may be harmful to real unity'. He recommended:

The central Ministry should stand for unity, but against uniformity and in favor

of diversity. Only by diversification of materials can schools *-including elementary schools-* be adopted to local conditions and needs and the interest of different localities. Unity is primarily an intellectual matter, rather than an administrative and clerical one. It is to be attained by so equipping and staffing the Central Ministry of Instruction that it will be the inspiration and leader rather than dictator of education in Turkey (*ibid.*, p. 8).

John Dewey's reports 'are historically significant in the development of the Turkish educational system'. The reports 'were discussed and analyzed by Turkish [intellectuals], who found [in] them hopes [for] expressing the national character, but they did not become the basis of a consistent, national programme or further initiative in education, although they were partially applied by' (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.48) the Ministry and included in the Act 789 of National Education. (Güçlüol 1985, p.7).

Apart from John Dewey's reports on the formation of Turkish educational system there are three other significant reports prepared by the foreign advisors. The first is known as the Kühne Report of 1926 (*Turkish Review*, 1989, p.48). The German educator Dr. Kühne 'broached the question of a general curriculum for the Turkish schools and advised the abolition of the Arabic script and the adoption of Latin characters for Turkish writing which culminated in Atatürk's adoption of Latin characters in 1928' (*ibid.*). The two other reports are mostly related to technical education and economic issues made by Omar Buyse of Belgium in 1927 and the Kemerrer Group of The United States in 1933 (*ibid.*). The latter emphasised that 'the lack of educational facilities was merely ... a part of a wider educational problem' (*ibid.*, p.49). Turkey was little able to use existing educational facilities. A very

considerable portion of elementary pupils left school without completing their full course of study. Therefore, it recommended an increase in elementary education from three to five years (*ibid.*, p.49).

In sum, although reports of foreign advisors were not utilised to their fullest extent and were criticised and found ‘culturally and economically unrealistic’ (*Turkish Review, ibid.*, p.51), they were partially implemented as in the Dr. Kühne report. In fact, education was highly politicised and was full of *utopian* ideas in the creation of Turkish Republic. In this context schools have been seen as agents of those ideas till the present time (see Akar, 1996, p.214).

b.2 The development of the primary curriculum in respect to social studies

In 1924 the first national curriculum of the republic was practised in elementary schools and elementary education became compulsory for all children between seven and eleven (Oktay, *et. al.*, 1997, p.10). The curriculum was revised in 1926 according to a policy of co-education, child-centered approaches and locality principles. In 1936 and 1948 the elementary curriculum developed around these principles. In developing the elementary curriculum, there were academic teams in the Gazi Institute of Education of Ankara who previously worked as elementary teachers (Varış, 1996).

The fifth National Education Council (MEŞ) met in 1953 to discuss problems which were derived from the 1948 elementary curriculum. According to Varış (1996)

MEŞ's studies had supported child-centered approaches, children's social activity and less control over teacher autonomy. Through studies under the MEŞ in Stage 2, history, geography and citizenship were grouped into social studies, and nature studies, agriculture and family studies were grouped into science and nature studies. However, until the 1968 primary curriculum these areas remained separated. In its report the fifth MEŞ announced:

The aim of grouping subjects is not only to make artificial connections, but also to enable children to examine and investigate a phenomenon or a problem through kinds of information and understandings. For this reason, it has to be taken some phenomena and problems are starting points around children in pupils' learning (quoted in Varış, 1996, p.36).

On the other hand, the attractiveness of the rural elementary schools had been derived from the legal opportunity for rural children which allowed them to attend village institutes for elementary education. Hence, it was very easy for a successful rural student to attend one of the village institutes to become an elementary teacher. These institutes continued as elementary teachers resources until the first conservative government in Turkey in the mid 1950s. The government abolished these institutes and established new teaching colleges to improve primary teaching quality but public belief about the abolishment of the village institutes by the conservative government was that they were backyards of the Republican People's Party (the left wing) (Akyuz, 1997, p.343). Generally speaking, there was little improvement in the quality of teacher training, since elementary teacher training was fully transferred to colleges of urban areas from the rural institutions, and it was still far from the university education. Abolitionism also caused gradual regression of the economy and education quality in rural areas.

The real integration for some of the separated subjects was provided by the 1968 primary curriculum. Erden (Undated) reports that since 1968 there has been American influence upon the primary curriculum, and she explains that this influence may come from J. Dewey's work on the Turkish educational system in 1924 and from some of the curriculum developers who were educated in the United States. She continues:

Through investigating theoretical explanations in relation to attainment targets, teaching principles and practice in the primary curriculum one can say that the curriculum is progressive. Actually, Dewey says that education develops with democracy and schools are minor democratic communities. Pupils learn necessary knowledge and talents in order to live in a democratic society (p.12).

The 1995 primary curriculum explains the relationship between the school and democracy:

Primary schools are real democratic communities... Pupils should understand the democracy for a democratic life. Democratic education is provided through living it and self-government. To do this schools should be organized according to democratic regulations, and social activities... (İGM, 1995).

The primary curriculum also announces that pupils should be skilled in problem-solving and scientific methods, and it identifies primary school and the teacher in it as follows:

Primary school is an institution to teach children according to scientific methods. It should direct children's critical-thinking, and should help children to acquire habits of thinking and judging themselves in their actions. The teacher should help children as a guide to ways in of handling kinds of situations as problems, which children are confronted with at home and the school, finding out the ways to solve problems, obtaining necessary knowledge and collecting materials, comparing and assessing the evidence to

solve problems, generalizing their ideas to use in new situations and analyzing, synthesizing and evaluating their ideas to make judgements (İGM, 1995).

As can be easily seen in the above definition of the primary school and teacher's role, there is nothing new about the curriculum compared with previous ones. In this definition, the curriculum simply adopts Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives.

Some modifications have been made since the introduction of 1997 Education Reform in primary social studies curriculum and there was no change in the subject matter in elementary level (see Ministry of Education, 1998).

In theory, the curriculum was developed on the basis of the progressive approaches. However, Erden (Undated, p.14) argued that 'teachers and heads do not practice progressive approach in delivering the curriculum...teachers neither know enough about progressivism nor adopt this approach'. On the contrary, a review of the Turkish literature suggests that teachers are confronted with the following problems:

Content: Content does not provide efficient time to practice the curriculum according to its requirements. It is far from rationalism and children's pedagogical needs. It has an artificial integration of social studies and science and nature studies. The curriculum is itself subject-based. Therefore, it is not practical to use topic-based approaches within this framework (see Oktay *et. al.*, 1997; Sakaoğlu 1995; Bilici, 1995).

Knowledge: The educational system is based on competitions through entrance examinations. Children probably forget many things after passing examinations that they ought to memorize. It is argued by Turkish researchers that the knowledge required for this process of training to pass examinations is inappropriate for the development of the required cognitive skills of children (see Oktay, *et. al.*, 1997). For instance, in social studies the focus is on the political events of national history and the memorization of geographical knowledge which is mainly based on information about cities, regions, countries, their products and populations. In maths, there are secondary level equations, accounts of geometrical problems and so on. The emphasis is on the inculcation of knowledge through a simple process of rote learning, rather than attempting to develop aspects of qualitative understanding in the subject matter.

Text Materials: Because of the poor resources, elementary school teachers and pupils are very much dependent upon textbooks. Although textbooks are examined by the Textbooks Examination Committee under the Ministry of Education before they become text materials many of them were written by retired teachers and non-professional academicians in education. In my study, survey results and interviews with elementary teachers showed that teachers did not find textbooks appropriate for their pupils.

Teacher Professionalism and their status: Generalist teachers have difficulties transmitting knowledge for all subject areas as the study's teachers mentioned in the interview process (see 5.2 Interview data). At the same time, 'specialism' is seen as an unrealistic option from the point of view of: the availability of qualified teachers, shortage of teaching equipment and materials, and also of financial resources. These arguments seemed flawed however, when taking account of the fact that Turkish elementary teachers have undergone a four-year university degree course, since 1992. Indeed, in the final two years every teacher candidate specializes in a subject area to proxy a secondary subject if there is a need for this in his or her school district. Therefore, it can be argued that teachers' special interests can be organized for primary education and each school at least may have one social studies (including or excluding linguistics) and one science specialist. The Ministry has employed many university graduates as elementary teachers since 1992. The reason for this policy is that there are not enough elementary teachers in lower primary schools. These persons may be qualified according to their professions via teacher training courses in elementary education. For example, a history teacher may teach elementary social studies better than a generalist teacher. However, he or she may have certain difficulties in teaching elementary maths, as compared to the generalist teacher and current structural changes do not provide a 'specialist' approach in the lower phase of primary education (see 2.1 Education in Turkey).

Economic crises in the country have affected the teaching profession more than other occupations. Teachers' salaries have gradually decreased relative to inflation,

thus teaching is no longer an attractive profession for many. Also, due to teachers' relatively low income, many feel unable to follow the most recent developments in the teaching publications.

On a more optimistic note, education is now one of the first priorities for the current government. However, education policy still has no emphasis upon the amelioration of the difficult economic circumstances that Turkish teachers continue to face.

Time table of the schools: Many schools have morning and afternoon pupils (dual teaching) in urban areas. Pupils officially attend the schools for five lessons (approximately 200 minutes teaching time and 50 minutes break) in a day either from morning to noon or from noon to evening. However, a full day programme is practiced in dual teaching schools.

In conclusion, there has been always a national curriculum and governmental control on the Turkish educational system in Turkey in contrast to England. At least three reforms affected the Turkish educational system. First, the 1924 Educational Reform left all schools under the control of the Ministry of Education, bringing in compulsory elementary education and introducing the first national curriculum. Second, the fifth MEŞ (1953) report advocated child-centred approaches and topic based curriculum, as the Plowden Report (1967) did in England. However, policy statements and grouping subjects did not appear to change the way teachers delivered the curriculum. Third, real integration of elementary and middle schools in

1997 brought about an eight-year system of compulsory primary education (referred to as 'reform in primary education'). This abolished middle schools of vocational and religious lycées and re-unified history and geography as 'social studies' in upper primary education, but the curriculum content mostly remained the same as in other subject areas.

2.2. Teachers and educational change

This section attempts to identify the major issues in educational change in relation to curriculum and teachers' reactions to the change process. In order to understand the change process, it is useful to explore the historical background to current educational policies in England. The analysis of educational change is based on a review of teacher's reactions to the 1988 Education Reform Act. I attempt to explain how teachers adapted to the changes imposed by the Act. This section is divided into three sub-sections. In the first two sections I examine curriculum development and its implementation in England while the other section is related to educational reform in England.

2.2.1 Curriculum development

The term 'curriculum' is used for a programme or course of educational activities in schools (Kelly, 1989). In a wider definition it is 'an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that is open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice' (Stenhouse, 1975, p.4). A curriculum has at least three components: content,

instruction and outcomes. Instruction as a practice contains all the aspects of teaching approaches and learning activities in it (Rudduck and Kelly, 1976). On the other hand, 'innovations are deliberate attempts to improve practice in relation to schools' (*ibid.*, p.11) In the definition of the curriculum, these interrelated components assist the planning of curriculum change and development.

Evetts (1973) divides educationalists into two groups; the *idealists* (classical humanists) and the *progressives*. Lawton (1981) describes that

Idealists are supposed to see education in terms of acquiring knowledge, to see teaching as initiating pupils into traditional culture, and to see the curriculum organised to transmit an understanding of established disciplines. On the other hand, progressives are said to see education in terms of growth, to see teaching as child-centred rather than subject-based on the needs and interests of the children.

In the progressive approach, the curriculum is viewed in accordance with the principle expressed by A. V. Kelly:

While it is true that understanding cannot be developed in isolation from bodies of knowledge, it does not follow that decisions about the knowledge content of the curriculum should or must be made first. On the contrary, it suggests rather that they are secondary considerations. We need first to be aware of the kinds of intellectual capacity we are concerned to promote in pupils and, only then, to make decisions about the kinds of content they must be initiated into in order to develop these capacities (quoted in Egan, 1986, p.x).

On the other hand Lawton (1989) adds 'reconstructionism' as a synthesis of these two basic approaches. He argues:

If classical humanism is knowledge-centred, and progressivism is child-centred, reconstructionism might be society-centred. However, this would be an over simplification since an important part of reconstructionism is to see individuals and society as harmoniously integrated rather than in opposition (p.6).

Lawton (*ibid.*, p.7) also says that ‘there is a good deal of agreement in the UK, USA and Australia on the definition of three basic educational ideologies, despite some confusing differences in terminology’.

Fullan (1991) outlined two broad approaches to curriculum reform. In North America, educational reform followed two different ways which are centralisation and de-centralisation. He calls centralisation ‘intensification’

Increased definition of curriculum, mandated textbooks, standardised tests tightly aligned with curriculum, specification of teaching and administrative methods backed up by evaluation, and monitoring all serve to intensify as exactly as possible the what and how of teaching (p.7).

De-centralization is called ‘restructuring the curriculum’ by Fullan, based on ‘school based management’ which involves:

enhanced roles for teachers in teaching and decision-making; integration of multiple innovations; restructured timetables supporting collaborative work cultures; radical reorganisation of teachers education; new roles such as mentors, coaches, and other teacher leadership arrangements; revamping and developing the shared mission and goals among teachers, administrators, the community, and sometimes pupils (p.7).

Innovations and attempts to develop the curriculum have similar characteristics both in Britain and in North America. Since the Plowden Report, the progressive approach overwhelmingly was the one discussed in Britain, as open-education was in North America. According to Holmes and McLean (1989, p. 49) the progressive approach allowed primary schools, and to some extent to lower grades of secondary schools, to adopt curricula based on child centred philosophies. This had been in progress since the mid-nineteenth century in Britain. However, ‘A major topic of

discussion throughout the 1970's was the notion that there should be a centrally determined common curriculum in all schools' (Kelly, 1989, p.222). This resulted in the introduction of the National Curriculum, in the form of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

In conclusion, as accepted by many (see Stenhouse, 1975; Rudduck and Kelly, 1976; Kelly, 1989; Fullan, 1991 and Hargreaves, 1994), while in the progressive approach the curriculum is coupled with the enhancement of teacher autonomy and school based management (de-centralization), in the reconstructionist view the curriculum is to be 'a common or national curriculum, but not a uniform curriculum' (Lawton, 1989, p.8) which associated with centralization (intensification).

2.2.2 Teachers and change

Whatever the merits of the theoretical bases of the change process, teachers, at least at the operational level, are the main actors of change (Croll, 1997, p.11). Croll (*ibid.*) explores 'four models of teacher roles' in different curriculum approaches to educational change. The first model is designed for operation in the de-centralised curriculum approach. In this model teachers are seen 'as partners in educational policy making', 'along with other actors, in the policy-making process' who 'contribute to policy making at all levels and in a pluralist "give and take" fashion'. He (*ibid.*, p.12) says that 'the high point of teacher partnership is often held to be the period of the operation of the Schools Council from the late 1960s until the early 1980s' and as Maurice 'Plaskow documents the dominating role that

teachers came to play in the Schools Council' (*ibid.*), and 'teachers in this context were very clearly the teacher unions' (*ibid.*). However, 'the Schools Council approach to curriculum development also involved a partnership with teachers at school level' (*ibid.*, p.13).

In the second model teachers have been perceived, since the 1988 Education Reform Act, as '*implementers* of education policy, and this model draws a sharp distinction between policy-making and policy implementation drawing on a centralised, bureaucratic and hierarchical view of the educational system' (*ibid.*, pp.12-3). In this model teachers are perceived as passive actors and their job is to deliver curriculum according to its requirements. It is supposed that a centralised curriculum provides standardisation in education through this approach (*ibid.*). Croll (*ibid.*, p.14) argues that 'some of the documents produced by the Department for Education and HMI/OFSTED in the late 1980s and early 1990s suggest a sharp distinction between the determination of policy and its implementation'.

In the third model, in some respects, teachers are 'opponents of the educational policy' and they 'are seen as resisting the imposition of policy changes' (*ibid.*, p.15). Croll (*ibid.*) says that 'such resistance is held to be in the interest of pupils and frequently is explicitly intended to advance other political agendas such as equal opportunities and anti-racist approaches to education'. As an example of teachers' resistance to the 'imposed' policy, Croll (*ibid.*) reports that 'union action in refusing to carry out the statutory assessment procedures led to the government having to

abandon the 1993 round of standardized assessment’.

The fourth model sees teachers as *policy makers in practice* and is related to the notion of partnership but it is more informal and individualistic, arising from the nature of teaching rather than from intentional choices by partners (*ibid.*, p.12). It is supposed that ‘teachers operate as policy-makers in practice at school and classroom level, making personal and individual decisions’ (*ibid.*, p.19). Therefore, ‘common actions by teachers’ in the teaching process ‘can create a policy-making process which parallels governmental-level processes’ (*ibid.*).

Fullan (1991) and Bruner (1996) advocate the fourth model. Fullan (*ibid.*, p.37) believes that ‘any implementation of educational change involves *change in practice*, and at the basic level, teachers and pupils are agents of all teaching and learning activities in practice’. Bruner (1996) says that

in theorizing about the practice of education in the classroom (or any other setting, for that matter), you had better take into account the folk theories that those engaged in teaching and learning already have. For any innovations that you as a ‘proper’ pedagogical theorist may wish to introduce will have to compete with, replace, or otherwise modify the folk theories that already guide both teachers and pupils (p.46).

Stenhouse (1980, p.245) argues that ‘the improvement of teaching is about the growth of understanding and skill of teachers which constitute their resources in meeting new situations which make old aspirations inappropriate or unattainable’. However, the assumption here is that teachers and schools do not easily accept

innovations. Traditionally, teachers rely on long-term practices. A good theory is not always a guarantee of a good practice in which many external and internal factors effect the practicability of a good theory in relation to economics, feasibility, values of education, teachers' beliefs and so on. Hargreaves (1994, p. 11) argues that 'political and administrative *devices* for bringing about educational change usually ignore, misunderstand or override teachers' own *desires* for change' (e.g. standardized tests and mandated curriculum guidelines). '[S]uch devices commonly rely on principles of compulsion, constraint and contrivance to get teachers to change' (*ibid.*). He (*ibid.*) concludes:

to ask whether a new method is practical is therefore to ask much more than whether it works. It is also to ask whether it fits the context, whether it suits the person, whether it is in tune with their purposes, and whether it helps or harms their interests. It is in these things that teachers' desires concerning change are located; and it is these desires that change strategies must address (p.12).

All the arguments above involve the question of 'How does change work in practice?' (Fullan, 1991, p.37). Fullan (*ibid.*) counts 'three components in implementing any new program or policy': 'the possible use of new or revised materials', 'the possible use of teaching approaches', and the 'possible use of alteration of beliefs (e.g. pedagogical assumptions and theories underlying particular new policies or programs)' which are provided by the quality of continuous teacher training.

In sum, like Fullan (1991), Bruner (1996) and Hargreaves (1994), Stenhouse (1975) too believe that 'rational curriculum planning must take account of the realities of

classroom situations. It is not enough to be logical' (quoted in Lawton, 1983, p.22). As a result, debate on curriculum development suggests that any innovation which is meant to be realistic and sound has to include teachers' partnership in theory and in the implementation process.

a. Educational Reform in England

In order to see how educational reforms affected the educational system in England from the beginning to current situation, from the direction of teacher's autonomy towards having a centrally prescribed national curriculum we need to examine its roots in a historical perspective with special attention to elementary education (later as perceived primary education).

While the basic foundations of compulsory elementary education for all children in England were shaped in the nineteenth century, (Gordon, 1981, pp.64-5) there was no unified schooling system. 'The task for elementary education for children' (*ibid.*) was 'to provide intensive religious education combined with such acquirements as may be suitable in their life and to render children respectable members of society' (Lawson and Silver, quoted in Alexander, 1995, p.272) and '[t]he job of elementary school teacher for most of the nineteenth century was to deliver the curriculum specified by Parliament' (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994, p.9). Here the aims of English primary education in this period show a great deal of similarity to policies in Turkey towards the end of the nineteenth century in considering the religious figures in both countries' elementary education.

By 1870 Elementary Education Act aimed to spread public education and ten years later elementary education became compulsory for children aged 5-10'(Alexander, 1995, p. 272). Central control of the elementary school curriculum was maintained through a succession of codes (Kirk, 1991, p.18). In England, a comprehensive elementary curriculum was developed by the end of nineteenth century, as it was the case in Turkey. This included adding object lessons in addition to a core of the 3Rs. In 1902 schools were brought under the jurisdiction of local education authorities, making it possible for the Board of Education to develop bilateral relations with these bodies (Alexander, 1995, p.273). This can be seen as laying firm foundations for the secularization of education, with the state replacing churches as the main school administrator, and the introduction of scientific approaches to the respective areas of the curriculum, including history, geography and social studies generally (*ibid.*).

By the twentieth century ideas of educational reformers such as Froebel, Pestalozzi and Dewey were becoming more influential in elementary education, as was also the case in Turkey after 1924. 'Dewey himself was advocating the power to learn from experience which leads to the formation of habits' (Gordon, 1981,p.66). Therefore, 'the 1931 Hadow Report demonstrated' such a view as 'the curriculum of the primary school is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored' (Board of Education, 1931, p.93; quoted in Pollard *et. al.*,1994, p.11). The Hadow Report also 'discussed the

importance of developing aesthetic sensibility, oral expression and manual skills, and the possibility of teaching by topics rather than by separate subjects' (*ibid.*). One might perceive here a clarification of a preference for the epistemological method of pragmatism, as opposed to that of a more traditional empiricism. However Alexander (1995) argues that

Progressivism has at last come in from the cold, though it must be stressed that in commending the ideas of John Dewey in this way Hadow is offering an ideal rather than portraying the reality, for in many respects primary schools in 1931 were not very different from a generation before (p.273-4).

'The 1944 Butler Act left primary teachers in control of ... a relatively child-centred, individualistic curriculum' (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994, p.11), however later findings did not reflect what had been told in theory (*ibid.*) and according to Pollard *et. al.* (*ibid.*, p.10) 'the Act emphasized pupils' age, abilities and aptitudes as the relevant factors in determining their education. It omitted any mention of what children were to be taught'. There was 'the 11 plus selection system'. 'It resulted in a heavy concentration on the teaching of maths and English' (*ibid.*) and 'primary schools were largely judged by parents on their success rate in achieving grammar school "passes" for their children' (*ibid.*). It was, therefore, intelligence always measured in pupils' maths and English abilities (*ibid.*). The Act formally established a primary phase of education and left control of the 'secular curriculum' to local education authorities. In practice, control of the primary curriculum, pedagogy and assessment resided with the head teachers of individual schools (Alexander, 1992).

In conclusion, 'in the years between 1862 and 1944/45 there was a significant

lessening of central control of the school curriculum; the years since then have witnessed an equally significant shift in the opposite direction' (Kirk, 1991, p.18).

During the post-war years there was a general support for teacher autonomy. The 1967 Plowden Report came in in this climate. Galton *et. al.* (1980a, p.40) explain that there were 'factors affecting school practice at that time. One of these was ...the development of the "permissive society", and particularly the tendency to place fewer restraints on children and young people by parents and those in authority generally', and 'there was a strong tendency, not only for local authorities specifically to encourage innovation and change in primary schools, but also for head teachers themselves to allow a high degree of autonomy in classroom practice to class teachers...' (*ibid.*). The Hadow understanding of primary education once again was expressed in the Report. Both reports, in a sense, advocated child-centred approaches and both came nearly two decades after the two world wars. The Hadow viewpoint (activity and experience) is the inspiration of the Plowden Report, and the report itself, as Alexander (1995) reports:

builds on post-war social research showing the consistent educational under-achievement of working-class children. It highlighted the particularly damaging consequences for the child's educational and life chances of social disadvantage and urban decay, and it proposed a programme of positive discrimination to compensate for these. It paved the way for the three-tier structure of first, middle and upper schools as an alternative to the two-tier structure of primary and secondary (p.274).

The Report also identifies the school as an institution which provides 'the right environment for children':

A school is not merely a teaching shop, it must transmit values and attitudes.

It is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults. In family life children learn to live with people of all ages. The school sets out deliberately to device the right environment for children, to allow them to be themselves and to develop in the way and at the pace appropriate to them. It tries to equalize opportunities and to compensate for handicaps (CACE, 1967, para. 505).

The Plowden Report was the focus of much criticism in the early 1970s because of its elements of pastoralism and utopianism about the child-centered approach (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994). For instance, Alexander (1984, p.18) says of the report that it is too ready to assume that concern for the curriculum is in opposition to concern for the child. He (1995) also argues that

...in celebrating the child as child rather than adult in the making, in commending learning by doing and an open and integrated curriculum in relation to which the teacher adopts a facilitating and heuristic role, and in arguing the virtues of freedom, spontaneity and affectivity, Plowden finally closed the door on elementary education. Or did it? Plowden also reported that only 10 per cent of schools conform to this vision, while the largest single group are 'run of the mill' or worse (p.274).

Therefore, the Plowden Report was not the end of elementary education, and the first 'Black Paper "Fight for Education" was published in 1969' (Simon, 1981, p.8). Simon (*ibid.*) reports that 'Black Paper I linked student unrest to the primary school, referring to an article by Timothy Raison...The roots of student unrest, Raison is quoted as saying, are to be found as early as the primary school'. Simon (*ibid.*) argues that

if the student unrest or revolt of 1968-9 was partly due to the primary school 'revolution', that revolution must be dated back at least ten to fifteen years, that is to 1958 and earlier, when the students at Hornsey and elsewhere would have been in primary schools being inducted into their anarchistic attitudes... there was a move towards 'free activity' or modern methods, in the late 1940s... but... the 11-plus examination was still the rule throughout the country... The students of 1968 were the product of the streamed, divided,

hierarchical system from which we only began to emerge in a significant way in the mid 1960s (pp.8-9).

It seems that the epistemological counter-revolution witnessed in the Turkish educational system in the aftermath of the 1980 coup resembled similar changes, as a response to political radicalism that had appeared over a decade earlier in Europe.

However, in 1976, 'the massive publicity given by the media to Bennett's (1976) study represented as a condemnation of so-called 'informal' methods in the primary school' (Galton *et. al.*, 1980a, p.41). Bennett *et. al.*, (1976) suggested that

formal teaching fulfils its aims in the academic area without detriment to the social and emotional development of pupils, whereas informal teaching only partially fulfils its aims in the latter area as well as engendering comparatively poorer outcomes in academic development (p.162).

The publicity against the primary revolution (as perceived) 'formed the background to Prime Minister Callaghan's Ruskin speech (autumn 1976) warning against certain current tendencies in education' (Galton *et. al.*, 1980a, p.41). Following Callaghan's speech (1976), *Primary Education in England* (usually referred to as *The Primary Survey*) was published in 1978. The survey found that 'teachers were increasingly successful at teaching basic skills' (DES, 1978, p.111). The survey (*ibid.*) reported that

The lack of progression and the amount of repetition in the work in geography and history probably result from a lack of planning...over 40 per cent of the schools had schemes of work in science but there was little evidence of these programmes being implemented (p.113).

The survey also found that 'single age classes made better progress than mixed age

classes' (*ibid.*, p.120). In general, teachers were more successful in matching less able children's work than the able children's work across all subjects and ages' (*ibid.*, pp.86-7,115). The survey (*ibid.*) made the following recommendation:

The immediate aim, especially for the average and more able pupils, should probably be take what is done to greater depth rather than to introduce content that is new to primary education. To do this it is important to make full use, on behalf of schools as a whole, of teachers' strengths and to build on the existing knowledge of individual teachers without losing the advantages that are associated with the class teacher system (p.126).

On the issue of class teacher system the survey (*ibid.*) reported that

The evidence clearly suggests that difficulty arises because individual teachers are trying to cover too much unaided. Some fairly modest re-adjustment of teachers' roles would allow those with special interests and gifts to use them more widely, as is shown in some classes where particularly successful work is done (p.viii).

Actually, the survey revealed marked inconsistencies in the curriculum and argued for greater uniformity and consistency, and in 1979 the DES Report *Local Authority Arrangements for the School Curriculum* set out LEA replies on areas of the curriculum considered by the DES as central to greater effectiveness and uniformity (Gammage, 1988, p.37). *Education 5 to 9* was published in 1982 by the DES. The survey took place between Easter 1978 and July 1979 and is based on inspection of 80 5 to 8 or 9 schools. The survey indicated that 'nearly all the children made a satisfactory start in learning to read, write and calculate. The development of language and mathematical skills was variable and the skills practiced were sometimes not well-matched with the children's ability to use them' (DES, 1982, p.57). In fact, both surveys reported similar findings but in contrast to the findings of the Primary Survey 'there was more evidence in the first schools of work intended to

help children to understand the physical and natural world which might have developed the children's skills of observation and led to early scientific understanding' (*ibid.*, p.57).

In 1985, *Better Schools* was published representing the government view on education and the government believed:

There is a wide agreement that the content of the primary curriculum should, in substance, make it possible for the primary phase to: place substantial emphasis on achieving competence in the use of language; place substantial emphasis on achieving competence in mathematics; introduce pupils to science; lay the foundation of understanding in religious education, history and geography, and the nature and values of British society; introduce pupils to a range of activities in the arts; provide opportunities throughout the curriculum for craft and practice work; provide moral education, physical education and health education; introduce pupils to the nature and use in school and in society of technology; give pupils some insights into the adult world, including how people earn their living (HMSO, 1985, p.20).

The Government view, on this point was very strong and clear, and it was offering a broadly based national curriculum having ideas from previous surveys expressing that ' the 5-16 curriculum needs to be constructed and delivered as a continuous and coherent whole, in which the primary phase prepares for the secondary phase, and the latter builds on the former' (*ibid.*, 21).

It is interesting to note that changes in English education which were undertaken by the Thatcher Government, in the Eighties, as will become apparent, show a striking similarity to those in Turkey during that same decade. This is true in relation to both changes in the curriculum and in the lowering of the status enjoyed by the teaching profession.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, HMI acted as an agent in promoting discussion of the curriculum through a series of documents (e.g. *Curriculum 11-16* DES, 1977, *The Primary Survey* DES, 1978, *Education 5-9* DES, 1982; and *The Curriculum Matters* DES, 1984, 1985a) (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994, p.16). According to Pollard *et. al.* (*ibid.*):

Innovations appeared with gathering rapidity and variety throughout the 1980s [, and s]uch innovations of the Conservative governments of the 1980s and early 1990s show the influence of small but active pressure groups... [These groups] specialized in saying the unsayable, but there was an uncanny pattern in the ways in which their ideas were converted into legislation and became taken for granted (pp.16-7).

HMI surveys and academic research both show that before the 1988 Education Reform Act the national picture of curriculum practice revealed that primary education remained elementary. As Campbell (1993) identifies that

The curriculum was narrow, emphasising literacy and numeracy through repetitive exercises; despite encouragement, work in science was patchy and haphazard; standards in social subjects were lower than might be expected; pedagogy was often characterised by undifferentiated focus on the pupils in the middle levels of attainment within a class, and expectations of the able children were undemanding (p.87).

Before implementation of the National Curriculum, Helsby and McCulloch (1997,p.2) report that there was a widespread understanding of having a national curriculum not only in England but also in number of countries such as Japan, Australia, Scotland, the USA and Sweden. Economic crises were linked to education. In a sense, failures applying progressive methods in primary education forced governments to dictate various national curricula. They (*ibid.*) say that while ‘the governments of countries such as Sweden and the USA have chosen a gradual

and progressive approach, conferring widely, emphasising the role of teachers in helping to develop an agreed curriculum', others 'adopted a much more aggressive stance, involving minimal consultation, strong central prescription and draconian systems of assessment and accountability' (*ibid.*).

Between the late 1980s and the early 1990s 'as the so-called "Three Wise Men's Report" showed' that 'the system of primary education in England was, structurally and qualitatively, extremely diverse' (Alexander, *et. al.*, 1992, p.7). There were infant (4/5-7), first (4/5-8/9), infant and junior (4/5-11), junior (7-11), first and middle combined (4/5-12), and middle deemed primary and class sizes showed considerable variations: fewer than twenty and more 36 for some classes. There were also important differences in the ways schools went about their task of educating pupils. There was an increase in whole-class teaching as pupils become older; oral and practical work were given less emphasis and there was more time for reading and writing (Alexander *et. al.*, 1992, pp.7-8). Alexander *et. al.* (*ibid.*) reported that 'pupils of the same age in different schools may have experienced a largely topic based curriculum, a subject based curriculum, or a combination of topics and subjects'. They (*ibid.*, p.8) also argued that primary schools preserved two major features of elementary schools: 'the first is a curriculum characterised by close attention to the "basics" of reading, writing and number. The second is what was devised as the most "cheap but efficient" means for delivering that curriculum, the class teacher system'. They (*ibid.*, p.43) identified 'four broad teaching roles available to primary schools'. (e.g. the generalist, the generalist/consultant, the semi-

specialist and the specialist). They (*ibid.*, p.44) suggested that schools should consider ‘a combination of the four teaching roles...with a tendency towards specialisation in the upper years of Stage 2’.

In 1988, the National curriculum was introduced in England and Wales under the provisions of the Education Reform Act. Three ‘core’ subjects (English, mathematics and science) were the central focus of the curriculum, together with seven ‘foundation’ subjects (art, geography, history, music, physical education and technology for the primary phase of education). Helsby and McCulloch (1997) identify three phases of development in the National Curriculum in terms of innovation, control and settlement:

In the stage of *innovation*, outlines of the syllabuses for the National Curriculum were drawn up by working parties in each subject, and then introduced into schools. This involved high politics in the late 1980s at a time when right-wing pressure groups were exerting increasing pressure on the direction of educational reform. A major teachers’ dispute over pay (1984-1986) ended in public confrontation and low morale among teachers, and reflected scant sympathy for teachers’ claims on the part of the government. Introduction of the National Curriculum was affected by these influences and public discourses of derision. These also constituted major constraints and influences for the National Curriculum Council, and the individual working parties (pp.6-7).

‘Second was the phase of *bureaucratic control* over the curriculum, as the National Curriculum asserted its new position in the schools. This phase was implicit in the original design for the National Curriculum’ (*ibid.*). Attempts ‘to enforce for testing seven and fourteen- year-olds’ by the Education Secretary created ‘a widespread boycott by teachers. Over the longer term, control was maintained through the effects of a national assessment system, and through the Office for Standards in

Education (OFSTED)’ (*ibid.*, p.7).

Third was the *settlement phase* including debates for the review of the National Curriculum undertaken by Sir Ron Dearing, the chairman of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) (*ibid.*). ‘[T]he Dearing reports of 1993 proposed five-year moratorium on the curriculum’ (Alexander, 1995, p.4). Alexander argued that

...making it [the National Curriculum] work does not prove that it is educationally sound, and though one kind of moratorium – on policy made on the hoof and on the deluge of paper from DFE and SCAA – is welcome, that should provide just the opportunity this country needs for asking the questions about education in general and primary education in particular which were pre-empted by government policy in 1987/88 and frustrated by the pace and quantity of change during the years thereafter (*ibid.*, p.5).

The Dearing reports of 1993 also proposed that ‘instead of tests extending progressively to the progress of the whole of the National Curriculum subjects at 7,11 and 14, they were restricted with the three core subjects’ (Dearing, 1993a, p.16). In the *Final Report* (SCAA, 1994a), Dearing recommended that ‘the requirements of the National Curriculum should be “slimmed down” in order to allow teachers ... scope for professional judgement’ (Helsby and McCulloch, 1997, p.7). Dearing (SCAA, 1994b) says that

there has been widespread support for the concept of a National Curriculum, and for its aims. For our children, it should provide the potential for a broad but balanced education, which fully meets their individual needs and opens up a wide range of further education and career choices and prepares them for adult life. For parents, it should provide a framework to understand the progress of their children (p.ii).

Generally speaking the debate on ‘having a National Curriculum in the 1980s left its

place to details in the 1990s' (Helsby and McCulloch, 1997, p.8) and the direction of research intensified to applicability of the National Curriculum in practice.

According to Campbell (1993, p.88) 'the 1988 Act introduced a policy framework for the curriculum that had been previously lacking in primary education.' However, he (*ibid.*) argues that 'the evidence about what it has been like to be delivering the national curriculum is, in 1992, patchy and suggestive rather than comprehensive and certain...' On the contrary, teachers' views about the curriculum are rather optimistic: 'the teachers saw their professional skills as having been improved by implementing the national curriculum, especially their skills in planning, in whole school collaboration, and even in assessing children's progress' (*ibid.*) and 'some teachers spoke of "the positive effect of having a structure and guidelines to work within", and that many teachers felt that "the emphasis that the national curriculum placed on reviewing and reflecting on their practice" ' (Osborn and Pollard, 1991 quoted in Campbell, 1993, p.91).

Notwithstanding some optimistic views of the initial research findings about the national curriculum, Pollard *et. al.*, (1994), in presenting the findings of the first phase of the PACE project, argue:

The Education Reform Act brought enormous changes for teachers. However, rather than providing a legislative framework through which they could offer and fulfil their professional commitment, the reforms introduced constraint and regulation into almost every area of teachers' work. Yet it seems most unlikely that education standards can rise without the wholehearted commitment of teachers, working to support pupils' learning (p.240).

However, as Osborn *et. al.* (1997) argue that

the research evidence suggests that the ability to mediate is a feature of teaching as a profession which transcends national and cross-cultural differences. When confronted with change a proportion of teachers in many countries will respond by subverting, mediating, reinventing, or developing an innovative response (pp.53-4).

Therefore, there is no clear evidence that teachers passively accepted the changes through having a prescribed national curriculum. After all, the National Curriculum has not easily been accepted since it was first introduced in the late 1980s (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994; Helsby and McCulloch, 1997). Teachers' Autonomy was one of the strong characteristics of primary education in England. The debate over the National Curriculum reached the strongest level between academics, officials and teachers in the early 1990s. The curriculum has changed in order to provide an agreement between teachers and its content through the Dearing debates of 1993 (Pollard *et. al.*, 1994; Helsby and McCulloch, 1997). In revision of the National Curriculum, Dearing reduced Attainment Targets (Dearing, 1993b) in subject areas such as in history there is only one Attainment Target in 1995 (DFE, 1995), and was recommending to give a free day to schools for their own use. 'At the same time, it sought a reduction in the workload of teachers, which had grown as a result of the National Curriculum, and reduced demands for testing and recording' (Helsby and McCulloch, 1997, p.8).

Osborn *et. al.* (1997) report that

The research evidence from PACE (Primary Assessment, Curriculum and Experience), ... and from a number of other studies ... consistently suggests that primary teachers have accepted and internalized the National Curriculum,

but that they work with it in a way that suits their belief, enables them to preserve what they consider to be best about their practice, to protect children, and in some cases to be very creative, although working within a prescribed framework' (p.52).

In Osborn *et. al.*'s words, teachers may be seen as 'creative mediators' (*ibid.*, p. 57) in practising the National Curriculum.

After the implementation of the revised curriculum in 1995, initial findings of SCAA was promising. SCAA reported:

The requirements set out in the revised National Curriculum Orders are generally seen as unambiguous, appropriate and relevant for pupils. However, particular concerns remain about individual Orders (1996, p. 2; 1997, p.2).

In all National Curriculum subjects across all key stages the majority of schools consider that the individual subjects Orders can be covered in the time they allocate to them. However, concerns remain about the manageability of the curriculum as a whole.

In those primary schools that devote nearly half of their time to programmes of study in English and mathematics, there are concerns about covering the other National Curriculum subjects.

Continuity in curriculum provision and pupils' progress between Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 2 is relatively secure but continuity between Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 3 remains variable.

Continuity in pupils' progress within some subjects remains an issue, particularly in mixed-age classes (SCAA, 1997, p.3), *which was an issue in the Primary Survey* (my italics).

In 1997 the government announced that 'from October 1997 a new Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) takes forward work previously carried out by the SCAA and the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ)' and its duty is described as 'to keep under review all aspects of the school curriculum, statutory

and non-statutory, as well as the associated assessment arrangements and qualifications framework, including public examinations' (SCAA, 1997, p.1). In January 1998 the government announced that in order to achieve its numeracy and literacy targets in 2002, the National Curriculum would be made more 'flexible' for two years by reducing the requirements in history, geography, art, design/technology, music and PE. There is to be a full review of the National Curriculum by QCA and the modified National Curriculum starts in 2000.

In sum, intensification in the curriculum carried some major problems for teachers in England as listed above through literature. Every innovation in the curriculum loses its strength to some degree in the implementation process. Consensus, in theorizing and defining its very basics, between theorists and teachers may bring success in its implementation. To do this teachers help may be received in every stage of curriculum development through knowing teachers as persons who speak for children and who are very close to phenomena 'how children learn' in practice.

As can be seen educational reforms followed different directions in Turkey than in England. Underlying educational reforms, generally, are political, social and economic considerations, with the American and British experiences differing from most others. Turkish education policy has been mostly affected by that of the nation states (e.g. France and Germany; see 2.1.2 Educational reform in Turkey) which 'have one fundamental thing in common: as nations they place great emphasis on educational achievement, engendering high educational aspirations amongst

individual learners' (Green, 1997, p.290). However, Turkey has differed from most other countries, in that the politicization of education has resulted in delays to the successful implementation of more progressive curriculum theories. Concretely this can be understood as the product of ideological *national utopianism* in the creation of modern Turkey as a nation state, as manifested in the field of education policy. In the 1950's reconstructionism, influenced by Dewey, 'advocating using education to question and even reject some aspects of current social values' (Lawton, p.7) and other progressive ideas were an integral part of the Turkish National Curriculum. These were combined with, and therefore were restrained by, ideas based upon *national utopianism*. The co-existence, until the 1980's, of the two contradictory sides of this pedagogical equation allowed for a less authoritarian curriculum while simultaneously retarding possibilities for any qualitative transformation in Turkey's education system.

In the English experience, reform came from the opposite direction in which the so-called child centred or progressive approaches were replaced with what people may call reconstructionist ideology (see Pollard, 1993) which offered to 'establish norms and expectations for all children, and give clarity and purpose to the educational process' (Green, 1997, p.290). In the 1970s and early 1980s debate, research and policy documents offered a common curriculum in which England and Wales have been experiencing since 1988.

Although it is not easy to make clear connections between different educational

ideologies in which each of these serves a different curriculum theory (see Lawton, 1989) and pedagogical assumptions, one may argue that the curriculum theory determines aims and purposes of education. In Turkey, the curriculum was developed around the national ideas. This is exemplified in the teaching of history as a school subject, which is examined in chapter five. It served the ideas of *national utopianism* and was textbook centred with a few direct teaching styles. Therefore, it was essentially deductive and designed for the inculcation of preconceived ideas of citizenship, based on the *national utopia* myth. The social and political importance attributed to this form of historical knowledge was reflected in the fact that it formed a compulsory component of in the school curriculum from elementary, right through to higher, education. By contrast, in England, the influence of progressive and later reconstructionist ideas upon the teaching of history in school, became ‘physically active’. However, it may be noted, appropriateness of the teaching of primary school history was brought into question by the educationalists following a Piagetian approach in the 1960’s (see next chapter). Concentration upon the subject of history was sacrificed in an attempt to raise standards in literacy and numeracy in recent years.

¹ In writing up this section, Turkish Government web sides (<http://www.mfa.gov.tr>. and <http://www.die.gov.tr>.) were utilised for statistical information and current changes in the Turkish education system, in addition to other resources which I reported in the text.

² After the integration of elementary and middle schools as unique organisations I prefer to use ‘primary education’ instead of ‘basic education’. Because basic education can be used either in a wider or narrower sense in educational terms. However, both terms are used in the Turkish educational system to refer eight-year education.

CHAPTER 3

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

This chapter attempts to illustrate the form that history education takes in schools and which teaching approaches are generally to be used in history education. Also the purposes of teaching history are examined, including an investigation of the possibilities for the use of history as an educational tool by which children can improve their cognitive skills.

3.1 Aims of History

There is considerable disagreement about the purpose of history in schools and the most appropriate way in which to teach it. Such researchers as Lee (1984 and 1991), Fines (1994), Slater (1995) Ferro (1984), Blyth (1989), and Strom and Parson (1982) are participants in that debate. There are three main strands of opinion about the purpose of history education: First, history as an element in ‘personal development’; second, history as a socialising element (teaching about an inherited culture); third, history as an element in ‘citizenship’ (the democratic/critical model).

Lee (1984, 1991), Dickinson *et. al.* (1978), Fines (1994), Andreetti (1995) and Slater (1995) see the concept of history as a body of knowledge or objective truth, which is often not open to scrutiny, as problematic. History, they suggest, should be

taught for its intrinsic as well as its extrinsic purposes. In order that history might contribute to personal development, they emphasize the need to help pupils develop: historical imagination, historical empathy, historical understanding and the general ability to 'think historically', in order to enable comprehension of both change and continuity. This, in turn requires a knowledge of historiography and chronology, handling evidence and so on. These elements serve two well-known intrinsic aims of history:

1. History taught for its own sake, because it is interesting in itself and it is a disciplined form of study that will expand each pupil's knowledge base about local, national, and international communities.
2. History taught to develop the skills of the historian, which enriches pupil's educational experience, including the discipline of study and its value in personal development (Haydn, *et. al.*, 1997, p.17).

On the other hand, such researchers as Ferro (1984), Blyth (1989), and Strom and Parson (1982) stress the importance of the social (extrinsic) purposes of history, by which history meets the needs of society by the inculcation of moral and cultural values. If children study as historians using historical skills (somewhat intrinsic and extrinsic purposes of history coming together), it is supposed that history makes a contribution to pupils becoming effective citizens in their society. According to these researchers the history curriculum should or must include major key events to understand human behaviour throughout time. This can help to develop an understanding of such events relative to the influences of: cultural heritage, political influences and the values of a given society and the sanctions it employed. The purpose of such a project is to promote conclusions conducive to the understanding of democratic values, as the basis for positive social development (see also Rathenow and Weber, 1998).

3.1.1 Intrinsic purposes of history

There has been a great deal of debate about the aims of history education. The above summary constitutes a relatively simple outline of a complex debate. It might be argued that those presiding over education policy have often seen the primary role of history teaching as being the provision of citizenship education. For example, in England, the Department of Education and Science (DES) stated that

In each key stage pupils should have opportunities through the programme of study to explore links between history and other subjects; develop knowledge, understanding and skills related to cross-curricular themes, in particular citizenship, environmental, health and careers education, and education for economic and industrial understanding (DES, 1991,p.11).

This emphasis upon “outcome” based pedagogical concerns has led educationists to try to answer the questions ‘What should we teach our pupils about the past?’ or ‘What are the purposes of teaching history?’ These questions imply solutions which are abstracted from the concept of the need to teach history as a discipline for its own sake, and in its own right.

Therefore, one may say that the use of history as a vehicle for ‘citizenship education’ is a straightforward extrinsic use of the discipline in schools as in Turkish elementary schools (see 3.1.3 Aims of history teaching in Turkish elementary schools). However, Knight (1993) argues that history’s basic purpose

is not directly to teach us lessons, nor to form laws which show the future. Rather, the past is to be studied on its own terms and from within: the intention is to try to recreate the understandings, the perspectives of people in different societies which constitute the past (p.84).

This is a clear statement of the intrinsic position in teaching of history as a discipline. Lee (1984) also warns that

the *lessons* of history are usually framed as generalisations of some sort, supporting predictions. These predictions may be recognised warnings of the way the world will *run on* as it were by itself, if a particular course of action is not taken... Such an assumption is dangerous... There are clearly summative generalisations in history, which are explanatory in an everyday sense, but they make a weak basis for prediction (p.6).

Lee, while not excluding the possibility of drawing out generalisations from history, explicitly rejects the concept of history as a predictive science. Therefore real history cannot be a means by which ideologies are imposed in an attempt to shape a society's future. His concept of history only provides for a discipline that is retrospective.

Major historical events have been examined from different historiographical perspectives, but Lee (1984), Jenkins (1991), Knight (1993), Andreetti (1995) and Slater (1995) share a common understanding of historical events as unique, and therefore not repeatable. These events occurred in specific conditions, which were historically unique, as a product of particular humans living at a given time and can be understood, being culturally and historically specific, only if they are contextualized. Slater (1995, p.146) says that 'there is no evidence that school pupils translate their knowledge of the past into an understanding of the present unless the past is explicitly related to current circumstances'. Therefore, controversial issues in the near past, if planned more carefully, may give general explanations relating to current issues but it is rather difficult to give such explanations to younger

pupils.

Debate on the purposes of history teaching in schools simply shows that expectations at policy level are somewhat confused. Pluckrose (1991) reports on the aims of history teaching compiled from DES papers published since 1988. While it is difficult to classify as intrinsic and extrinsic the purposes of given for the teaching of history, some of the aims outlined are appropriate to the application of the use of history teaching for intrinsic purposes:

The aims of teaching history in schools are to enable children, to develop an interest in the past, to learn about the major issues and events in their own country and of the world as well as the particularity of ordinary lives, to develop a knowledge of chronology, to understand how the past was different from the present and people of other times and places may have had different values and attitudes from ours, to understand the nature of evidence, to distinguish between historical facts and their interpretation, to look for explanations of change, to understand that events have multiplicity of causes, to encourage understanding of the processes of change and continuity, to develop insights to obtain an informed appreciation (pp.8-9).

Slater (1995) reports that

recent developments in the teaching of history have been not just a matter of absorbing new knowledge, but one of assessing how students of history acquire, learn and use that knowledge. We ask not just how much more these students know after three years of studying history, but what, after that time, they can now *do*. The progressive acquisition of historical skills sits alongside the accumulation of historical knowledge (p. 112).

One may argue that these developments in teaching history help pupils to internalise historical knowledge. Through using their skills pupils may develop an interest about the past and they may apply their skills to other curriculum areas which further progress their personal development.

The Schools Council Project on *History, Geography and Social Science* 8-13 (known as Place, Time and Society 8-13 Project) was established in 1971 in order 'to look at the curriculum in its relation to particular children, teachers, schools and environments' (Blyth *et. al.*, 1976, p. 13). The rationale of the project was developed around two basic values:

The first of these was that each person and each culture has its own claim to legitimate existence and that, therefore, education ought not to be based on the assumptions that some persons and some cultures are superior to others. Instead it should enable children to develop their own ways of looking at individuals and cultures and their own criteria for deciding which, if any, are preferable in their eyes. This implies in turn the second value, namely that children should be actively initiated into the discussion of problems and issues in society rather than being shielded from problems, or being taught about problems as though there were always 'right' answers, like the answers to be found at the back of traditional textbooks in mathematics (*ibid.*, p. 23)

The project found that 'in most primary schools there was little evidence of a systematic approach to the selection of content and little emphasis on progression in learning in schools' (Farmer and Knight, 1995, p.4). Farmer and Knight (*ibid.*) report that

The project commended a systematic approach to choosing the content, skills and concepts to be promoted in schools, concluding that teachers involved in the process of curriculum planning for history, geography and social studies should consider [six] key concepts: continuity and change; conflict/consensus; causes and consequences.

The specific history concepts highlighted by the project were to resurface again and again over the next two decades – continuity and change, cause and effect, and similarity and difference (p.4).

Unlike the previous project, the Schools Council Project *History* 13-16 was established in 1972 'as a result of teachers' dissatisfaction with traditional history'

(Shemilt, 1980, p.1) in upper secondary education. ‘ The project was designed to encourage understanding of the nature of history and its basic concepts and emphasised on the use of resources in the classroom’ (*ibid.*). The project was based on following assumptions:

1. From the point of view of the history teacher, there is too much history [to teach]. Failure to solve the problem of content invites the scepticism of other subject specialists. ... Even if knowledge of some historical content is thought worthwhile, it is not easy for the history teacher to explain why this content is best transmitted as a separate and distinct subject area.
2. ...[H]istory develops few cognitive skills if its study involves no more than rote learning. It cannot promote leisure interests if children believe all historical data to originate within some text-book or other. [Therefore, the raw material of history is evidence from the past too omitted from school history teaching.]
3. [T]he Project’s answer to the question ‘What history should teach’ is ‘The nature of the subject!’... [T]his involves, ... introducing pupils to the historian’s methods, asking ‘How do we know?’, evaluating evidence and using it to establish ‘facts’ and arbitrate amongst competing ‘explanations’.
4. [I]t involves adolescents learning something of the logic of History and the meaning of such key ideas as ‘change’, ‘development’, ‘cause and effect’ and so on.
5. [I]t involves introducing pupils to some of the various approaches to history (*ibid.*, pp.3-4).

The project’s emphasis was on meeting the perceived needs of pupils and developing their skills. There was nothing on the cultural function of history and the content was to be chosen in order to illustrate ideas about the structure of the discipline (Slater, 1995). Slater (*ibid.*) says that

...the project aimed to give teachers a rationale for selecting content, make evidence central to history teaching, review some of the new approaches to its teaching and help teachers to arrive at reasons for their belief in the value of history as a school subject (p.113).

The project team proceeded to identify the ways in which history could prove a

useful and necessary subject for adolescents to study as

...a means of acquiring and developing such cognitive skills as those of analysis, synthesis and judgement; ...a source of leisure interests; ...a vehicle for analysing the contemporary world and their place within it; ...a means for developing understanding of the forces underlying social change and evaluation; ...an avenue to self-knowledge and awareness of what it means to be human (Shemilt, 1980, p.2).

The project was structured around five elements which basically match history's intrinsic purposes. Shemilt (*ibid.*) reports that

1. 'What is history?' ... introduces History as a 'form of knowledge' having its own logic, methods and perspectives...
2. 'History around us' ... aims to stimulate history-related leisure activities by fostering interest in and knowledge about the visible remains of the past.
3. 'Enquiry in depth'...is designed to increase pupil's self-knowledge and awareness of what it means to be human by concentrating attention upon the ideas and beliefs, values and attitudes, of different time and place.
4. 'Modern world studies' ... attempts to forge a connection between past and present by demonstrating that the burning issues and problems of the contemporary world cannot be understood in ignorance of their antecedents
5. 'Study in development'... [focuses] upon change and continuity, development and progress, causation and necessity, the intended and unintended consequences of human action, over a long time span (pp.5-6).

Clearly, the new approach to history teaching conveyed history as a discipline into schools and aimed to employ intrinsic purposes of history for better understanding of the nature of history. In a sense, history was liberated from a text-book dominated activity through the use of resources in the classroom and seen as a vehicle for developing cognitive skills of pupils (see Shemilt, 1980; Slater, 1995 and Farmer and Knight, 1995). However, the new approach to history teaching was criticised by Nick Williams (Haydn, *et. al.*, 1997). He commented that

whilst history had been liberated from the transmission of a corpus of

information in a linear and chronological framework it was also true that a sense of chronology had been sacrificed... this was something that traditional history did much better' (quoted in Haydn, *ibid.*, p.18).

More importantly, 'the project was criticised for not offering a framework of knowledge of British and European history and the framework appeared incoherent' (Slater, 1995, p.116). The project prompted further debate on history teaching. To see children as historians became a powerful slogan in children's learning in history. However, what was generally omitted was an assessment of the kind of training a student of history needs in order to become a historian. Farmer and Knight (1995, p.8) say that 'no historian would embark on any subject without having the sense and courtesy to read what colleagues past and present are saying/have said'. Chronology is an essential element of history in order to ensure the establishment of a firm bridge between events and as a means by which children can construct their historical knowledge. Therefore, having acquired these two basics of history, pupils may apply historians' methods into their study of the discipline.

On the other hand, back to basics (chronology and historical knowledge) in history teaching has enabled policy-makers to impose 'extrinsic model of history' which is very different from what the Schools Council History Project proposed. Farmer and Knight (*ibid.*) report that

By the 1980's the history teaching fraternity was split. Some favoured a skill/concepts-based approach – although there was some debate about which precise skills and concepts. Others supported a content-based approach, stressing that skills were simply a means to an end (p.8).

In the final report, the National Curriculum History Working Group (1990) said that

The study of history should equip young people to benefit from rights, and exercise the responsibilities, of citizens in a representative democracy... History is a vital element within the curriculum for the education of all citizens...The history of Parliament lies at the centre of British history, providing both an institutional framework and introduction to the principle of government by consent...History should teach the basic terminology of politics, the skills required for political understanding , the ability to look at politics from different angles and to recognise a political issue (pp.184-5).

My argument, contrary to the assumptions outlined above, is that the purpose of history teaching is to enable children to acquire and develop their cognitive skills through structuring the teaching of history as an element in personal development. The teaching of history in schools, as Lee (1991) argues, 'is to be transformative and the reason for teaching history is not that it changes society, but that it changes pupils, it changes what they see in the world, and how they see it' (p.43).

In a sense, intrinsic aims of history teaching are certainly essential as expectations. However to employ these aims in history teaching 'will enable children to acquire an appreciation of the difficulties involved in reconstructing the past, strengthen their enquiry skills and enable them to become more intelligent consumers of history' (Banks, 1973, p.214, see also Fines, 1994). Then, they can understand, for example, 'the economic circumstances in Germany in the early 1930s and their effect on the rise of Nazism' (Slater, 1995, pp.125-26) or they can understand how feudalism was one of the reasons of first crusades or how control by the Ottoman Empire of trade caused Europeans to find a way to India which led to the discovery of America. These all explain to us how 'the past is a foreign country' which is to be explored and exploited by children.

Generally speaking, history serves individuals, not a society as a whole. But, through the changes in individual's minds, history enables us to understand the present. It enables a knowledge of what human beings are as, in Collingwood's words, 'what men have done [is] what men are' (quoted in Reeves, 1980, p.36). Since history is a strictly-disciplined study and its outcomes cannot be easily measured, it is vulnerable and open to misuse. In the light of this recognition, I will now go on to examine the social aims of history.

b. Extrinsic purposes of history

One can observe that there is only a thin dividing line between using history for social purposes, in its contemporary meaning, and the aims of traditional history. The teaching of history for social purposes may be possible when an active learning environment is provided. This can be achieved by using historical skills for intrinsic purposes. It is supposed that the extrinsic aims of history (the democratic/critical approach) are necessary to develop individual thought, to prepare children for a democratic society, and to help children to become active citizens. However it is also the case that traditional history (the teaching of one's own inherited culture), albeit with a different emphasis in both subject content and teaching approaches, has equally been instrumental in the preparation of young learners for adult life. It has sought to mould them into what the state and society wants them to be, through the use of textbooks and one-sided sources. From an educational perspective, one may say that traditional history has been seen to fulfil the social purposes required of

history teaching. Both traditional history and the new meaning of history for social purposes are to serve societies. But the former appears to be more dogmatic and stereotyped, while the latter is speculative approach in the teaching of history and in its approach to the recipient, giving scope for a discerning selection, on the part of the pupil, of what might be considered as the useful 'lessons of history', to be applied to the present.

Ferro (1984) says that

our image of other peoples, or of ourselves reflects the history we are taught as children. Its representation, which is for each of us a discovery of the world, of the past of societies, embraces all our passing or permanent opinions, so that the traces of our first questioning, our first emotions, remain indelible (p.i).

In this sense, history plays a very important role in shaping our minds and determining our roles in the society in which we live. Therefore schools, as active agents for educating pupils, transmit the values and cultural heritage of a given society, with decisions about history teaching in many countries being determined by governments. While some see history as an element which meets the needs of a pluralist and multicultural democratic society some argue that history should serve the needs of the society and of the system from a patriotic or ideological perspective. Such a strict dichotomy, however, may prove elusive when one attempts to separate democratic history from the perspective of social purposes in any specific society. Ferro (1984, p.v) argues that for Europeans the content of 'history is seen as the history of the West', and we encounter a kind of ethnocentricity, though at various levels; there is a European level, representing 'Europe, as against the peoples of Asia

or Africa, but also there is a level of ethnocentricity inside the European continent itself, in that, for instance, Russian history is particularly studied after Peter the Great, that is, from the time when Russia was “Europeanised” ’ (*ibid.*). In this way Europe is identified, in the main, both with Christianity and technical progress. Another ‘level of ethnocentricity is seen in every nation in terms of its relationship to its neighbours’ (*ibid.*). This we may call ‘patriotism’. I identify a third level of ethnocentricity which we may call a kind of ‘nationalism’ in the form of state policy which aims to impose its desired values and inheritance of the majority, as in Nazi Germany. So whether the function of history is seen to be the inculcation of traditional values or for more extrinsic, democratic/critical, purposes, it still serves the purpose of socialisation. The school curriculum subject, by adopting a normative view about the administrative system (democratic or not), therefore reflecting the existing values of that society, institutionalised in the form of the state. This may take the political form, in some cases, of the domination of one nation over other nations in the name of ideology, as in the former Soviet Union. Therefore, as Ferro’s (1984) work, which is mainly based on history textbooks, shows, almost every country uses history first as a socialising subject in its schools, by state selection of its content, and maximising state influence over teaching perspectives. The work also shows us how the ideology of history teaching is transferring itself from the ‘melting pot’ (e.g. teaching about an inherited culture) where there is an attempt to assimilate nations to create one nation, such as an American nation forming a mixed ‘salad-bowl’ ‘where different cultures keep their identity’ (*ibid.*, p.iii) (e.g. democratic/critical model).

Haydn *et. al.* (1997) summarise social aims of history compiling views of history teaching in the field:

1. History taught as a means of social control through the transmission of cultural norms and value systems to the next generation learning from mistakes of the past and largely preserving the status quo.
2. History taught to introduce pupils to their heritage through monuments, historic buildings and towns, architecture, museums, and written sources which chronicle the events of the past.
3. History taught to instil civic pride and patriotism in one's country.
4. History thought to promote virtue and awareness of what is right and wrong (p.17).

In some ways, here is an aspect of 'citizenship education' as in point (3). History has been seen one of the contributing school subjects which can most shape pupils' minds enabling the acquisition of 'civic pride' and 'patriotism' as in the Turkish National Curriculum (see 3.1.3 Aims of history teaching in Turkish elementary schools). It is also evident that the National Curriculum Working Group's Interim Report (England and Wales) of 1988's listed purposes of school history encompassed the traditional, white citizenship approach (see Haydn *et. al.*, 1997, pp.21-2).

These aims can certainly be misused, in terms of the social purposes of history. Because 'history, unlike say, much of mathematics, craft technology, athletics or music, does not consist of identifiable targets as necessary destinations before further progress can take place' (Slater, 1991, p.17). And history gives contemporary answers to judge phenomena which might include no absolute right or wrong answers. 'Historical thinking can never say "Now I know enough ... I have

understood everything.” It works to decrease our ignorance and seeks to reduce and clarify our misunderstanding’ (*ibid.*, p.17).

When history teaching is considered in schools, its social aims make the content of the history syllabus problematic. In 1985 HMI published *History in the Primary and Secondary Years*:

It offered a rationale of history in the curriculum, not only in terms of the needs of society at large but also of the individual development, interests and enthusiasms of pupils... It defined content only in very general terms and repeated the need for a balance between British, world and local history. (Slater, 1991, p.9).

However, ‘it also offered a list of 50 first- and second -order concepts to which pupils should have been introduced by the time they left school at the age of 16. Many of these, as Slater argues, were period or topic specific’ (*ibid.*, p.9). *History in the Primary and Secondary Years* admitted that ‘its criteria for selecting content could produce a considerable diversity of content within the English school system, and argued for a minimum basis of shared knowledge as a common framework or map of the past’ (*ibid.*, p.9).

On the other hand, in 1988 *Curriculum Matters 5 to 16: History* was published: ‘in particular, it offered detailed suggestions on the factual content of the history syllabus... It appeared uncritically to accept history as a socialising subject, transmitting the culture and shared values of society’ (*ibid.*, p.9).

Lee (1991, p.40) criticises ‘the idea of handing on common heritage’ and asks

‘Which heritage is to be selected?’ ‘What should be said about the different traditions within British life (even without taking into account those heritages belonging to communities established in Britain as a result of immigration)?’. He explains that ‘handing on common heritage is nothing to do with learning history: it is using the past for practical social and political ends. This kind of practical past is not necessarily illegitimate, but it is not confused with history’ (*ibid.*, p.41). He argues that

Those who wish to change society through history teaching... [locate] their basic proposals in political concerns extrinsic to teaching history. Socialisation, the creation of confident patriots or even of ‘good citizens’ cannot justify handing on knowledge of the past or determine how it is done, because these goals are contested slogans, not appeals to historical criteria (*ibid.*, pp.41-42).

However, Lee (*ibid.*) also argues that

History for its own sake’ is one of those slogan which has managed both to gain a bad name in schools and at the same time to remain obscure... The assumption was that studies in school must be *useful* (in much the same way as technology is useful) and that studying something for its own sake is an admission that is not useful but merely *academic*, and hence something which can have value only for an *élite*... There are more serious arguments at issue here. Implicit in the case for studying history for its own sake is the reminder that the past is used for every kind of practical purpose by lawyers, clergymen, politicians and journalists. Such uses are not automatically illegitimate, but the practical past is not the historical past (p.42).

Lee (*ibid.*) suggests that ‘the discipline of history offers a rational past, not merely a practical one designed to suit the interests of particular groups or kinds of activity... and real historical knowledge makes educational sense’ if it ‘involves knowing what constitutes “good grounds” for claims to knowledge in history. This means that learning about the past means learning about the discipline too’ (*ibid.*, pp.43-44).

There is another well-known historical aim which serves the social purposes of history: to teach children genuine historical facts, in other words, the selection of *certified* historical facts. 'This is often asserted as a truism which needs no justification, but is sometimes supported by the claim that pupils can only explain, analyse or evaluate anything in history after they have acquired the facts' (*ibid.*, p.44). However, some researchers (Jenkins, 1991; Knight, 1993 and Banks, 1973) argue that there are no absolute historical facts, but there is a truth-seeking activity in history which helps to enable children to understand the past within its own conditions, and transfer it to the present to know more about their own contemporary societies.

The desire to develop moral attitudes among pupils by studying historical experiences attracted researchers in the US such as Strom and Parson (1982). Through the teaching of the history of major events, they sought to develop an understanding of human behaviour. The aim of such a project was to contribute to a greater understanding and awareness of morality, law, and citizenship. They designed 'Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behaviour Curriculum.' This is a selection of historical facts based on two major events, the holocaust and the so-called genocide of Ottoman Armenians¹. Strom and Parson claim:

In this curriculum, students investigate the use and abuse of power, obedience, loyalty, decision-making, and survival as their notions of justice. ... Students are stimulated to reason and think about the implications for a society that abuses civil liberties and censors freedom to think. They grapple with the role of the victim, the victimiser, and the bystander as they explore a wide range of human responses. Later then, they are compelled to think

about judgement, in moral as well as legal terms (*ibid.*, p.13).

I have tried through selected literature, hitherto, to explain that history deals with evidence and interpretations of the past, thus, historical enquiry enables pupils to acquire some of the basic skills of history and helps their cognitive development. It also, in a most opportunistic way, helps children to meet the values of their society and to find their identity within that society. At the same time, as Lee (1991) and Slater (1995) argue, there are no clear ends in history education which are guaranteed to contribute to morality and a sense of citizenship. On the other hand, choosing the 'Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians' is problematic as a curriculum subject, because there is no consensus on the topic and the evidence is heavily contested. As researchers, such as Lee (1991); Jenkins (1991), point out representing the past with uncertainties and biases is not history. Implementing these in a history curriculum may help, wrongly, to develop an antipathy among pupils toward certain nations. Short (1988) reports that children may develop hostile racial attitudes even at the nursery stage. Bridges (1986) makes a further comment on handling controversial issues in the classroom. He believes that schools provide moral and social development through a hidden curriculum, in the form of the schools' own rules and procedures. These may, in themselves, inculcate a certain desired conception of moral development through citizenship according to the given rules of a respective social or political system, he says that

it is simply dishonest to present as true anything which cannot in any ordinary way (by reference to evidence or argument) be established as true and equally, it is dishonest to present a belief as the only one deserving serious attention when there are, in fact, other beliefs subscribed to by those whose judgement, in different areas, one might acknowledge to be worthy of respect (p.26).

Therefore, it is the responsibility of the teacher or curriculum planner, who has the intention to develop pupils' attitudes, through the study of historical facts, to develop a high degree of objectivity.

Strom and Parson (1982) also want to establish a link between the 'genocide' of Ottoman Armenians and the holocaust. While recognising that these two events are different, they (*ibid.*, p.1), nevertheless, identify a 'shared a common fate. Both of these events have been ignored, avoided, or denied and if treated, revised beyond recognition by their survivors'. It is not easy to make generalisations in history. Historians tend to prefer *explanations* 'without invoking general laws'. These 'explanations always have implications beyond the case in hand. If one cites A as an explanation of B, one can repudiate a similar explanation in another case only if there is a relevant difference between them' (Lee, 1984, p.8). Therefore, the general point is that if history is to have a socialising function one immediately faces the complex questions about which history to teach and from whose point of view.

3.1.3 Aims of history teaching in Turkish elementary schools

As I mentioned in the preceding sections, history teaching aims, as a school subject, to contribute to the 'personal development', 'socialisation' and 'citizenship education' of the pupils. In the Turkish context, the teaching of history in schools lies between being seen as a socialising subject and as a vehicle for citizenship education. It is supposed that history education is designed to meet the needs of Turkish society in terms of inculcating a sense of citizenship and of certain moral

and cultural values. The social studies curriculum is comprised of the key events of national history, with the aim of enabling pupils to come to a realisation of their national identity, cultural heritage, and the values of Turkish society. An understanding of these are thought to provide essential lessons conducive to the continuation of social development within a democratic society. In this context, the aim of history teaching in Turkish schools, is, in a sense, to serve morality, law and citizenship. In the Turkish National Curriculum aims of social studies teaching - though it is difficult to determine separately- are to educate pupils:

As future citizens who respect the principles and reforms of Atatürk and democracy; who care for their families, country and the nation; who are aware of their responsibilities towards the Republic of Turkey; who work for promoting their families, country and the nation.

As individuals who are capable of reasoning freely and rationally, exploring, are observant and virtuous; who respect national history and know the important persons who shaped Turkish history; who perceive of civilisation as a product of a long time and understand the contribution of the Turks to that civilisation; who know historical and cultural traces and artistic works, museums and monuments around their environment and learn to protect them (IGM, 1995, pp.329-30).

In order to serve these aims, the historical component of the social studies syllabus was prepared through a number of mainly national and political history units. History teaching in that syllabus is obviously aimed at meeting social requirements, and therefore purely for extrinsic purposes. While one might recognise the need to keep alive a sense of enthusiasm and patriotism for a relatively new republic, one can also say that it is equally important to create an interest for the study of history in an intrinsic sense. This requires scepticism, reasoning, curiosity, objectivity and patience, seeking to experience the past in terms of its own conditions, and

understanding the behaviour of human beings in their own historical context, rather than through the prism of one's own contemporary conceptions. The latter approach is one which seeks to hermeneutically transcend the power relations that are given in a society at a particular moment, in order to reach towards a truly ontological sense of objectivity, which stands outside and above the constraints of the society in which the historian, and the history teacher, finds himself or herself in.

Paykoç (1991, p.34) says that 'the content of the aims of history teaching provides for children to acquire historical empathy and a scientific approach, working as historians, knowing chronology and understanding change and continuity'. He (*ibid.*, p.5) thinks of 'history teachers as social scientists and of historians as those who create the past through interpreting it and analysing its structure' and argues that 'this approach may help to provide historical empathy in children's minds'

However, the Ministry of Education determines the aims of elementary schooling as:

Elementary schools are national institutions. Their aim is to educate pupils as effective Turkish citizens. To do this, schools should enable pupils to acquire national heritage, purpose, duty, responsibility and behaviour. These institutions should teach pupils the importance of the Turkish republic, the proclamations of the republic and the independence of the republic through social studies and life studies (Barth and Demirtas, 1996, p.2)

One may claim that this is a classic statement of the extrinsic functions of the school and the curriculum. The Turkish Primary Curriculum, as can be seen, codifies a very deterministic approach regarding the aims of history teaching. Having said that the curriculum does contain progressive ideas and some aspects of an intrinsic approach to history teaching (see 2.1.2/b.2 The development of the primary curriculum in

respect to social studies). Indeed, one can recognise that it is difficult to create an interest in history amongst pupils and that history education in Turkish schools will inevitably reflect the cultural context within which it is taught. This would therefore, at least to some degree, be in line with the aims put forward in the curriculum. Having recognised this, however, one can say that the existing curriculum, which is strictly structured, presents serious difficulties for both teachers and pupils to develop their own ideas. The teachers, whom I interviewed, said that they have to teach history in a more traditional way relying heavily on social studies textbooks which reflect social aims and are authorised by the Textbook Commission of the Ministry of Education. Therefore, there are tensions between the intrinsic and extrinsic purposes of teaching history in Turkish elementary schools. I explore this issue in chapter five. Considering how history lessons and their content are treated in the Turkish elementary classroom (basically history education is based on political and national Turkish history and it is mainly presented via social studies textbooks; see Özbaran, 1992). It might be argued that this presents problems, in the sense that the didactic aims of creating what could be seen as a stereotypical citizenship amongst the future adults provides for little opportunity for the pupils to develop their own ideas for participation in a democratic society. Though history like other subjects is said to have no direct contribution to development of the democratic behaviour, which is to be developed through hidden curriculum. Social and individualist understandings come together in a confused and seemingly incoherent way, with only the social component being designed to suit practical purposes. These difficulties, I would argue, underlie the reasoning of those who have

constructed the curriculum. For them, an effective way of teaching history and other social studies subjects for practical purposes is to have a very determined curriculum which serves the current needs of the society and the state, while having little expectation that it may help the cognitive and personal development of pupils as individuals.

Through literature I investigated two dimensions of history teaching: these are the intrinsic and extrinsic purposes of history. So far, history in Turkish schools has been extensively taught for its practical use, for social purposes. Political influences and social pressures have determined the purposes of history teaching. Therefore, ‘the history we choose to teach our pupils is always a reflection of the assumptions of the society in which we live’ (Husbands, 1996 p. 130). However, the teaching of history has another mission which is to help individual progress. This might be achieved through the developing of cognitive skills in children by awakening their interest in the past, therefore enabling an understanding of human behaviour in the context of the process of change. Thus, history teaching employs its own principles in education by investigation of the past. The lack of perspective in the curriculum on individual mental development leads me on to an examination of the relationship of psychological perspectives to history education.

3.2 Psychological Perspectives

Learning occurs in individuals. Therefore, the child is the centre of his or her own learning experience. The most widely accepted psychological epistemological

theories are the behavioural and cognitive approaches. Behaviourists are interested in the direct observable behaviour of individuals in the learning process. They investigate behavioural changes and reasons behind such behavioural changes. Although 'they do not reject internal mental states they argue that these states are not accessible' (Brown, 1995, p.15). The overt behaviour of the organism is usually the main focus for behaviourist psychologists. One of the leading psychologist in this field is the American psychologist B. F. Skinner. He spent over 50 years in the experimental investigation of learning. He held the idea, which he called *operant conditioning* (Fontana, 1988, p.127), that 'the learning act involves three identifiable stages: first the *stimulus* or *situation* (S) with which the learner is confronted; second, the *behaviour* (B) which it elicits from the learner; and the third the *reinforcement* (R) which follows this behaviour' (*ibid.*). However, learning is a very complex activity which cannot only be explained by behavioural changes. In criticising the behavioural approach, Bruner sees learning 'not merely as a passive unit of behaviour elicited by a stimulus and strengthened or weakened by reinforcement, but as an active process in which the learners infer principles and rules and test them out' (quoted in *ibid.*, p.128).

The most supported authoritative use of cognitive approaches for studying child's thinking, until the early 1970's, was the work of Piaget. Piaget saw a child as an active information seeker, and focused on the interaction between the child and his or her environment. According to him 'the thought processes depended upon an ability to create, hold and modify internal representations of things which are

experienced in the environment' (Brown, 1995, p.19). These thought processes are *schemas*. When a child meets a new object or event, he or she attempts to understand it in terms of a pre-existing schema which Piaget calls the process of *assimilation*. If the old schema does not enable accommodation of the new event, then the child modifies the schema. This process is called *accommodation* (Basaran, 1996, p.98) and the mechanism for change is termed *equilibration*. 'As a child begins to develop understanding, some of the important attributes which influence that understanding begin to acquire the relatively stable, balanced pattern of a schema' (Brown, 1995, p.19).

Piaget divided cognitive development into four major stages and a number of sub-stages within each stage. These are sensory-motor (birth –2 years), pre-operational (2-7 years), concrete operations (7-11 years) and formal operations (12 and onwards). At the pre-operational stage, children are unable to centre attention on more than one aspect of the situation at a time (quoted in Cooper, 1995, p.9), and make 'no differentiation between change and non change... [T]he child is not concerned with interesting or convincing others and leaps from a premise to an unreasonable conclusion in one bound' (*ibid.*). Therefore, as Piaget (1959) suggested:

Up till the age of 7 or 8 children make no effort to stick to one opinion on any given subject. They do not indeed believe what is self-contradictory, but they adopt successively opinions, which if they were compared would contradict one another. They are insensible to contradiction in this sense, that in passing from one point of view to another they always forget the point of view which they first adopted (p.74).

However, Cooper (1995, p.10), writing from the perspective of research into historical understanding, argues that 'young children's ability to make inferences may be greater than Piaget suggested. It often seems to be limited by lack of knowledge or experience, or failure to understand the kind of thinking that is expected'. Bryant and Donaldson believe that 'some kind of logical thinking begins in children much sooner than has been conventionally believed in the light of Piaget's experiments' (quoted in Blyth, 1994, p.9). Bryant argues that 'young children cannot reason easily because their memory is not normally exercised and they forget the knowledge which helps them to reason' (*ibid.*, p. 9). Bruner (1960, pp.33-5) says that 'the child's mental work consists principally in establishing relationships between experience and action'; the child's 'concern is with manipulating the world through action'. In this stage, 'the principal symbolic achievement is that the child learns how to represent the external worlds through symbols established by simple generalization' (*ibid.*). Peel says that this is a *describer* level 'stage of unjustified and unqualified statements' (quoted in Cooper, 1995, p.10). On the other hand, recent studies have accumulated a great deal of evidence that Piaget's assumptions even about the nature of early sensory perception may have been wrong. The evidence on the early infant perception is more consistent with a 'presentationalist' than a 'representationalist' realist position (Butterworth, 1987, pp.65-6).

At the next stage of cognitive development 'children's thinking is bound by observable reality' (Cooper, 1995, p.9). This is a concrete level in which 'children

show an increasing awareness of what they can know and what they can guess' (*ibid.*). The child 'attempts to communicate intellectual processes' by means of factual and descriptive or primitive arguments in which the statement or opinion goes beyond the information given (*ibid.*). Peel says that this is a *transitional* level 'stage of justified hypothesis and a recognition of logical possibilities' (quoted in *ibid.*, p.10). Bruner (1960) says:

An operation is a type of action it can be carried out rather directly by the manipulation of objects, or internally, as when one manipulates the symbols that represents things and relations in one's mind. Roughly, an operation is a means of getting data about the real world into the mind transforming them so that they can be organized and used selectively in the solution of problems (p.35)

At this level, '[a]round seven years of age, the construction of operational structures gives the child the means to know the world within the system of logical classification, seriation, numbers, spatial and temporal causality' (Modgil and Modgil 1984, p.38). These 'include such acts as those of compensation and of identity and reversibility' (*ibid.*). A major change in the child's thinking 'apparently occurs at about the time that his or her language is becoming proficient' (*ibid.*), but Piaget says that 'cognitive development does not depend upon language' (quoted in *ibid.*). However, it is known that the thinking, in six or seven year old children, 'catches up with language and language begins to be used in effective problem solving' (*ibid.*, p.40).

At the formal level, children 'were able to hold in mind a range of hypothetical possibilities' without requiring actual experience of the concrete objects (Cooper, 1995, p.9). They can 'establish a firm bridge between the certain and the probable'

(*ibid.*). They ‘can use not only conjunctions, but also disjunctions, can make implications and consider incompatible propositions’ (*ibid.*). Peel says that this is an *explainer* level ‘stage of weighed arguments using abstract propositions’ (quoted in *ibid.*).

‘Some current critics argue that it cannot be said that a child is at an overall concrete operational stage at any time. Rather, that he achieves operational thought separately in different domains’ (Sutherland, 1992, p.65). Sutherland (*ibid.*) says that ‘P. Bryant is one of the leading British psychologists who criticised and modified some crucial points of Piaget’s ideas’. Some general points were revealed in his studies, namely, that

we don’t have to wait for a certain level to develop in a pupil, as Piaget had given us to understand. We don’t have to wait for the pupil to become ready. If we are sufficiently ingenious and enterprising in our teaching techniques, we can accelerate this readiness. Therefore we should reject Piaget’s determinism (quoted in *ibid.*, p.67).

At this point, like Bryant, Donaldson (1978) argues that ‘the evidence compels us to reject certain features of Piaget’s theory of intellectual development’ (p.9) and ‘[b]oth Bryant and Donaldson argue that Piaget was wrong in the way he questioned children. Rather than catching a child out, we should be giving him optimal language help by making questions and cues as clear and helpful as possible’ (Sutherland, 1992, p.77). Brown and Desforges (1979, p.164), in criticising the methodology of Piaget’s work, also argue that ‘the problem is that we have a theory of cognitive development which gives little attention to language development and yet which relies heavily on verbal behaviour of data’.

Vygotsky 'was one of the first major figures to respond critically to Piaget's ideas' (Sutherland, 1992, p.42). Unlike Piaget, Vygotsky focused on both the teacher and the child. He saw the teacher as a builder of scaffolding to bridge what the child knows and what the teacher wants him or her to know. 'This was shown by his definition of intelligence as the capacity to learn *from instruction*' (*ibid.*, p.43). However, he distinguished himself from behaviourists in that 'he did not believe in the teacher operating a rigid control over exactly what the child learns...Vygotsky saw *activity* by children as central to education, and the teacher as having much more control over this activity' (*ibid.*, p.43). In this way (*scaffolding*) the 'teacher can support and shape the child's development of understanding through appropriately prompting and directing attention to key features of a learning activity' (Kyriacou, 1995, p.119). Vygotsky (1978) said that

From the very first days of the child's development his activities acquire a meaning of their own in a system of social behaviour and, being directed towards a definite purpose, are refracted through the prism of the child's environment. The path from object to child and from child to object passes through another person (p.30; quoted in Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.28).

Therefore, he advocated that pupils learn directly from the teacher. This is summarised in one of Vygotsky's key phrases: *the zone of proximal development (ZPD)* (Sutherland, 1992, p.43). For Vygotsky, 'the distance between the child's individual capacity and capacity to perform with assistance is the ZPD', (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.28) which is

The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by individual problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration

with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978, p.86; quoted in Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.30).

Tharp and Gallimore (*ibid.*, p.33) present progress through the ZPD in a model of four stages. At stage one, children rely on adults or more capable peers. The child initially may have little understanding of the task. However, he or she gradually understands the meaning of the task performance with the assistance of questions, feedback and further cognitive structuring. Tharp and Gallimore (*ibid.*, p.162) say that 'effective instruction requires teacher assisted lessons, in which the teacher sets the agenda and ensures that students learn and practice through assisted performance'. During stage one the task is developed to transmit from other regulation (the teacher or more capable peer) to self regulation in which 'we see a steadily declining plane of adult responsibility for task performance and a reciprocal increase in the learner's proportion of responsibility' (*ibid.*, p.35). Bruner (1986, p.76) says that 'what the tutor *did* was the child could *not* do. For the rest, she made things such that the child could do with her what he plainly could not do *without* her' and 'as the tutoring proceeded, the child took over from her parts of the task that he was not able to do at first but, with mastery, became consciously able to do under his own control' (*ibid.*, p.76). Bruner calls this 'handover principle' 'the child who was a spectator is now a participant' (quoted in Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p. 35).

At the second stage 'assistance is provided by the child himself by talking aloud in order to solve problems' (Sutherland, 1992, p.46). Vygotsky says that 'children solve practical tasks with the help of their speech, as well as with their eyes and

hands' (quoted in Bruner, 1986, p.72). Although this stage begins around the age of two, it is a lifelong experience. In 'the acquisition of some particular performance capacity adults consistently talk to themselves, and indeed assist themselves in all ways possible' (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.38). At this stage 'the child learns about the task and about his own learning' (Sutherland, 1992, p.46) this 'constitutes the next stage in passing of control or assistance from the adult to the child, from the expert to the apprentice. What was guided by the other is now beginning to be guided and directed by the self' (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.37).

At the third level the child emerges from the ZPD to the 'developmental stage' (*ibid.*, p.38). According to Tharp and Gallimore (*ibid.*) the task now

has been internalised and "automatized." Assistance, from the adult or the self, is no longer needed. Indeed, "assistance" would now be disruptive. It is in this condition that instructions from others are disruptive and irritating; it is at this stage that self consciousness itself is detrimental to the smooth integration of all task components. This is a stage beyond self-control and beyond social control. Performance is no longer developing; it is already developed. Vygotsky described it as the "fruits" of development, but he also described it as "fossilized," emphasizing its fixity and distance from the social and mental forces of change (p.38)

Sutherland (1992, p.46) called this stage 'Vygotsky's concept of internalization'. At completion of this level 'a child becomes himself through others' (*ibid.*, p.46).

Tharp and Gallimore (1988, p.38) argue that 'the lifelong learning by any individual is made up of these same regulated, ZPD sequences - from other - assistance to self-assistance - recurring over and over again for the development of new capacities'. This constitutes the final stage of development. Now 'enhancement, improvement,

and maintenance of performance provide a recurrent cycle of self-assistance to other- assistance' (*ibid.*, 39). In classroom discourse these can be provided by teacher's 'monitoring' practice to help advance the pupil's understanding (see Kyriacou, 1995 and Anderson, 1989).

Across the stages of ZPD language plays a significant role in the child's cognitive development. Sutherland (1992, p.46) says that '[Vygotsky] was a pioneer metacognitivist, advocating that by talking to others a child develops awareness of the communicative functions of concepts'. Bruner (1986) makes a further comment about the role of language. Drawing on his own work he (*ibid.*) concludes that

...any innate Language Acquisition Device, LAD, that helps members of our species to penetrate language could not possibly succeed but for the presence of a Language Acquisition Support System, LASS, provided by the social world, that is matched to LAD in some regular way. It is LASS that helps the child navigate across the Zone of Proximal Development to full and conscious control of language use (p. 76).

Unlike Piaget, 'Vygotsky saw learning taking place: the culture is transmitted from one generation to the next by means of the education of children' (Sutherland, 1992, p.46) adding the 'socio-cultural dimension' to the concept of internalisation (*ibid.*).

Bruner (1986) says that

[Vygotsky] believed that the transmission of mind across history is effected by successive mental sharings that assure a passing on of ideas from the more able or advanced to the less so. And the medium in which the transmission occurs is language and its products: literacy, science, technology, literature (p.74).

Davydov and Zinchenko (1993) report that

Vygotsky's claim that human mental development, with its social sources, is

mediated by man's relation to those sources (or, more accurately, by his own activity in social reality) is of major theoretical importance since it enables us to surmount the view that the effect of the social environment on man in itself determines the development of man's consciousness and mind (p.100)

Pollard (1993, p.175) comes to the conclusion that 'Vygotskian ideas, suitably applied, have the potential to offer a new legitimization' of innovative curriculum practices. He (*ibid.*) notes that

Throughout the 1980s there were considerable professional developments in teaching methods regarding the curriculum subjects which make up the primary school curriculum. In almost every case the innovations embraced a move far away from individualized work towards group work, a concern to make the active and skilled role of the teacher more explicit and a growing recognition of the capacity of children to construct their understanding together (p.175).

In conclusion, Vygotsky advocated children learning directly from the teacher which 'implies a teacher should guide her pupils in paying attention, concentrating and learning effectively. A teacher will hereby scaffold a pupil to competence in any skill' (Sutherland, 1992, p.43). By 'collaboration with more capable peers' he meant the use of a more advanced child to help a less advanced child, a process which may help both children. As Donaldson (1978) noted children are likely use their own language to help each other to understand the task and this method can be applied in mixed ability class teaching. 'Vygotsky also focused on the individual child and how he learns to think. This is done by a process of *internalising* external and social activities and making them part of his or her own mental structures' (Sutherland, 1992, p.45).

Like Vygotsky and Bryant and Donaldson, Bruner 'urged teachers to try to get

pupils through the successive stages as quickly as possible and he regarded language as vital for a child's overall cognitive development' (*ibid.*, 58). Advocating discovery learning and a child centred approach, he developed a *spiral curriculum* which is shaped by the cognitive stages. After having developed an understanding of the need for an interventionist role Bruner later modified these stages (*ibid.*) (see 3.2.2 Language and concept development).

Since Vygotsky, the constructivist movement has come to the fore. Many constructivists believe that 'constructivism starts from where the child is at present in terms of concepts and learning strategies. The child constructs his or her own unique set of concepts in order to cope with and explain the world he or she lives in' (*ibid.*, p.84).

In this movement, Ausubel, as a theoretician, 'defended the notion of *meaningful verbal learning*. Instead of discovering for himself or herself, the pupil is presented by the teacher with key concepts in a form easy for him or her to assimilate' (*ibid.*, p.79; see also Driver, 1983). Ausubel also advocated *advance cognitive organizers* which give pupils a helpful frameworks in order to guide them through complex materials (Sutherland, 1992, p.80) (see a. Direct teaching). Being affected by Vygotsky, 'Bruner's ideas for teaching fall somewhere between those of Piaget and the current constructivists... he agrees that the role of the teacher is one of enabling and facilitating the learning of the pupils' (*ibid.*, p.84).

Constructivists argue that teachers should use the pupil's initial strategies rather than simply impose more formal ones...However, a more interventionist

form of constructivism is advocated by Ros Driver, among others. Teachers should be aware of the strategies and concepts children bring to school, but should then actively intervene and build on these' (*ibid.*, pp82-3).

Research shows that although Piaget's ideas about cognitive growth are acceptable, there is no evidence that children pass through these stages in the form of qualitative breakthroughs. Vygotsky's work indicates that it is the teacher's responsibility to help children to accelerate progress through these stages and, in certain circumstances to encourage more able children to help the less able in accomplishing the given task. The teacher must also be aware of what children already know and how he or she, as a teacher, can build meaningful learning upon the foundations of that existing knowledge.

3.2.1 Children's historical thinking and cognitive development

The acceptance of the cognitive stages of the child's development brought the idea that these stages could apply to history (Steel, 1976, p.15). Previous studies, in this field, revealed two different views. The first view is 'the three levels can be revealed amongst a group of children of almost any age, because the nature of the evidence and the complexity of the questions influences children's level of response' (Cooper, 1995, p.11). The second view is 'the ages at which the transition from one stage to another takes place tends to be later than in other subjects' in the development of historical understanding (Steele, 1976, p.15). However, Smith and Knight have said that 'some aspects of high school children's displays of history reasoning are of the same order of development as their levels of formal operational reasoning' (quoted in Knight, 1993, p. 28).

Some of the earliest research on cognitive development and historical thinking was conducted by Hallam. He (1967, pp.183, 191) tested 100 volunteers aged from eleven to sixteen years old in a co-educational secondary school and found that the children were reaching formal operational level at the age of 16.2-16.6 years. After having read a passage on William I, the children were asked whether they thought William was cruel. One pupil, aged 16.2 years was asked 'Why did William destroy Northern England?'. The pupil answered:

'Many were robbers and probably killers of some sort. They didn't have the right to live'

'In considering William's motives for crushing the North of England the destruction of the Norman garrison at York was often ignored' (*ibid.*, p.199). Therefore, the pupil's answer was judged to be at a pre-operational level.

The pupil, aged 15.1 years answered:

'I think he was cruel because he laid waste to the land but he allowed the people to collect the bodies of the people they wanted to bury.'

'What does this prove then?'

'He could be cruel in winning a battle, but after the battle was over he could allow the people more scope.' (*ibid.*, p. 15).

The pupil's answer was judged to be at a concrete operational level because 'it failed to co-ordinate the different facts. Meanwhile, a 14.8 year old pupil answered at a formal operation level, because the pupil showed an awareness of equilibrium as a combination of cancellation and compensation':

'It depends what you call cruel. If the definition of cruel is to kill and ravish and burn for any purpose whatever. William was cruel. On the other hand if one is prepared to accept political necessity, William's cruelty was justified.'

Compared with many other feudatories (knights etc.) he was essentially a kind man' (*ibid.*, p. 200).

Hallam (*ibid.*) also found a large number of pre-operational answers in his study he argued that these answers

often directly reflecting Piaget's criteria formed with younger subjects in different fields of thought, and the relative absence of formal operational answers indicate the difficulties faced by many secondary school pupils in the study of history if it is to be a more valuable discipline than the mere repetition of learnt facts (pp. 197-8).

On the other hand, '[Lodwick] showed children between seven and fourteen a picture of Stonehenge and asked them ... "Do you think Stonehenge might have been a temple or a fort? Their answers showed a gradual development from unreason to logic, then to the use of supporting evidence, and probabilistic thinking"' ((quoted in Cooper, 1992, p.16) Cooper (*ibid.*) argues that Lodwick's study showed that 'the development in reasoning is due, to some extent, to an increase in knowledge. More information might therefore enable the children to argue logically at an earlier stage'. De Silva showed that 'the turning point in the transition from descriptive to explanatory modes of thought is in the age range thirteen to fourteen' (quoted in Steele, 1976, p. 16). Steele (*ibid.*) believed that 'children develop the capacity to think in the abstract rather later in history than in other areas of the curriculum'. Cooper (*ibid.*) reports that

Thomson (1962) gave a mixed ability class of twelve-year-old boys background information about William the Conqueror, then gave them some extracts from the *Domesday Book* and from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and asked them why William had the survey carried out (p.16).

The children were judged to be at pre-operational level if they misunderstood the

given information. If the children repeated information from the *Chronicle*, they were judged to be at concrete level. On the other hand, such responses as ‘awareness of uncertainty and probability, [and] an understanding of the King’s insecure positions, were regarded as a formal operational level (*ibid.*, p.17). Booth’s study on ‘the nature of [fourteen-years old children’s] knowledge of history’ also showed that pupils’ ‘answers fell into three stages’ (quoted in *ibid.*, p.17). However, Shemilt (1976), who worked on the *Schools Council History Project, 13-16 Years*, argued that

although the claim that formal thinking in history is possible for average adolescents remains no more than a working hypothesis it is perhaps not irrelevant to suggest how it is that formal operational reasoning can lead to rational conclusions in fourth year science and irrational conclusions in fourth year history (p.242).

He (*ibid.*, p.243) found that ‘high-level historical concepts can be operated concretely as well as formally’.

More recent study on historical learning, the work of the CHATA Project (Concepts of History and Teaching Approaches at Key Stages 2 and 3), was conducted to explore aspects of children’s ideas about historical explanation. Lee *et. al.* (1996) report that

The project is divided into three phases: investigation of the progression of children’s ideas of historical enquiry and historical explanation between the ages of 7 and 14 years; the development of instruments for investigating teaching approaches in history and for categorizing the way in which history is seen in relation to the wider curriculum; and finally, exploration of the relationship between pupil’s concepts of enquiry and explanation, curriculum contexts and differences in teaching approach (p. 172).

Initial analysis of the children's responses has led Lee *et. al.* (*ibid.*) to say that

we should be able to say more about the consistency with which children operate 'the same' ideas in the face of different content and different tasks. This obviously has considerable importance for any claims to articulate progression in history in terms of 'levels' (p.191).

They (*ibid.*, p.191) also found that 'some 7- year- olds performed at a higher level than some 14-year- olds on some of the tasks'.

Research, then, shows that the application of levels to historical learning has some difficulties. Although development of historical thought might be classified within the levels, there is little evidence that these levels in history are age related. The development of historical thinking is: dependent upon language and concept development; historical knowledge, using appropriate materials; and teaching styles related specifically to children's learning in history.

3.2.2 Language and concept development

Vygotsky concerned himself with the specific role of language (e.g. the signalling function of language and verbal thought) in children's cognitive development.

Drawing upon this Bruner

postulated three modes of representation in understanding a body of knowledge: 'enactive' depending on physical experience or sensation..., 'iconic' when the essence of the experience is represented in pictures, in the mind's eye..., and 'symbolic', when concepts are organised in symbols or in language (quoted in Cooper, 1995, p.20).

Each mode is an important tool of children's conceptual development in history. It is also true that there is a strong relationship between the development of language and

the development of historical thinking. Ausubel *et. al.* (1978, p.105) say that 'language plays a central facilitating role in the acquisition of concepts'. First, 'it obviously determines as well as reflects the mental operations involved in the acquisition of abstract and higher-order concepts'. Second, the 'process of concept assimilation is through definition, and context would be utterly inconceivable without language. Last, 'language helps ensure a certain amount of cultural uniformity in the generic content of concepts, thereby facilitating interpersonal cognitive communication'. Donaldson (1978, p.94) says that 'the child who is learning to read is in a situation that is likely to encourage him to begin to consider possibilities in relation to one important act of thought which is the apprehension of meaning'. Thus, 'features of the written word which encourage awareness of language may also encourage awareness of the one's own thinking' (*ibid.*, p.95).

'Charlton analysed the understanding of a group fourteen years old children of thirty key words used in their textbooks. He found that more than half of the words were not understood' (quoted in Steele, 1976, p.17). Husbands (1996) argued that 'historians frequently use language in ways which are far from literal or immediately straightforward, or in ways which create difficulties for learners' (p.34). He (*ibid.*) gave the word 'Victorian' as a problematic example:

At its simplest, it [Victorian] refers to a historical period in the United Kingdom between 1837 and 1901. But historians use the word with both a narrower and wider meaning, and it has popular currency too: Victorian terraced housing, Victorian 'style', the 'Victorians', ... 'Victorian values' and so on. So the development of understanding the ideas which underpin the language becomes extremely difficult because the 'historical' language is being used in a particularly flexible way (p.34).

‘Coltham investigated the understanding of a group of top juniors ... of the terms “kings, early man, invasion, ruler, trade, and subject” she ... found a wide range in the levels of understanding’ (quoted in Steel, 1976, p.17). Crowther (1982, p.284) investigated children’s understanding of the dynamics of stability and change. He found that ‘children see change as part of the natural order of things and of temporal factors as integral to such change’.

‘Vygotsky (1962) showed that concepts are learned, not through ready-made definitions, but through trial and error, and experience’ (quoted in Cooper, 1992, pp.24). He also ‘suggested that concept development can be promoted by careful use of language’ (*ibid.*, p.25). Language makes it possible to use and understand concepts. Although there is no consensus about which concepts are historical, history uses some concepts which are not peculiar to history. This common usage of concepts enables a connection to be made between analysis of the past and the present.

The development of historical thinking is dependent upon conceptual development, and ‘time’ is one of the key concepts which is to be developed through the cognitive stages. Piaget suggested that ‘the concept of time can only be understood in relation to concepts of speed, movement and space’ (quoted in *ibid.*, p.28). Therefore, ‘understanding this relationship develops slowly, young children cannot understand that time can be measured in equal times’ (*ibid.*). Both Bruner and Piaget ‘saw the child’s thought as developing from relative perceptual domination to conceptual

systematisation' (quoted in Smith and Tomlinson, 1977, p.164). Piaget's work on the duration of physical processes indicated 'a developmental sequence in which the child proceeds from a "spatialised" time concept through a true "chronological" conception in which he grasps not only seriation of a single succession of events, but also their coseriation against a succession of equal temporal intervals' (*ibid.*, p.164). Harnett (1993, p.145) discovered that children 'found difficulty in recognising the duration of time' while 'being able to describe the passage of a long period of time. They were unable to relate to what they knew was very old to an appropriate number; for instance an eleven years old boy placed the castle "ages ago" and put in Victorian times' (*ibid.*). Flicker and Rehage suggested that 'children gain some concepts of the past at the age of eight, a full understanding of our system of reckoning time at about eleven, an understanding of time lines at about thirteen, and maturity in the understanding of time, words and dates at about sixteen' (quoted in Steel, 1976, p.19).

Jahoda examined 'the research on the child's understanding of time. He noted the confusion, at the age of five, of time and space and pointed out that time was not "a uniform and homogenous flow, but tied to particular objects, locations or events"' (quoted in *ibid.*, p.19). Whitrow (1988, p.10) argued also that 'time is a culturally constructed concept [and] that there is no unique intuition of time that is common to all mankind'. West examined 'whether children could become better at sequencing historical materials, at forming sets of materials from the same time, and at identifying authentic materials' (quoted in Knight, 1993, p.93). He showed that

‘junior school children can achieve an understanding of chronology sufficient for them to undertake demanding and worthwhile history work’ (*ibid.*). He (1981) found that children between seven and nine years old were ‘more confident in deciding the period of a picture than of understanding whether it was “contemporary” or not’. Children also understood the ‘nature of ancient and medieval pictures but they were confused as to whether these were produced recently or contemporarily’ (*ibid.*).

Steele (1976, p.20) argued that ‘understanding of historical time is highly likely to be a product of mental maturation, but equally, once a particular stage has been reached, it may be possible to accelerate the development of that understanding’. Research showed that children have some difficulties understanding the concept of time, but these are no means children cannot master the time in history. Although chronology is one of the key elements in history teaching, there are other ways to explain historical time in which historians apply the use of broader terms and culturally determining common features of the historical time, such as Victorian time, twentieth century, middle ages and so on.

3.2.3 The development of historical understanding

One of the basic principles of the progressive view of learning is to see children as ‘little scientists’ (see Bruner, 1960; 1966), according to this view, learning comes through experiment, discovery and problem-solving. This conceptual framework was manifested practically in the form of history teachers educating children as “little” historians studying history. The idea was to help children’s historical

understanding through the systematic use of historical evidence leading to the development of historical imagination and empathy.

Lee *et. al.* (1996, p.14) say that ‘children who have no concept of evidence, but only information, can cope with conflicting sources only by appealing to authority or by resorting to counting voices (if more people say something, they must be right)’. Husbands (1996, p.13) says that ‘the development of historical understanding is always the result of an active dialogue between ourselves, in the present, and the evidence in whatever form which the past has left behind’. Dickinson *et. al.* (1978, p.13) argued that ‘history is a complex intellectual activity in which the origins of an investigation, its prosecution and its public communication all involve both knowledge of the past and the current condition of inquiry’. Therefore, they (*ibid.*, p.16) suggested that ‘because of the relationship between evidence and historical knowledge, the gradual development of children’s understanding must go hand in hand with the acquisition of knowledge of the historical context which produced that evidence’. On the other hand, Cooper (1995, p.6) argued that ‘[i]n learning about the past through secondary sources, children will discover that accounts differ, and in asking their own questions about primary sources, they will begin to discover why’ and they will realise that ‘arguments must be supported’ by primary sources. Therefore, they will see that ‘there is often no one “right” answer’. She (*ibid.*, p.6) suggested that this mode of learning will help ‘social and intellectual development’ as well as ‘historical understanding’.

Shawyer *et. al.* (1988) reported the confusion over the purpose of using sources:

The use of sources (particularly primary sources) is possibly regarded as the cornerstone of the 'new history' and therefore accepted as 'a good thing'. The fact that historians use sources provides a model for the teaching and learning of history in schools. But it is not enough that historians use sources, we need to pay attention to how they use them. A second problem ... is the lack of research into how successfully children can handle sources. A third is that however limited our knowledge of children's understanding is, we know even less about how they can be encouraged to progress from one level of understanding to another (pp.212-3).

Recent research showed that 'children were not always able to identify reliable evidence. Sometimes they misinterpreted the clues and used them inaccurately' (Harnett, 1993, p.144). However, 'as the children grew older, more of them began to question the validity of the evidence and also to mention what type of source it was' (*ibid.*). Harnett (*ibid.*) concluded that the difficulties of children's experience in working as historians 'arise mainly from their lack of knowledge and experience of the world and consideration needs to be given to whether or how much of this sort of knowledge can actually be taught'.

Research shows that if children work like historians in order to interpret carefully selected evidence they should also be encouraged via historical knowledge as the way that historians are trained. On the other hand, it is clear that accepting history as a body of certified facts will only serve memorisation, and even this will cause the children to support the particular point of view from which they are taught, as children tend to accept unquestioningly the textbook, or the teacher, as being "correct".

3.2.4 Historical imagination

In order to understand how people in the past differed, children need to develop historical imagination. History explores the past via evidence and the evidence is always incomplete. In order to construct the past in our minds historical imagination, has to be applied. Duckworth (1971, p.49) says that ‘letting the imagination dwell on the past is not just a getting away-from, but a getting-as-close-as-possible-to, life in another age and country. It encourages the child to put himself in someone else’s place’. Cooper (1995, p.2) says that ‘[p]roducing a range of valid interpretation from evidence involves thinking which we may call “historical imagination” ’ or “historical empathy”. These ‘valid interpretations may lead to an understanding of why people in the past may have thought, felt and behaved differently from us’ (*ibid.*).

Giving an example of a ‘Tudor print showing a beggar being whipped’, Husbands (1996) speculates such questions as:

To what classroom uses can we put this evidence? Can the history teacher, over and beyond using this as an illustration of the sort of treatment vagrants might receive under the Poor Laws in the later sixteenth century, ask pupil to consider what it felt like to be the beggar, or to consider the *mentalité* of the man wielding the whip? (p.55).

He (*ibid.*) says that these questions ‘define clearly the three elements to the charge against the use of the historical imagination’. The first is ‘the verification charge against the use of the imagination’ (*ibid.*) and asks ‘how do we differentiate between historical “facts” and imaginative “fictions”?’ (*ibid.*) The second is ‘the evidential

charge against the use of imagination' (*ibid.*, p.56) argues that 'the past is *always* refracted through some observer's lens or other, so that it is wrong to believe that that the "evidence" allows us access to a different world-view' (*ibid.*, pp.55-6). In this case, the use of the imaginative exercise distorts the past, serves particular historical individuals and groups and allows them to manipulate the past: 'this becomes history for political purposes' (*ibid.*, p.56). The last 'the historicist charge against the use of the imagination' (*ibid.*, p.57) 'denies that the ideas and beliefs of people in the past can *in principle* be reconstructed' (*ibid.*, p.56) : people thought differently from us in the past, so that we cannot explore their minds and 'the evidential materials so weak that no intellectually valid reconstruction can be attempted'(*ibid.*, p.56). Husbands (*ibid.*, p.57) also argues that 'for pupils, the exercise of empathy in effect involves making all historical actors like us: rational, calculating, feeling individuals'. Accepting the importance of these arguments Husbands (*ibid.*) says that

However I argue that they can be countered ... if we think again about the relationship between history and fictional accounts of the past. We need to consider carefully the way in which we ask pupils to exercise imagination in constructing versions of the past by examining the intellectual procedures involved in imaginative understanding of the past (p.57).

Historical imagination enables us to see a concept or an object from a different perspective. We explore different and relatively new meanings of concepts and objects, and we try to understand why people were different from us in the past. In a sense, we pretend to play the role of people in the past and attempt to reach their minds through imagination involving ourselves in a creative activity. We may call

this process acquiring a ‘historical perspective’. Thus, ‘historical perspective’ enables us to re-construct the past through our disciplined imagination. Because of the impossibility of knowing the past, as it was then, we have different views about the past. Each individual explores the past from his or her own perspective. To have different perspectives, in the same way, is to create different versions of the past like the historian does, and the criticism of different versions of the past enables us to make logical assumptions about the past. This criticism involves discussion in the classroom, and through the teacher’s guidance and by knowing other pupils ideas each pupil will accept, reject or modify these ideas and will reach a logical assumption about the past (Cooper, 1995).

As a conclusion of the review of ‘psychological perspectives’ in historical learning ‘How far are recent ideas on historical learning culturally specific?’ remains problematic. The debate on history teaching concentrates on the content of the history curriculum, textbooks and instructional materials in Turkey (see Özbaran, 1992). Recent ideas (as I review in 3.2 Psychological perspectives) arising from the field of research on primary education, both at a national and at universal levels, have shown that, to some extent, these ideas in historical learning are applicable in the Turkish context. Bearing in mind that recent guides for social studies teaching (Barth and Demirtas, 1996; Erden, Undated), and research on historical learning (see Safran, 1996; Paykoç, 1991) have supported the applicability of the new ideas. However, I argue, there is much needed to be done in this area and that research should be exclusively classroom-based.

3.3 Teaching Approaches

One of the main characteristics of the Turkish educational system is perceived as teacher-centred learning. Since my study deals with the Turkish context, I examine effective teaching in relation to direct teaching approaches, including ‘questioning’, ‘discussion’ and ‘problem-solving’ bearing in mind that ‘the ratio of one teacher to twenty or more pupils results in a natural imbalance between teaching and learning’ (Anderson, 1991, p.36). In a typical Turkish elementary classroom there are between 35 and 60 pupils. Therefore, ‘when teachers teach in classrooms, they must, by necessity, direct a great deal of their teaching to groups of students’ (*ibid.*) or to the whole class.

Four main factors affect Turkish teachers’ beliefs about approaches to teaching. Firstly, there is little space for pupil’s movement due to the number of students in Turkish elementary classrooms (an example of standard classroom layout is given in chapter five). Pupils are expected to sit in rows and in most classes, I observed, were unsuitable for group work and other forms of classroom organisation. Secondly, the Turkish teachers who I interviewed explicitly expressed the view that subjects and units are too extensive. Thirdly, the craft of subject teaching and lastly, but not less importantly, teaching tradition (see chapter five). As a result, these internal and external factors shape teachers’ belief about the teaching approaches.

3.3.1 Direct teaching

A definition of direct teaching or direct instruction can be made ‘as teaching in which the teacher is telling pupils or showing them what he or she wants to know or to be able to’ (Kyriacou, 1995, p.115). ‘Direct instruction ... is used interchangeably with other similar terms such as systematic teaching, explicit instruction, explicit teaching, and active teaching’ (Rosenshine, 1987, p.258), and all these definitions essentially refer to teacher’s control of the learning process.

Considerable research has been carried out on direct instruction (Rosenshine, 1987; Anderson, 1991; Slavin, 1991 and Kyriacou, 1986; 1991). It is useful to assess its strengths and weaknesses through reviewing related literature. ‘Smith and Meux analysed the transcripts of eighty five lessons given by seventeen teachers in five high schools’. They divided ‘the lessons into a series of “episodes” and found that “describing”, “designating” and “explaining” were the three operations that occurred most frequently’ (Wragg, 1993, p.112).

This coincides with Kyriacou’s (1995) first categorisation of the five basic direct teaching methods:

1. Informing, describing and explaining
2. Demonstrating, modelling and coaching
3. Asking questions
4. Monitoring practice and active intervention
5. Direct teaching by proxy (p.120).

Although it is preferred with mostly secondary students ‘lecturing’ or ‘exposition’ as a direct teaching method most frequently occur in Turkish elementary classroom and

it may cover informing, describing and explaining. Gage and Berliner (1984, p.454) say that 'the lecture method is cheap because the number of students per teacher can be extremely large' and it 'provides teacher and students with a kind of reinforcement not available in other educational procedures'. They (*ibid.*, p.457) suggest that 'the lecture method is suitable when; the basic purpose is to disseminate information, the material is not available elsewhere', when 'it is necessary to arouse interest in the subject' and when 'it is necessary to provide an introduction to an area or directions for learning tasks to be pursued through some other teaching method'. Ornstein (1995, p.182) argues that 'during lectures and explanations delivered by a teacher, there is a little give and take between the teacher and students and among students'. Mcleish says that the lecture method 'increases student passivity and reduces the pupil's role to note taking instead of luring pupils into more active learning' (quoted in *ibid.*). Ornstein (*ibid.*, p.182) recommends 'informal lectures' lasting about five or ten minutes for elementary pupils.

Kyriacou (1995,) says that

In many cases...exposition will not consist purely of teacher talking and pupil listening or making notes. Rather, the teacher will intersperse the exposition with questions to pupils to help maintain their interest and involvement, and to check that they follow and understand what has been said (p. 121).

'Explaining is [then,] giving understanding to another. This interpretation allows the notion to embrace strategies other than imparting information directly' (Wragg, 1993, p.112). For instance, 'asking questions encourage pupils to reach their own conclusions, engaging in practical work or giving a demonstration'. Therefore,

‘explanations often answer real or imaginary questions based on common interrogatives like Who? What? How? Why? Where? When?’ (*ibid.*).

Kyriacou (1995, p.121) thinks that ‘exposition falls into two main categories’. In the first category, the teacher ‘transmits the topic itself, such as explaining how various geographical and economic factors influence the location of early settlements’ (*ibid.*). In the second, teacher exposition ‘alerts pupils to important features of the topic or task they are about to study of which they need to be aware if learning is to proceed effectively’ (*ibid.*). Ausubel advocates the second category and argues that ‘teachers should alert pupils at the start of the lesson to ways in which the content and tasks relate to their previous learning in order to make the new learning more meaningful and thereby more effective’ (quoted in Kyriacou, 1995, p.121). He also argues that ‘teachers should provide pupils with superordinate concepts for organising the ideas that will be covered in the lesson’ which he has termed “advance cognitive organizers” ’ (*ibid.*). These ‘help the learner to recognise that elements of new materials can be meaningfully learned by relating them specifically relevant aspects of existing cognitive structure’ (Ausubel *et. al.*, 1978, pp.170-1).

Kyriacou (1995) says that

Advance cognitive organizers are basically key ideas that provide a framework for pupils to make sense of the learning activity. For example, if pupils were considering material which related to the cause of a particular war, it would be helpful for the teacher to alert them to the fact that there is an important distinction to be made between the context that made the outbreak of war more likely (e.g. political unrest at home, concern over trade disputes, territorial ambitions) and a precipitating event (e.g. the other power invading a third country, the death of monarch) (p.121).

This kind of ‘distinction can help children categorise the historical evidence or their historical knowledge more effectively and they begin to think the difference between asking “why?” and “why then?” ’ (*ibid.*, p.121).

Research on enhancing ‘lectures and explanations’ has highlighted some useful guidelines that increase the effectiveness of good teaching practice. These are summarised as:

1. Clarity: the most important feature of any explanation is that it is clear and at the appropriate level for pupils to understand.
2. Structure: the explanation is structured carefully so that the major ideas and concepts are broken down into meaningful segments, and these are then sequenced together logically (Kyriacou, 1995, p.121). Teachers should develop internal connections by helping students see relationship, compare or contrast, analyse, etc² (Ornstein, 1995, p.184).
3. Length: expositions should be brief, lasting no more than ten minutes in elementary schools; pupils find it hard to maintain attention for longer periods unless the exposition is interspersed with questions and other activities.
4. Maintaining attention: the delivery should involve variation in emphasis, tone and pitch; eye contact should be maintained with class, and body language should convey interest and enthusiasm.
5. Language: the teacher avoids use of overcomplex language, goes slowly to explain difficult concepts and uses alternative explanations when necessary
6. Uses of example: the explanation makes use of examples, analogies and metaphors, particularly from everyday life or ones that directly relate to pupils’ experience and interest.
7. Checking understanding: the teacher uses questions to check understanding before moving on, and gives pupils an opportunity to ask questions (Kyriacou, 1995, p.121).

Research shows that ‘when teaching a class, ... a three-step process appears to be most efficient and they may be called direct teaching’. These are demonstration, guided practice and independent practice (Rosenshine, 1987, p.258).

‘The first is the demonstration of what is to be learned (*ibid.*). ‘Everything a teacher does in approaching the subject, topic or task is to a large extent a model of greater expertise, whether it be in carrying out’ a map practice, ‘reading aloud from a book’, drawing a time-line and relating dates to events on the board, or showing pupils how to use a special material (Kyriacou, 1995, p.122). ‘As such, an important aspect of direct teaching involves a consideration of how teachers can demonstrate, model and coach pupils to best effect’ (*ibid.*, p.122). Research has highlighted the following suggestions for effective demonstration:

1. Stating the lessons’ goals.
2. Focusing on one thought (point, direction) at a time. Completing one point before beginning another.
3. Giving step-by-step directions using small steps.
4. Organising material so that one point is mastered before the next point is given.
5. Giving detailed redundant explanations for difficult points.
6. Having many and varied examples.
7. Checking for pupil understanding of one point before proceeding to the next point (Rosenshine, 1987, p.258).

Kyriacou (1995, p.123) suggests that ‘in some subject areas, the way a teacher demonstrates how to approach a task or to lay out work is meant to be an exemplar for pupils’. He (*ibid.*). thinks that teachers frequently say that ‘they want the task approached or the work presented in the way shown. Such instruction helps pupils get a clear understanding of what is required by the task set’. At this point, he (*ibid.*) says that ‘an important aspect of modelling is to show pupils how a task can be broken down into parts, and then to help pupils successfully to undertake such parts’.

Rosenshine (1987, p.259) argues that ‘when demonstrations are not clear the main problems appear to be giving directions too quickly, assuming everybody understands because there are no questions, and introducing more complex material before the students have mastered the early material’.

The second step is ‘guided practice’ or ‘monitoring’ which generally takes place after teacher presentation. Rosenshine (*ibid.*, p.259) argues that ‘because the presentation represents new material, the purpose of the guided practice is to help the students become firm in the new material’. He suggests that guided practice is effectively done by:

1. Guiding pupils in practising new materials.
2. Checking for pupil understanding and areas of hesitancy and/ or confusion
3. Correcting errors
4. Providing for a large number of successful repetitions (*ibid.*, p.259).

Monitoring practice is often done by asking questions to check pupils’ current understanding or knowledge on the new topic or task. ‘Stalling and Kastkowistz identified a pattern of factual question-pupil-response-teacher feedback as most functional for student achievement’ (quoted in *ibid.*). Research shows that ‘there are strong positive correlations for the amount of time spent in question-answer format and for the number of academic interactions per minute’ (*ibid.*, p.260). Therefore, Rosenshine thinks that ‘it is not only useful to spend a lot of time in guided practice, it is also valuable to have a high frequency of questions and problems’ (*ibid.*, p.260). Kyriacou (1995, p.126) suggests that in monitoring practice intervention should be active, ‘it is important for teachers to interrogate pupils actively whilst they are

working (rather than waiting for pupils to ask for help), and check their work and ask them questions to check their understanding'. Hence, active intervention ensures that 'tuition is distributed across all pupils, both the successful pupils and those having problems' (*ibid.*).

Another aspect of monitoring practice is repetition. Kyriacou (*ibid.*) argues that 'there is need to ensure that the learning is "well learnt" through appropriate practice. Such practice involves not simply repeating the same learning but also using a variety of examples where that learning is relevant'.

The third step is 'independent practice'. It is assumed that 'providing time for students to independently practice new skills to the point of mastery is an important component of effective instruction' (Rosenshine, 1987, p. 261). During independent practice pupils may be answering more questions from textbooks, writing what they have learnt to organise their ideas, establishing a strong relationship between the new learning and the previous one through reading or problem-solving and applying their skills to the topic or task for deeper understanding (*ibid.*). However, 'studies have shown that when students are working alone during seatwork they are less engaged than when they are being given instruction by the teacher' (*ibid.*). 'Anderson *et. al.* have noted that time spent on seatwork is often wasted for students who lack the motivation, reading skills, or self-organization skills to work well on their own (quoted in Slavin, 1991, p.249). They have argued that 'students apparently interpret the task as finishing the paper rather than learning material'

(*ibid.*). Research, therefore, suggests that short contacts between the teacher and pupils are useful during seatwork (Rosenshine, 1987). On the other hand, Fisher *et al.* found that ‘when teachers had to give a good deal of explanation during seatwork, then student error rates were higher’ (quoted in *ibid.*, p. 261).

a. Direct teaching by proxy

The term may be explained in a way that teaching activity is ‘transferred to another person or is embodied in a sequenced set of material or technology’ (Kyriacou, 1995, p.127). Kyriacou (*ibid.*) says that ‘the first category includes activities such as parental or peer tutoring, where a parent or pupil is given the teacher’s role in tutoring a pupil within tightly confined guidelines’. Topping and Lindsay say that ‘the most common examples of such tutoring involve reading, and to a lesser extent help with number work in the elementary school’ (quoted in *ibid.*).

‘The second category refers to the use of programmed learning texts and highly structured learning sequences based on computer software packages and other forms of instructional technology’ (*ibid.*). For Turkish elementary school pupils, textbooks and workbooks are the main instructional materials, which they may use with or without teacher guidance. Ornstein (1995, p.208) says that ‘textbooks can have a strong influence or even dominate the nature and sequence of a course and thus profoundly affect the learning experiences of students’. This strong influence derives from curriculum’s subject content. One can say that textbooks’ designs are inspired by the content of syllabus. Therefore, textbooks even influence the teaching

experience of teachers, and at least textbooks systematically present information which is to be transferred to pupils.

If we look at the issue of ‘direct teaching by proxy’ within the Turkish context. We may add ‘pupil’s lecture’ or ‘presentation’ (in its very basic form we may call it ‘recitation’), is a very common activity in both elementary and secondary classrooms in Turkish schools (see 5.3 Classroom observation, supported by videotape). Basically, pupils take a teacher’s role to teach the task or topic to the class. A good presentation may involve most aspects of direct teaching approaches and the use of text materials by a pupil or a group of pupils and may lead to questioning and discussion. In most cases, as the qualitative data shows, pupil lecture is limited to recitation, and this can be done by memorisation of the topic.

b. Limits and disadvantages of direct instruction

As research shows, direct instruction is mostly used with older children where the classroom organization is not suitable for applying other teaching strategies and it ‘is best used for knowledge transmission, for showing, telling, modelling and demonstrating. It is never, on its own, sufficient to ensure deeper understanding, problem solving, creativity or group work capacities’ (Desforges, 1995, p.129). Alexander (1996, p.24) distinguishes ‘three pedagogic dimensions’ in teaching a class. These are *organization*, *discourse* and *value* and he argues that these dimensions ‘underpin all teaching strategies, not merely whole class teaching’ (*ibid.*). Galton (1998) subdivides

Alexander's 'discourse' category to distinguish whole class teaching as:
. *direct instruction*, which instructs pupils in what to do and how to do it and checks their progress;
. *enquiry*, by posing problems, asking challenging questions and providing explanations;
. *scaffolding*, which is mainly concerned with providing support for pupils to 'think for themselves' (p.18).

Yet there is no clear evidence which shows that direct instruction is the way which fits the purpose of educating young pupils. Giving an example of an elementary class in Russia Alexander (1996) mentions:

In the classic continental version of direct instruction the learning steps are frequent and shallow, so as to enable all children to move on together. Thus, overall, the interaction may be 'higher order' but each of its individual segments may have a relatively low level of demand in order to maximise the chances of success for all children in the class (pp.24-5).

Extensive use of direct instruction as a teaching method may give pupils little opportunity to express their current understanding of the task and it is difficult for the teacher to provide the right balance between more and less able pupils in the class and to assess each individual's understanding of the task. Therefore, providing other steps of whole class teaching such as 'enquiry' and 'scaffolding' and giving a framework for children to think for themselves are rather more effective than extensive use of 'direct instruction'. These steps may also provide a 'co-operative learning' environment in a classroom organization which is suitable for group works. As Galton (1988) says that

those seeking to develop a theory of pedagogy deliberately begin with Gage's definition of pedagogy as 'the science of the art of teaching', implying that the effective teacher will always try to ensure that within a given scaffold there are opportunities for children to display their own individuality (p.19).

3.3.2 Asking questions

Teachers ask questions to measure understanding level of pupils, to test their knowledge or to prompt their learning. Questioning may be used ‘a teaching method’ when is based on principles of question-generation (reciprocal teaching) (see Rosenshine and Meister, 1994). However, asking questions exist in any form of teaching approach. ‘The reasons why teachers ask questions are varied’ (Wragg, 1993, p.137). Turney produced a list, including

such purposes as to arouse curiosity, focus attention, develop an active approach, stimulate pupils, structure the task, diagnose difficulties, communicate expectation, help children reflect, develop thinking skills, help group reflection, provoke discussion and show interest in pupil’s ideas and feelings (quoted in *ibid.*, pp.137 -8).

Kyriacou (1995) says that

In looking at different sorts of questions, an important distinction is made between closed (where there is one clear and correct answer) and open (where many different answers can be considered to be correct or acceptable) questions. Another important distinction is made between lower-order (based on the recall of factual information) and higher-order (which require pupils to engage in careful thought and critical analysis before answering) questions (p.124).

Research ‘conducted in the United States indicate[s] that “many teachers” questions fall into the closed and recall category and that higher order questions are rarely used’. (Gall quoted in Cohen and Manion, 1989, p.141). Gall reviewed research on questioning, ‘there seemed to be a 3:1:1 split between different types of questioning, with 60 per cent asking for the recall of facts 20 per cent demanding a higher mode of thinking, and 20 per cent dealing with the management of classes or individuals’

(quoted in Wragg, 1993, p.137). However, the ORACLE study (Galton, *et. al.*, 1980a, pp.87-93) found that '12 per cent of time in class was devoted to questioning, and the ratio was ... 2:1:1, and most questions came into the category of management, with 47 per cent. The figures for factual recall and questions about ideas were 29 per cent' (*ibid.*), but the ORACLE study also showed that teachers asked more closed or recall questions than open questions (Galton, *et. al.* 1980a) as I also found in this study (see 5.3.2 Teacher observation).

Research on questioning indicates that 'when teachers ask open and higher-order questions it is important to give pupils some time to think before assuming the pupil is unable to answer' (Kyriacou, 1995, p.124). Kyriacou (*ibid.*) reports that

Pupils often spend a lot of time trying to work out what type of answer the teacher wants to hear. In contrast, many writers advocate that teachers should spend more time thinking about what a pupil's answer indicates about the pupil's current understanding, and build up from there (p.124).

Cohen and Manion (1989, p.144) suggest that 'questions should be asked in simple, conversational language and in a friendly challenging manner'. Kyriacou (1995, p.124) says that one important aspect of the use of questioning is to give reinforcement 'whenever a pupil has answered a question. This involves not only giving praise when the answer is correct, but also being supportive and encouraging when the pupil has made an effort to find the correct answer. Rosenshine (1987, p.260) argues that 'the wrong way to do checking for understanding is to ask a few questions and call volunteers to hear their (usually correct) answers and then assume that all the class either understands or has learned hearing from volunteers' (see also

Rosenshine *et. al.*, 1996).

Research shows that the use of questioning effectively provides rich interaction between pupils and the teacher, and enables the teacher to check pupils' current understanding. It also enhances motivation on the task which pupils seem to have some motivational problems, when combined with the other direct teaching methods such as lecturing (see chapters five and six).

3.3.3 Discussion

Teaching through discussion is one of the most effective way of learning concepts, and like direct teaching discussion is also one of the traditional teaching methods in education. Using the language in an intensive verbal interaction between the teacher and pupils or between peers, sharing ideas and understanding one another's points of view may automatically increase the busyness of the classroom, and it may help pupils' motivation for the task or subject. A good discussion may also lead to develop communication skills and help moral development of children. 'Piaget (1932, 1950) argued that conflicting viewpoints encourage the ability to consider more than one perspective at a time and Vygotsky (1962) saw the growth of understanding as a collective process' (quoted in Cooper, 1995, p.20). He thought that 'learning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in co-operation with his peers' (Vygotsky, 1978, p.90; quoted in Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p.31).

Gall (1987, p.232) says that 'the discussion method of teaching is a process in which a small group assembles to communicate with each other -using speaking, listening, and non-verbal processes- in order to reach instructional objectives'. On the other hand, most classroom conversations are initiated or generated by the teacher, and usually take place 'in a recitation [discourse,] in which predominant pattern of interaction is teacher question-pupil response-teacher feedback-new teacher question' (*ibid.*, p.233). Wells found that 'the children initiated 64 per cent of the conversation at home, but only 23 per cent of conversations at school' (quoted in Fox, 1995, p.136). This is because the teacher deals with more than twenty children and the content of conversation in school is generally different from pupils' home environment (*ibid.*).

Wood (1992) found that

if teachers make personal contribution to the conversation through giving their own thoughts and ideas and listening and acknowledging to children as well. Pupils will respond to speculation with speculation, hypothesis with hypothesis and suggestion with interpretation' (p.209).

However, Wade found that 'if children are taught the kinds of questions to ask appropriate ways of answering them, their discussion without the teacher are in many ways more valuable' (quoted in Cooper, 1995, p.20). Cooper (*ibid.*) reports that

Prisk (1987) found that when the teacher was present in an informal group, pupils did not use their organisational skills since the teacher was responsible for 80 per cent of the structuring moves. She found that open, unled discussion encouraged children to produce tentative suggestions and to explore ideas, entertaining alternative hypothesis and evaluate each other's contribution (p.20).

Prisk (1987) argued that

Teacher dominated talk, although necessary and valuable, cannot help pupils to acquire all the social and communicative skill important for their future educational development. Sharing responsibility in a group for methods of tackling a problem appears to give practice in skills important for future success in learning (p.92).

She (*ibid.*, p.92) also found that ‘children were trying to hide their disagreements from [the teacher] as if they felt the teacher would be displeased by these exchanges’.

Research, therefore, suggested that while teachers are enabling children to acquire communication skills they should arrange their classroom to provide small group discussions in which every pupil has the opportunity to express his or her own idea. ‘Researchers have found consistently that small group size results in higher satisfaction, more participation from each discussion group member, and greater academic achievement’ (Gall, 1987, p.234). However, research findings showed that ‘teachers tend to control tightly the pattern of communication, in terms of who is allowed to talk, what is talked about and what kind of language should be used to talk about it’ (Fox, 1995, p.141). Therefore, teachers usually tend to check the pupil’s understanding of the concept or the task by asking questions to which they already know the answers. As mentioned above, generally the teacher initiates a question, the pupils respond and the teacher evaluates the response. This kind of interaction, as Fox (*ibid.*) argued, perfectly suits in direct teaching and in Turkish elementary classrooms it frequently appears in whole class teaching.

There are some other difficulties in small group discussions, the teacher's primary consideration is to deliver the curriculum requirements in a short period equally for all pupils. Teachers may feel that if they loose control over the children there is a risk not completing the task or subject in a given time. It is also true that this may lead teachers to prevent not only small group discussions but also whole class discussions and another consideration may be derived from the evidence, as Prisk (1987) found, that pupils tend to accept ideas irrespective of their soundness which are encouraged by the majority of their group if the teacher does not intervene or guide discussions. However, research evidence showed that organising time to listen to children's ideas is very important, therefore, teachers need to be aware of pupil's current understanding in order to provide appropriate learning activities (Harnett, 1993; Fox, 1995; Gall, 1987). Fox (1995) concluded that

Knowledge cannot simply be given to learners: learners must do intellectual work on experience if they are to make sense of it... a very important way in which teachers help children to understand ideas is through holding dialogues, conversations or conferences with them about concepts in their curriculum or about their work (Editor's overview, p.132).

Research shows that discussion methods do apply to history teaching. Cooper (1995, p.27) suggested that 'concepts develop through a process of generalisation, by storing an image of abstracted characteristics, and of deduction, by drawing from the stored image, adding in the development of concepts'. Therefore, 'concepts need to be taught, and they are best learned through discussion' (*ibid.*). Harnett (1993, argued that

Through discussion pupils might ... review their current historical

understanding as they articulate their ideas to a fresh audience. Listening to each others' viewpoints in discussion also provides opportunities to recognise that evidence, ... can be interpreted in different ways. Discussion might also enable children to experience some of the speculative nature of historical enquiry at first hand (Oliver, 1985), and also to acquire a meaningful vocabulary of historical terms (pp.152-3).

'Oliver concluded that if we are to appreciate the significance of historical evidence, there must be an argument in order to reach conclusions and this must involve abstract concepts, although they will inevitably be rudimentary and incomplete' (Cooper, 1995, p.21).

Research suggests that internalisation of historical understanding might be provided by arguments and shared ideas in well-structured discussions and to do that teacher's responsibility is not only getting involved into discussions with the pupils but also structuring ways of communications, identifying concepts which are required to be taught and encouraging co-operations between the members of group. Therefore, there may be time for discussion to evaluate the task or subject at the end of the lesson in order to get ideas about children's current understanding. The teacher may also use discussions when conflicting points and misunderstandings are raised from pupils in order to reach logical 'assumptions' for the task (see Cooper, *ibid.*)

3.3.4 Problem-solving

The whole process of discussion, one may argue, is a problem-solving activity and in some cases, re-discovery of phenomena in different ways whether it occurs in small groups or in whole class with or without teacher involvement. 'The discussion

method is often advocated to help a group reach a solution to a problem' (Gall, 1987, p.234). It is supposed that a 'group critically discusses the solutions and converges on the one that best satisfies explicit criteria' (*ibid.*). However, research shows that 'problem-solving groups of a certain size are usually less effective than an equal number of individuals working alone' (*ibid.*). Gall (*ibid.*) argues that factors effecting problem-solving process may be derived from a tendency of accepting majority opinions or in some cases, domination of the less capable children in the discussion may prevent more capable children influencing the process.

Gage and Berliner (1984, p.490) say that 'problem-solving can occur when students need to explore a topic's emotional significance for themselves'. For instance, the Turkish War of Independence as a history topic needs to be explored through understanding such concepts as invasion, liberty, monarchy and republic. One may say that these are best understood through discussion. So that, pupils may develop arguments such as how nationalists succeeded against the invaders, the Sultan's forces and supporters of the Sultan throughout the country. Having this argument may help pupils to understand the reasons for abolishing the monarchy and its institutions after the war. They may also understand why nationalists were so desperate to abolish 'caliphate' after seeing how the Sultan used his religious power to effect ordinary people against the nationalists and a further argument may discuss what conditions brought *laicism* as the separation of religion from politics. All these arguments may help children to develop the idea that people have different religions and beliefs, they also have different opinions in the practice of their beliefs in the

same religion. So that, the state should not have a religion which effects its politics but should give equal rights to its people to practice their beliefs by having *laicism* as a principle in the constitution. Therefore, having mastered, as Bruner (1960) said, ‘the fundamental ideas of a field involves not only the grasping of general principles, but also the development of an attitude toward learning and enquiry, toward guessing and hunches, toward the possibility of solving problems on one’s own’ (p.20).

Active problem-solving does not only occurs in discussions but it also in every step of the learning process. For example, ‘Hallam (1975) worked with nine and thirteen-year-olds, [and he] taught experimental classes through active problem-solving in role-play... He found that the classes taught through active problem-solving performed at a higher level than traditionally taught control group’ (quoted in Cooper, 1992, p.18). On the other hand, ‘Rees (1976) also found that children’s thinking skills in history could be developed if they were taught to explain rather than describe, and to be aware of uncertainty and motive, by switching perspective’ (quoted in *ibid.*, p.18).

Consequently, research suggests that the whole process of learning is based on active problem-solving and pupils’ own discovery of the phenomena, in which teachers can help their pupils through kinds of teaching methods including questioning and discussion, structuring lessons for testing kinds of evidence, discussing ideas and effective use of instructional materials.

Conclusion

Chapter two suggested that centralist authoritarian approaches in curriculum development often disregard classroom realities. Top-down approaches in the centrally prescribed school curriculum, in practice, restricted teachers' flexibility with regard to the application of teaching methods. This is explored in chapter five with the presentation of empirical data.

In this chapter, we have also seen that aims of history teaching in schools affected the choice of teaching approaches. Research indicates that the traditional aims of history often resulted in a didactic way of history teaching. This manifested itself in the form of the inculcation of an ideological interpretation of moral and cultural values, with the state selection of its content. On the other hand, the teaching of history for intrinsic purposes tended to coincide with the advocacy of the teaching of historical skills, and placing emphasis upon discussion, problem-solving, evidence processing and so on. Meanwhile, the 'democratic mode of history teaching' manifested itself with the use of similar teaching methods, but differed from the latter focusing on democratic values of a society as a synthesis of these two basic approaches. This speculatively suggests that there is a relationship between the aims of history teaching and curriculum approaches. Namely, one can recognise that the traditional function of history teaching found its place often in 'classical humanism' as in the Turkish example (e.g. knowledge-based social studies curriculum). By contrast, intrinsic purposes of history were supported with the progressivist approaches as in the Schools Council History Project in the 1970s in England (i.e.

‘History for its own sake’ or ‘pupils like historians’). Until the 1960’s, history was taught in a traditional mode. The Plowden Report, whilst specifically dealing with primary education, brought with it the introduction of more and more progressive ideas in education generally, reflecting the ideas of Piaget, and later of Bruner. As a consequence of these developments, it became logical for many to seek to develop, amongst pupils, the initial skills required for conducting historical research (see Farmer and Knight, 1995). I contend that the evolution from the traditional and intrinsic functions of history to the democratic mode of history was justified with the recognition of reconstructivist ideas in curriculum policies. This has been experienced since 1988 with the introduction of the National Curriculum in England and Wales. Now, with regard to history teaching, the emphasis is upon a society-centred approach, which promotes a vision of Britain as a democratic and multi-cultural society.

The review of the literature on psychological perspectives for the teaching and learning of history suggests that history can be a powerful tool in cognitive development through ZPD (see Tharp and Gallimore, 1988), if emphasis is placed on discussion, explanation and problem solving. Thus, one may come to a realization that the internalization of the concepts and ideas, and the provision of language skills could be provided by the cyclical stages of ZPD in which effective teaching could be associated with the use of discussion techniques, collaborative work, and the appropriate usage of questioning and text materials in elementary history classroom. This might help to promote the idea that teachers should have

more opportunities to develop the child's cognition through ZPD, by means of cognitive structuring and assistance provided by peers, the teacher, and the child his or her self (see *ibid.*), rather than encouraging a simple process of rote learning through the use of 'lecturing' and 'pupil's recitation' (see chapter five).

¹ One may say that Strom and Parson are rather more concerned with attitudes than with facts. But in this case, choosing the so-called genocide of Ottoman Armenians is really problematic. Since there is no agreement on the issue and it is educationally dangerous planning a curriculum project which is based on a very sensitive subject, in this case, for both Turkish and Armenian people. Although it is probably the wrong plateau to engage with the substance of the issue here one may say that historians have different views about the issue because their accounts derives from conflicting historical evidence about the subject.

² Bloom's taxonomy is useful here when the teacher structures a lesson. Bloom formulated a hierarchical view of learning at six levels, starting with knowledge and then going on to comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and finally evaluation. The assumption was that one needed the lower levels in order to achieve the higher levels: you need to have knowledge in order to comprehend, and you must comprehend in order to be able to analyse, synthesise or evaluate (Wragg, 1993, p. 112).

CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL STUDY

4.1 Research questions arising from chapter two

The previous chapters concentrate upon elements of curriculum development, teaching approaches and, in particular, elementary history teaching and historical learning, drawing on a range of literature in the field. They also provide a background to the research questions which are examined in the following chapter through triangulation.

This study is concerned with research issues which derive from teachers' perceptions of elementary history teaching, in which their opinions about the primary curriculum and teaching approaches and their classroom practices are examined. The study addresses the following specific questions arising from the previous chapter:

1. What are Turkish teachers' perceptions of curriculum policy and how do the teachers implement theories of the curriculum into their practice?
2. What problems arise when teachers deliver the curriculum?
3. What are Turkish classroom teachers' perceptions of the content knowledge

which needs to be covered?

4. What are the ranges of methods typically used in the teaching of history in Turkish elementary schools?
5. What beliefs do Turkish classroom teachers have about teaching strategies, in particular about the techniques which are advocated by the Ministry (i.e. child-centred approaches) and about direct teaching, discussion and asking questions, as teaching techniques? And what are the potential benefits and problems of using the above techniques as perceived by Turkish classroom teachers?
6. How do classroom teachers help their pupils in conceptual understanding through the use of text materials in elementary school history in Turkey?

3.2 Research design: how the study addresses these questions

In order to investigate the research issues outlined above, the study uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods. The methods used embraced teachers' perceptions about the primary curriculum, their practices and about the pupils' roles in the process of the learning of history (in social studies) as a curriculum subject. Having in mind that classroom based research uses certain kinds of research methods, in which classroom observation techniques take place by necessity (see Croll, 1986) and also that the use of a single research method in this kind of study is impracticable because of its inevitable limitations, the use of 'triangulation' (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p.234) was felt necessary because it would enable me to compare and validate the findings of the study in order to set the research phenomena in a wider context.

The methods chosen were used as complementary elements because the research questions require exploration not only of classroom discourse in terms of history teaching, but also of teachers' perceptions of the problems underlying curriculum policy and its implementation, which the questionnaire and interview data depend upon.

In particular, teachers' responses to the questionnaire items provided useful information to conduct interviews and to determine the limitations of the categories used in the teacher and pupil records by classroom observations. In some ways, different methods focused on different research questions: while the questionnaires were conducted to seek possible answers to questions one, two, three and four, the observations aimed to answer questions five and six. Interviews were used as a device in order to explore possible discrepancies between the findings of the questionnaire and those of the classroom observations for a better understanding of the research issues.

The methods used in this study are detailed in chapter five and the timetable for the study's instruments is given in the table below. The later sections of this chapter are devoted to the justification of these methods, piloting the study's instruments and issues of the validity and reliability.

Table: 4.1: Methods and timetable

Date	Questionnaires	Interviews	Observations
November 1997	Translations from English to Turkish/ Turkish to English		
December 1997	Pilot study of the questionnaire		
January 1997	Questionnaires distributed to respondents in Istanbul and Samsun and collected in three weeks		
February 1997	Starting to analyse data	Preparing interview questions	Developing observation instruments and piloting in a primary school in England
March 1997		Piloting interview questions in a primary school in Istanbul	Piloting the records
March-April 1997		Interviewing heads and teachers in the study's three case schools using tape recorder	Conducting classroom observations supported by video camera
May 1997			Starting to analyse quantitative data
May 1998		Starting to analyse data	
June 1998			Starting to analyse video-tape data

4.2.1 The questionnaire

Much has been written about the use of survey methods -especially questionnaires- for the purpose of collecting data to access wide populations applying sophisticated statistical techniques in order to derive generalisations from specific issues which the researchers seek. Questionnaires, in particular, are also regarded as being straightforward tools, accepted as less time consuming, more economic to conduct

and more confidential, and therefore less problematic ethically than the other research techniques due to the provision of anonymity (Gay, 1987;Cohen and Manion 1994, p.283; Best and Kahn, 1989, p.182). Cohen and Manion (1994) say that the survey

is perhaps the most commonly used descriptive method in educational research...Typically surveys gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, or identifying standards against which existing conditions can be compared, or determining the relationships that exist between specific events (p. 83).

Before giving the purposes of using the questionnaire technique, a note should be made that the study is limited to experienced teachers in the teaching of fourth and fifth years pupils (reasons are given in chapter five) who are mostly appointed in urban areas by the Ministry of National Education (see Table: 4.2).

Therefore, the purpose of preparing and conducting the study's questionnaire was to gather data in order to describe the nature of urban elementary education, with special attention to history teaching in the Turkish educational system. This could provide for tentative findings about the characteristics of the system in order that, in response to my initial concerns, the research might seek to deepen the study through the use of interviews and observations.

Having believed that the questionnaires should precede the classroom based research for the reasons given above, I was confronted by two major tasks. First, there was the question of how to sample urban elementary education in Turkey. Second,

although it was initially thought that questionnaires could be posted to respondents, I discovered that I had to obtain official permission from the Directorate of Ministry of Education for each province in order to conduct questionnaires. This would be time consuming if I dealt with administrative work from England, therefore I decided that the study's questionnaires would have to be distributed by hand.

The study's classroom research was to be based on two elementary and one primary school. However, the questionnaire could reach a wider population and I needed to make sense of the standards of Turkish elementary education in terms of history teaching for a fuller understanding of the study's classroom research. Taking into account administrative and economic considerations and the time limitations, I had to determine sample size and the regions. As accepted by many, the city of Istanbul could be a suitable place because of its cosmopolitan nature, thus providing a reflection of the country's wider urban elementary education system with its representation of the different cultures from the regions of Turkey. Therefore, I decided that a sample of elementary teachers from Istanbul would be used with elementary schools addressed according to the socio-economic backgrounds of the areas in the city, and I received help from the local directorate. That is to say -in Cohen and Manion's (1994, p.89) words- *dimensional sampling* was planned in which 'it involves identifying various factors of interest in a population and obtaining at least one respondent of every combination of those factors'. On the other hand, the Bafra district of Samsun should have been included because the study's interviews and classroom observations would be carried out in this city

where there is a curriculum laboratory elementary school for the National Education Development Project that I was involved in as a research fellow.

a. Content of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was devised in relation to four elements (see Appendix A):

1. Factual information about the respondents and their schools.
2. Teachers' opinions about the primary curriculum, curriculum subjects and teaching methods.
3. Teachers' opinions about the social studies curriculum and history.
4. Teachers' opinions on the teaching of history and historical learning.

In the preparation of sections two, three, and four Turkish primary curriculum documents, related literature, social studies textbooks and some British literature were analysed in conjunction with the literature on primary and history education. There were two methodological requirements in the structure of the questionnaire. First, the questionnaire items should be suitable for a quantitative analysis in statistical terms. Second, it should cover teachers' opinions of Turkish elementary education with a special attention to history, and should enable me to produce a conceptual map for the study's interviews and observations allowing semi-structured and open questions. As it was intended to have *a descriptive approach* in dealing with the study's issues in 'natural rather than artificial settings' (Best and Kahn, 1986, p.90), I avoided leading questions (Cohen and Manion, 1994) (see Appendix A).

b. Pilot study of the questionnaire

Questionnaire items were initially set in English, in order that my supervisors could discuss them with me. I then translated them into Turkish. Then, with the help of a colleague who was fluent both in English and Turkish and who worked in the Primary Teacher Training Department of Marmara University in Turkey, the questionnaire items were double checked. She translated the Turkish version into English without seeing the first English version made by me. In the final stage of the translation, I received help from another colleague, who worked for the Educational Sciences Department of the same university, to compare the English and Turkish versions of the study's questionnaire. Second, after completing the Turkish version of the questionnaire it was piloted in a primary school in Istanbul. Teachers' feedback about the language and the content of the questionnaire items was also received and was taken into account. For instance, teachers were asked how they assessed their pupil's historical understanding. Teachers said that their assessment consisted of scheduled written and oral examinations set by the curriculum. Therefore, this question was not included in the study's final questionnaire. Last, I attempted to keep the questionnaire as short as possible (see McMillan and Schumacher, 1989) and did some modifications without changing the meaning of the questions.

Factual information about the respondents is detailed in the following table. Questionnaire data were analysed using the SPSS and EXCEL packages.

Table: 4.2: Characteristics of the respondents

Location/ surveyed-replied (%)	Frequency	Percentage	Missing	Total
Istanbul 150 66.6	100	45.7		219
Samsun 150 79.3	119	54.3		
Total 300 72.9				
Gender				219
Male	91	41.6		
Female	128	58.4		
Age of teachers			1	218
(21-30)	6	2.7		
(31-40)	86	39.3		
(41-50)	121	55.3		
(51-60)	5	2.3		
Teaching Experience				219
(1-4)	9	4.1		
(5-10)	3	1.4		
(11-15)	8	3.7		
(16-20)	52	23.7		
(21-30)	141	64.4		
over 30	6	2.7		
Experience of Y4/Y5			1	218
(1)	12	5.5		
(2-4)	66	30.1		
(5-8)	97	44.3		
(9-12)	29	13.2		
Over 12	14	6.4		
Present position				219
Head	7	3.2		
D. Head	13	5.9		
C. Teacher	198	90.4		
S. Specialist	1	0.5		

c. Limits of the questionnaire: issues of the validity and reliability

As explained in this section, the purpose of the questionnaire was to gather information for further analysis of elementary history teaching in the study's case schools. The questionnaire was not set as an attitude scale which allows the use of a combination of statistical tests for its reliability and validity (see Oppenheim, 1992; Best and Kahn, 1986). However, the issues set in the questionnaire were derived from an extensive review of the Turkish curriculum policy documents and materials,

according to their availability. In the preparation of the questionnaire, I aimed to find relevant examples of groups which I focused on in order to reduce sampling error having the criteria of gender, age, experience and so on. First, studying in England as a full time PhD student and undertaking a research in the Turkish context, in a limited time brought some disadvantages as well as having advantages. This does not mean I deliberately ignored the issues which are expressed above. It was not easy to reach statistical documents which best represent the study's group and there was no available source to compare characteristics of the study's subjects. Therefore, I cannot claim that the sample group is fully representative of experienced teachers in the urban areas of Turkey.

c.1. Validity

As Table: 4.2 shows over 95 per cent of the teachers have at least five years experience and all the teachers in the questionnaire are experienced in the teaching of fourth and fifth grade pupils. It means that the group chosen is well situated for the study's specific purposes. However, although a good degree of validity was reached in terms of age, work and grades, the study's sample does not match the national gender ratio which tell us that 42 per cent of teachers are female in Turkish elementary schools (see OECD, 1995). A note should be made that the latter figure shows the female teachers' ratio in general, including both rural and urban areas, although the study's sample represents the ratio of gender in urban areas -in two cities- having the criteria of teachers' experience.

Second, the specific topic which I have chosen has been little studied in the Turkish context. As far as the research is concerned, studies in the field of elementary history teaching were mostly based on reviews of the literature and textbooks using *historical method*. As can be understood this presented a problem in the preparation of questionnaire items. I was forced rely on my past experiences as a teacher and a research assistant in a primary teacher training department of a university in Turkey, apart from review the curriculum documents and materials related to the field.

Third, the 72.9 per cent response rate might be interpreted as the findings of the questionnaire increase the validity of the questionnaire. (Cohen and Manion, pp.99-100; Best and Kahn, 1989, p. 182; Nisbet and Entwistle, 1970). Cohen and Manion (1994) also argue that the use of triangular techniques increase the validity of the data. As presented in chapter five, analysis of the questionnaire and interview data showed that both methods reached similar findings in most of the issues. Although it may be argued that my bias might be followed in the interview process, my effort and the technique chosen in the interviews were attempts to increase the degree of validity (see 4.2.2 The interview method and 5.2. Interview data).

c.2. Reliability

Basically, reliability is the degree of consistency with which the instrument or procedure measures whatever it measures (Best and Kahn, 1986, p.144). Gay (1987, p.135) reports that ‘the more reliable a test is, the more confidence we can have that the scores obtained ... if the test was readministered’. Therefore, I compared

findings of the piloted questionnaires with the sample using the same pilot school allowing two weeks (Gay thinks that one day is generally too short and one month is too long, *ibid.*, p.137). On average, comparison of each item in the first and second questionnaires showed that the test-retest reliability score as 0.93, meaning that the questionnaire has reached an acceptable reliability score (see Gay, *ibid.*, p.141).

4.2.2 The interview method

Best and Kahn (1986, p.186) say that ‘ the [structured] interview is in a sense an oral questionnaire’, but differs from the questionnaire in many aspects. Although in the questionnaire the researcher relies on the quantitative representation of the findings he or she is able to make depth analysis in the interview data, using a qualitative perspective. Therefore, the interview method allows the researcher to go beyond the issues which are itemised by himself or herself in the questionnaire. One of the advantages of the interview method derives from the created interaction between the interviewer and interviewee. Crossley and Vulliamy (1997, p.6) say that qualitative research ‘provides descriptions and accounts of the process of social interaction in “natural” settings, usually based upon a combination of observation and interviewing of participants in order to understand their perspectives’. In the interview process ‘the interviewer is able to answer questions concerning both the purpose of the interview and any misunderstandings experienced by the interviewee taking into account that the same questions might have different meanings for different people’ (Cohen and Manion, 1994, p.283). Best and Kahn (1986, p.186) argue that ‘with a skilful interviewer, the interview is often superior to other data-

gathering devices. One reason is that people are usually more willing to talk than to write'. Kitwood also thinks that 'if the interviewer does his job well, ... and if the respondent is sincere and well-motivated, accurate data may be obtained' (quoted in Cohen and Manion, 1994, p.274).

However, the interview method was criticised by many researchers in terms of its validity. Lansing, *et. al.* argue that 'the cause of invalidity is bias which is a systematic or persistent tendency to make errors in the same direction, that is to overstate or understate the "true value" of an attribute'(quoted in *ibid.*, p.281). Tuckman argues that 'a question might influence the respondent to show herself in a good light or ... a question might influence the respondent to be unduly helpful by attempting to anticipate what the interviewer wants to hear (quoted in *ibid.*, 1994, p.283).

Taking into account both the advantages and disadvantages of the interview method, conducting interviews with the observed teachers was felt to be necessary because it was thought that some of the issues arising from the survey findings and classroom observations would have stayed vague and unexplained. It was my concern to follow an 'open approach in interviews' (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996, p.25) believing that limitations which were confronted in the questionnaire could be overcome by this approach. As it is explained in the related section in chapter five, many questions overlapped in content with items in the questionnaire (see Appendix B). However, teachers were asked their opinions about subject specialism in elementary education

and teaching approaches (e.g. child centred) which emerged from the survey findings (e.g. pupils, parents and teachers attached little importance to social studies as a curriculum subject and the teaching of social studies was limited by a few techniques). Therefore, while the study's interview method aimed to test the items which were asked in the questionnaire it was also thought that using the interview method as a research tool might construct a deep understanding underlying the issues which were described by the survey findings in order to find valid explanations.

The study's interview method might be termed as *semi-structured* (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995) in which the questions were prepared beforehand but allowed interviewees to respond freely to the questions which they wanted to answer. Hitchcock and Hughes (*ibid.*, p.157) argue that '[the semi-structured] interview is the one which tends to be most favoured by educational researchers since it allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the respondent's responses'. As detailed in the presentation of interview data in chapter five, I chose not to interrupt the interviewee if his or her response had no contribution to the purpose of the question but appropriate for the overall purpose of the interview. I think that this approach might be useful in order to increase the interviewee's confidence as well as letting him or her be free to speak without having limits for the sake of a particular question.

Cohen and Manion (1994, p.278) say that question format is also an important factor

in considering the validity of interview methods. Therefore, I paid special attention to asking indirect questions rather than direct questions if it was appropriate for the purpose of questions (i.e. ‘What are the main problems in elementary education?’). ‘Tuckman suggests that by making the purpose of questions less obvious, the indirect approach is more likely to produce frank and open responses’ (quoted in *ibid.*, p.278). On many occasions, I avoided using ‘why’ in the form of questions because it might possibly force the interviewees to reduce the possible reasons underlying their opinions and their practices and let them speculate their answers rather than simply saying the facts (see Best and Kahn, 1989). For instance, I asked ‘Do you prefer class/group or individual teaching?’ instead of asking ‘why do you employ such a method?’.

As in the case of the questionnaire, professional help was received to compare the translations which were made by the researcher and a colleague, as explained earlier. Apart from this, the Turkish version of the interview questions were piloted in the same elementary school in which the questionnaires were piloted. It should be noted that the content of the interview and its process are detailed in the related section of chapter five (see also Appendix B).

4.2.3 The classroom observation

If the interview and questionnaire techniques describe the research phenomena relying on someone else’s point of view, then observation techniques involves the researcher much more exclusively and directly. Therefore, as identified by many

researchers (Best and Kahn, 1986; Cohen and Manion, 1994; Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995; Croll, 1986) observation has been the prevailing method of classroom based research.

Direct observation 'as a data gathering device makes an important contribution to descriptive research. Certain types of information can best be obtained through direct examination by the researcher' (Best and Kahn, 1986, p.159). Edwards and Mercer (1987, p.24) say that 'any research which looks at classroom communication directly relates itself to curriculum and pedagogy and uses observations of classroom interaction as data' much of which derives its disciplined form from the work of Flanders (1970) in educational research. Best and Kahn (1986) also argue that

descriptive research seeks to describe behaviour under less rigid controls and more natural conditions. The behaviour of children *and teachers* in a classroom situation cannot be effectively analysed by observing their behaviour in a laboratory. It is necessary to observe what they actually do in a real classroom (p.160).

As reported by many researchers there is no simple approach for observing classroom phenomena, indeed, there are alternative approaches to observe pupils and teachers in their natural settings. Observational studies have focused on two broad approaches having their stands from quantitative and qualitative analysis of the classroom data. Wragg (1994, pp.8-9) reports that the foundations of systematic classroom observations are dated to the study of Stevens (1912) which focused 'on the questions that teachers asked in a variety of subjects'. Withall and Bales were the earliest researchers who devised the category system in classroom interaction and whose works affected such researchers as Flanders (*ibid.*). On the other hand, 'in the

USA the name of Ned Flanders is associated with the development of interaction analysis, whereas Galton *et. al.* (1980) are seen as epitomising the use of systematic observation in their work in Britain' (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995, p.234). The observation system which Ned Flanders developed (see Flanders, 1970) is called *Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories* (FIAC) which operates 'by means of classifying teacher-pupil interactions into categories referring to aspects of teacher and pupil talks and silence or confusion' (Croll, 1986, p. 38). However, the use of FIAC and systematic observation similar to FIAC in the analysis of classroom interaction was criticised as over-simplifying the complexity of classroom communication and it was argued that 'rigid pre-coded observation schedules are at the very best going to miss out on capturing the true nature of the interactions, or at worst they will simply distort them' (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995, p. 238).

Hamilton and Delamont (1974) believed:

systematic observation of the classroom may fail to treat local perturbations or unusual effects as significant. Indeed, despite their potential significance for the studied detail, they are treated as 'noise', ironed out as 'blurred averages' and lost to discussion (quoted in Hitchcock and Hughes, 1995, p. 238).

Qualitative analysis of the classroom communications was developed around the elements of ethnographic and socio-linguistic approaches. Hitchcock and Hughes (*ibid.*, pp.242-9) says that ethnographers are interested in describing and analysing what it is individuals and groups of individuals share in common and tend to widen the focus of interest to include a broader range of factors (i.e. the cultural context of teaching and learning) that may influence what goes on between the teacher and the pupils in the classroom while the socio-linguistic researchers focus on the

characteristics of teacher talk, pupil talk and the nature of the conversational sequences, and socio-linguistic analysis focus on the way in which talk is oriented to particular parties, that is how are teachers' utterances or questions heard by pupils and how do teachers hear and respond to pupils' contributions to the lesson? (see Barnes, 1971;1976, Edwards and Mercer, 1987 for the use of socio-linguistic approaches in classroom communication).

In sum, Croll (1986, p.1) says that 'there has been considerable controversy over the appropriateness and methodological adequacy of quantitative and qualitative approaches'. He (*ibid.*) reports that '[p]roponents of systematic techniques have suggested that qualitative approaches can be subjective and unreliable (Croll, 1981; McIntyre and MacLeod, 1978)', while others have claimed that 'objectivity of the results of the systematic observations are largely spurious and that by concentrating on that which can be classified and measured such techniques miss out that which is most important in classrooms' (Hamilton and Delamont, 1974; Delamont and Hamilton, 1984 quoted in *ibid.*, pp.1-2).

Reviewing the literature in the field of educational research suggested that the use of classroom observation techniques, neglected in the Turkish educational context, in the study's cases would be necessary in order to ensure that the study both addresses the practising primary curriculum, in the light of historical topics being a part of social studies, and the teacher and pupil's roles in the teaching and learning of history.

Having believed that disadvantages and advantages of quantitative and qualitative techniques can be minimised using both methods in the study's observations, a further reading was necessary in order to develop the study's observation tools. There were two main research projects based on systematic observation of the primary classroom which I found useful:

The first observational research project was the *Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation* (ORACLE) funded by the Social Science Research Council between 1975 and 1980. The main purpose of the ORACLE Project was to identify and analyse pupil and teacher activities and interactions in the primary school classroom and to seek relations between these and children's progress (Croll, 1986, p.30). Therefore, the observation system provided descriptions of classroom behaviour and the interactions of pupils and teachers. The research had two separate observation schedules: *a pupil record* and *a teacher record*. The coding system of records, derived from the earlier work of Deanne Boydell (*ibid.*), enabled researchers to compare different results from separate records. The observation programme and results of the study were first reported in Galton *et. al.*, 1980a.

The second observational research project was the *Primary Needs Independent Evaluation Project* (PRINDEP) 'funded from 1986-90 by Leeds City Council and commissioned to provide an evaluation of the *Primary Needs Programme* which had started in 1985' (Alexander, 1995). The aim of the study of the classroom practice in

the project was:

to conduct a programme of interviews and observation to explore the character of teaching and learning in schools within the Primary Needs Programme, and in particular to examine the relationship between the LEA's policies and recommendations on practice and practice as undertaken (*ibid.*, p.320).

The latter project, reported in Alexander 1992 and 1995, used both quantitative and qualitative approaches which I found very useful in designing the methodology of the study's observation (The full structure and categories of teacher and pupil records are given with explanations of their origins in 5.3 Classroom observation, supported by video-tape).

Attempting to describe classroom discourse using systematic observation records, in a sense, might be incomplete. The researcher engages in quantification of the pupil and teacher behaviours, therefore, he or she is limited to the quantitative data and descriptions of the behaviours which are usually set in the records beforehand. On the other hand, human memory cannot recall the events in the way in which they happened and it is not feasible for the researcher to code behaviours and take notes at the same time in order to verbally exemplify those behaviours. Even remembering the main characteristics of classroom discourse via observed individuals does little help the researcher to build an in depth analysis on the issues of teachers' practice and the learning process.

As it is common in such observational studies, I could have used tape recording in order to exemplify quantitative data alongside the pupil and teacher records.

However, I thought that using a video camera would also enable me to see non-verbal interaction of the teachers and pupils and this would increase the sensitivity and value of the qualitative data.

a. Pilot study of the classroom observation: validity and reliability of the instruments

As explained in chapter five most of the categories in the observation instruments were developed from the PRINDEP's observation system and adapted to the Turkish elementary context. In particular, I attempted to simplify the coding system allowing myself and the second observer to make the coding quick and straightforward. I also made the records more flexible, adding new categories (see Appendix C).

The questionnaires and interviews focused on the teachers and their opinions of pupil's historical learning. Classroom observations could directly focus on both the teachers, and pupils, who were chosen according to their abilities (see 5.3 Classroom observation, supported by videotape for more information about the selection of pupils). Bearing in mind that the more the data, the more reliable results the study could achieve, I decided that two observers would be coding two different records. While I could focus on six different ability pupils during a formal lesson, a second observer who works as a history teacher could focus on the teacher.

Hitchcock and Hughes (1995, p.105) say that '[v]alidity is concerned with the extent to which ... the material collected by the researcher presents a true and accurate

picture of what it is claimed is being described'. Therefore, before piloting the study's observation instruments in Turkey, the pupil and teacher records were tested in a primary school in England. I devoted my time to observing pupils for the first twenty minutes, then I observed the teacher. A note should be made that categories which were included in the PRINDEP's observation system provided a straightforward coding in the pupil and teacher records (see chapter five for those categories) which proved that 'selecting a limited number of observable incidents whose relations to the qualities of interest is based upon sound, established theories might increase the degree of validity' (Best and Kahn, 1986, p.161). In Turkey, the same primary school, in which the study's questionnaires and interview questions were piloted, was used for piloting the pupil and teacher records.

Galton *et. al.* (1980a) says that

fundamental to systematic observation is high inter-observer reliability- implying that different observers make identical recordings at particular points in time and in establishing high levels of reliability the investigator ensures that his own criteria for selection and categorisation are shared by the other observers (p.172).

Therefore, the pupil and teacher records were tested by me and a second observer having the same record (teacher or pupil) in each lesson. While this process –lasting a week- provided a unique experience for testing the study's records, discussing the issues arising from the description of the categories of target pupils' and teachers' behaviours allowed us to minimise the possible confusion that we might have faced in the observation of the study's case schools, thus enabling the achievement of a high degree of reliability. Records which were completed by myself and the second

observer were compared. A 95 per cent (0.95) agreement score was obtained in the pupil record, while a 96 per cent (0.96) agreement score was obtained in the teacher record. It might be said that 80 per cent of agreement score is acceptable as a minimum limit, as reported by the researchers (Gay, 1987; Galton *et. al.*, 1980; Croll, 1986; Wragg, 1994). The calculation was made by dividing the smaller total for each behaviour by the larger total for the same behaviour in order to get the reliability scores of the records (see Gay, 1987 for more information).

The camera person, who was a student in the Primary Teacher Training Department of Ondokuz Mayıs University in Samsun, worked on a Sony 8mm cam-corder which was used in the study's classroom observations. This provided her time to use the equipment efficiently and with confidence before entering the classroom.

4.2.4 Access to the study's settings

Access to the subjects in this study has not been easy taking into account the fact that I was in England for much of the study. More or less every researcher has to deal with some administrative work before accessing the educational settings which he or she examines. As explained in this chapter my attempt to conduct postal questionnaires would be time consuming if the legal process with the local directorates in Turkey was followed from England. On the other hand, it was a useful experience for me to inform, verbally, local directors, heads and teachers about the study's purposes which helped me to increase teachers' cooperation in responding the questionnaire in a given time.

The study's classroom research took place in the Bafra district of Samsun populated by 65,000 people. During the distribution of the questionnaires the study's prospective case schools, which were chosen as illustrative samples of Turkish educational system in the primary phase, were visited and the head teachers were asked whether they wanted to take part in the second stage of the study. After their decisions were taken, time for the interviews and classroom observations was planned considering the academic period for history topics in the curricula.

Croll (1986, p.92) says that 'like most other forms of educational research, systematic observation requires the cooperation of educational practitioners, especially teachers'. As detailed in chapter five (see 5.2 Interview data) I met the fourth and fifth grade teachers of the schools. The meetings were arranged by the head teachers. I explained the study's purposes and objectives, and told them that they were free not to take part in the study and acknowledged the issues of anonymity and confidentiality, believing that 'putting pressure on unwilling teachers' would ethically be wrong and having 'an awareness that the quality of the data might suffer in such instances, particularly with regard to the teacher behaving normally during observation' (*ibid.*, pp.92-3). On the other hand, teachers were also informed that they could see the study's observations records after the observation was concluded, considering that it is my responsibility to establish open and honest relationships with the subjects.

Apart from this, they were told that information which they gave and recorded observations would be used in a PhD thesis and would be seen by the examiners. I explained that they and the target pupils would be identified by a letter of the alphabet, in order to increase anonymity of the participants and I assured that they were free to change the information which they gave in the interview process at any time during the period of the study.

At first, there were three male and four female teachers who were available for both interviews and classroom observations according to the study's plan. A note should be made that although Teacher G at School C was interviewed, her class was not included in the observation because she was inspected in the planned time, by the Ministry inspectors.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter focuses on the findings of the three research methods used in this study. These are the questionnaire, interview and systematic observation supported by video tape data.

5.1 Survey data

The questionnaire consisted of 22 closed (i.e. yes/no, multiple choice and rank order) and eight open-ended questions. However, I managed to computer code the open-ended questions, so that I could present the results of these questions in a quantitative form. At the beginning of the questionnaire there was a note which explained the purposes of the study, the general content of the questionnaire and assured respondents of confidentiality. Questionnaires were distributed and collected by hand. Two weeks were given for 150 teachers to complete questionnaires in Istanbul, while one week was given to the same number of teachers in Samsun. The returns were: Istanbul 100 (66.6 per cent) and Samsun 119 (79.3 per cent) (see chapter four for more information about the questionnaire).

5.1.1 Results of the questionnaire

Instead of stating the results question by question in a strictly defined rank order, I have chosen to present the results under thematic headings.

a. Factual information about the respondents

The study focuses on the teaching of elementary history which is taught at fourth and fifth grades. For this reason, I needed to survey teachers who had at least one year of experience in the teaching of elementary history because teachers in general start to teach from the first grade. As expected, based on the results of questions 1.2 and 1.3 the respondents were mostly experienced teachers (95.9 per cent) whose work experiences ranged from five to 30 years aged between 31 and 51 (94.9 per cent). The data showed that most of the teachers had at least two years experience (94.5 per cent) in the teaching of fourth and fifth grade pupils (Q1.4) who study elementary history as a subject in the social studies curriculum. However, only 21 teachers specialised in social studies teaching and the overwhelming majority of them (90.5 per cent) had more than two years experience in elementary social studies teaching.

The distribution of the number of school types, teaching compositions and sizes, in Istanbul and in Samsun, is detailed in Table: 5.1.

Table: 5.1: Frequency of school types, teaching composition and number of pupils on roll by location

Location	School types		Teaching compositions		Number of pupils on roll				
	Elemen- tary	Primary	Mornings and Afternoons	Full day	101-200	201-400	401-600	601-800	Over 800
Istanbul	5	4	9					2	7
Samsun	9	1	9	1	1	2	1	4	2
Total	14	5	18	1	1	2	1	6	9

b. The social studies curriculum

Teachers were asked whether they discuss curriculum matters with their colleagues in general (Q2.3 and Q2.3a) and in social studies (Q3.3 Q3.3a). Results showed that 87.4 per cent of teachers discussed curriculum matters in general and 67.2 per cent of teachers discussed curriculum matters relating specifically to social studies. Teachers’ responses to these questions showed that they had some major problems in delivering the curriculum. First, they felt that there was not enough time to deliver the subjects according to curriculum requirements. Teachers also believed that the primary curriculum was too extensive in terms of the teaching responsibilities given to them, and in relation to what pupils were expected to learn.

Secondly, the prescribed curriculum had so far provided no answer to the question of how to teach, but it had given a well-defined duty to teachers to reach specific standards. According to teachers, they were required to ensure that every pupil should acquire most of the specified skills and knowledge when the curriculum was delivered (see 3.1.3 Aims of history teaching in Turkish elementary schools). In the case of social studies there was no clear objective by which the teachers were able

to assess pupils' progress. Pupils were required to acquire a general knowledge of history, geography and citizenship.

Thirdly, the majority of teachers stated that the secondary examinations, which formed the entrance qualifications for state and private colleges, created external pressures upon them which affected their teaching practice in relation to their work with fifth grade pupils in elementary schools. The difficulty of these examinations stemmed from their contents and questions, prepared according to the rules of test methodology. Therefore, the teachers said that they felt obliged to prepare pupils for these examinations¹, and this was a major issue for every teacher whom I interviewed and observed. It was also clear that although these examinations were prepared by groups of experts, who were employed by the Ministry of Education, the questions were not consistent with the curriculum requirements or with children's levels of understanding.

Teachers' thoughts about these examinations revealed a relationship between the examinations and the pupils' and their parents' perceptions about the curriculum subjects. These examinations were mainly measuring pupil's Turkish, maths and science knowledge. Therefore, most teachers reported that pupils as well as parents regarded these subjects as very important (Turkish 78.5 per cent, maths 67.3 per cent and science 50 per cent) (Q.2.4). In contrast, social studies ranked below (36.3 per cent). These results, taking into account the fact that the respondents were teachers, also confirmed that the teachers gave greater priority to the literacy and numeracy

skills of the children which was also supported by their responses to Q.2.1 which sought their most important aims as teachers of elementary children.

Another issue was that teachers' views of pupils' interest in the listed curriculum areas would show to some extent pupils' involvement in those areas and therefore giving me some understanding as to the degree of their interest in social studies. One may argue that pupils' involvement is an important issue in active history teaching. Simply, every subject which pupils are introduced to, in a sense, should be attractive and educationally sound in order that it might relate to their existing level of understanding. Therefore, Q2.5, in a way, aimed to explore whether there was a relationship between the social studies curriculum content, teaching methods and pupils' interest. The results showed that, in order of importance, teachers felt that social studies was the least interesting curriculum subject (30.3 per cent): in order to reach social studies curriculum requirements teachers, as they said, had to treat subjects in a short period; history, at this stage, was based mainly on political history; both in history and in geography children most probably had to acquire knowledge by memorisation; classroom settings and teaching approaches did not allow an 'active learning environment' and children were 'passive learners' as my classroom observations also showed; and activities in social studies teaching were mainly dominated by textbooks (see 2.1.2/b.2 The development of primary curriculum in respect to social studies: *Text materials* and 5.1.1/c. History teaching: Textbooks in elementary history teaching) reflecting the social studies syllabus² which itself needs to be scrutinised.

Teachers were asked about separating social studies into geography and history (Q.3.2 open-ended type). Based on their responses to this question, 47.8 per cent of teachers believed that if they taught history alone they could motivate their pupils to study and they could easily explore their pupils' interest in history. They also indicated that social studies had already an artificial integration and that the programme was extensive. However, 52.2 per cent of teachers responded that social studies should be studied as an integrative curriculum area. Their argument was that social studies was appropriate, designed as an integrative curriculum area in response to children's cognitive development and the nature of its content, seen as a vehicle in the socialisation of children. But in this group some teachers believed that the content had already many separations for history and others as unit topics. In other words, there was a *de facto* separation between the subject components that made up social studies.

Table: 5.2 shows the teachers' responses to Q2.2 when they were planning their curriculum. The results show the relative importance attached to content, pedagogy and moral and cultural values. In general, teachers placed a particular emphasis on moral and cultural values. As Table: 5.2 shows, the teachers aged between 21 and 30 tended to see pedagogy as an 'important' concept in their curriculum planning, while the teachers aged between 51 and 60 saw moral and cultural values as 'very important'. However, the teachers aged between 31 and 40 considered that pedagogy and content were the most important concepts.

Table: 5.2: The importance of content, pedagogy and moral and cultural values in curriculum planning by teachers' age groups

Teachers' age groups	Content						Pedagogy						Moral and cultural values					
	Very important		Important		Not important		Very important		Important		Not important		Very important		Important		Not important	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
21-30	4	66.7			2	33.3			4	80.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0
31-40	28	40.6	18	26.1	23	33.3	27	40.3	27	40.3	13	27.7	23	31.9	20	27.8	29	40.3
41-50	33	33.3	37	37.4	29	29.3	32	32.7	36	36.7	30	30.6	50	46.3	22	20.4	36	33.3
51-60	1	20.0	3	60.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	3	60.0	3	60.0	1	20.3	1	20.3
Total	66	36.9	58	32.4	55	30.7	60	34.3	68	38.9	47	26.9	78	41.1	44	23.2	68	35.8

This question sought to establish how teachers' beliefs, in planning the curriculum, affected their practice. As can be seen curriculum content, and moral and cultural values (these values can be defined as teachers' beliefs about classroom management such as teachers and pupils roles and teachers' approaches to teaching or in the case of social studies teaching focusing on 'national values'), were determinants in teachers' curriculum planning as well as reflecting a relationship between teachers' ages and the way in which they ranked the concepts (i. e. younger teachers tended to rank pedagogy and content higher than older teachers did and vice versa).

In the light of the teachers' responses to this question, one can argue that classroom culture and the values of traditional education do not seem to have dramatically changed. In education policy it is clear that the state and the community want to see well-behaved pupils, in order that they may be prepared as the good citizens of the future (see 2.1.2/b.2 The development of primary curriculum in respect to social

studies). There seems to be nothing wrong in this policy, at least for curriculum planners, but in practice, as Dean (1992) says that

Children... find themselves unwittingly behaving in ways which teachers dislike, but which may be acceptable at home. For the child, school life can be fraught with problems in working out the demands of the institutional curriculum (p.101).

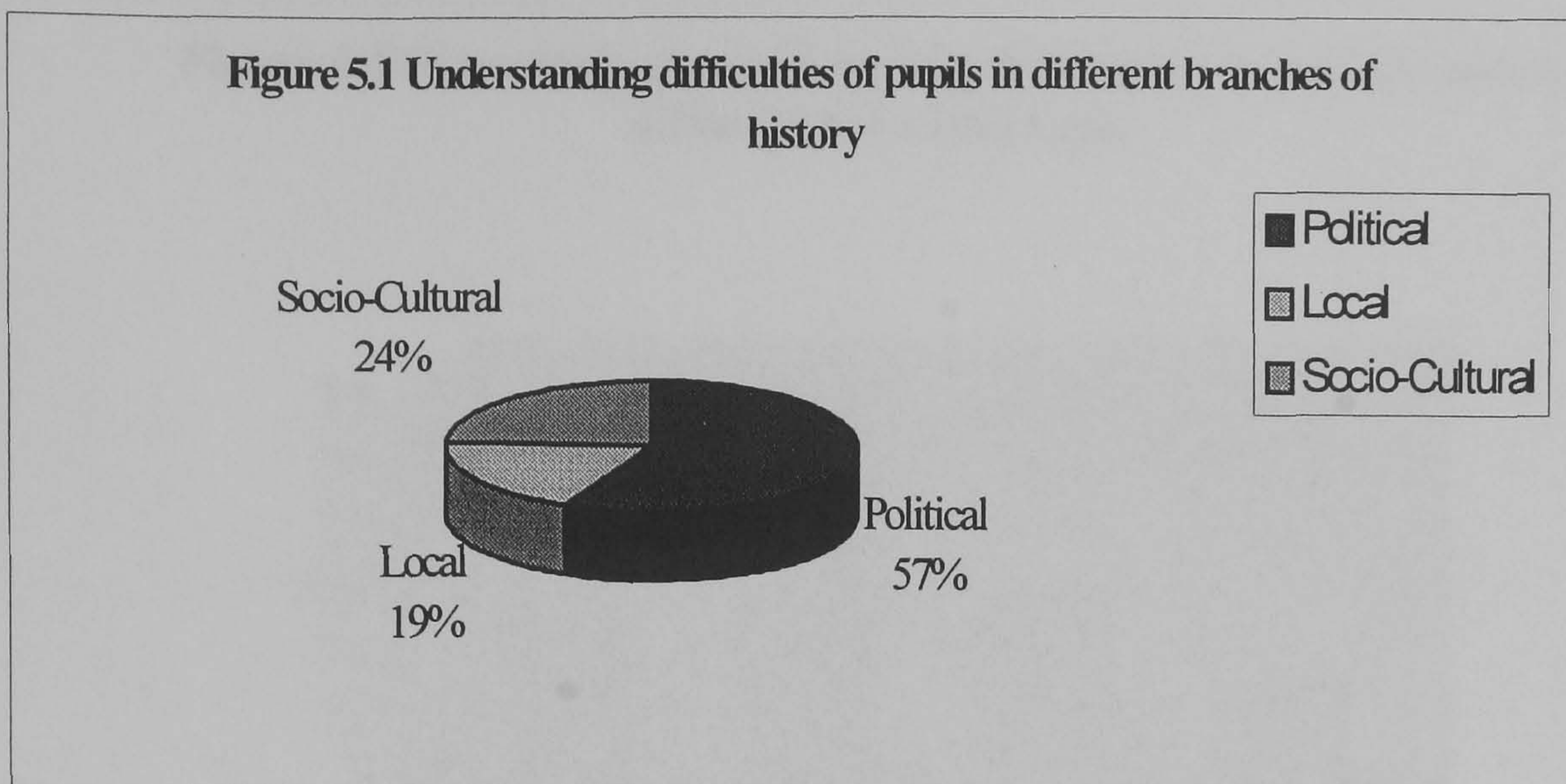
Teachers tended to think that education policy legitimised the continuation of traditional teaching approaches and direct teaching (as means of teacher's or 'pupil's recitation' and whole class interaction by employing 'questioning' techniques). For instance, teachers still insist on whole class teaching, while the Ministry, at least in theory, insists upon grouping pupils and providing active learning (learning by doing) in elementary classrooms.

Based on the results of questions (2.7 and 2.7a), the majority of teachers usually supported 'a free day' (79.1 per cent) thus ensuring that teachers would have a chance to practice cross-curricular themes and mixed curriculum teaching. Teachers found these questions 'innovative' as they commented in question 2.7a (open-ended type). Indeed, this issue was little discussed by the Turkish academicians. Though expectations varied in the use of a free day in teaching practice teachers believed that they would be free what to teach and how to teach it. They answered that a free day would be used for practising broad curriculum subjects for pupils who need to improve their skills in different curriculum areas and in the use of out of school facilities. A number of teachers wanted 'a free day' to teach pupils individually or in groups. As a matter of fact, they believed that they might have practised active learning methods such as discovery, discussion, role playing, drama and so on if a

‘free day’ had been available to them. They thought that they would have time to focus on children’s needs. Many teachers claimed that they had to teach subjects at a reasonably difficult level suitable only for the children of average and above average ability. Therefore, less able children had obvious problems even acquiring basic skills. Teachers stated that discovery of the children’s abilities and interests was very important and individual contact was essential for this. They claimed that they had to deliver an extensive curriculum in the five days officially designated (in most cases five-half-days) and usually in crowded classrooms. So they thought that there was little time to discover each child’s needs, abilities and interests to help him or her in those directions.

c. History teaching

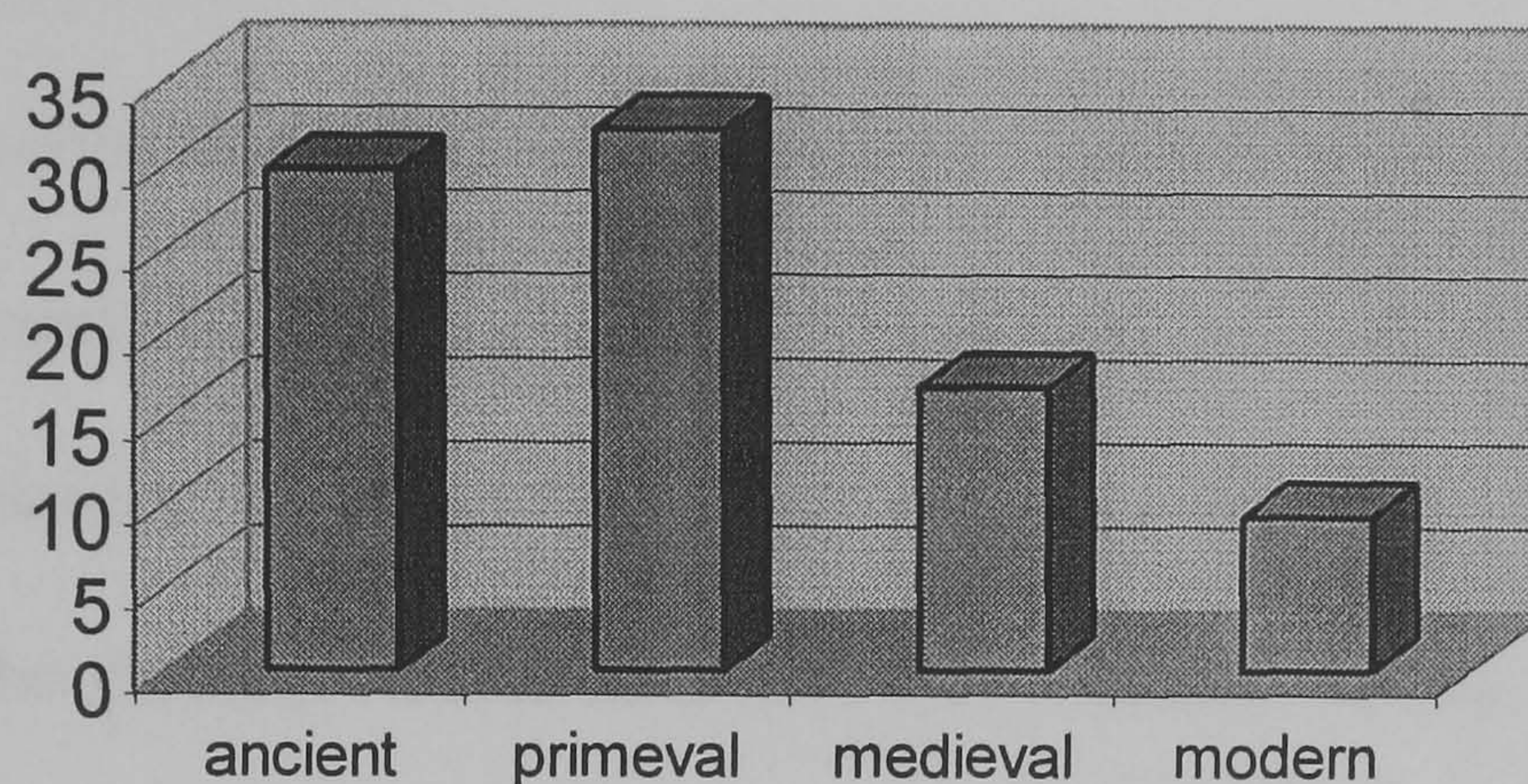
The last section of the questionnaire concerned elementary history teaching and instructional materials. In the sample, teachers were asked to answer to what degree pupils find difficulties in understanding different branches of history (Q4.1). The analysis of data showed (see Figure: 5.1 below) that teachers believed that children had difficulties understanding political history. According to teachers, pupils had less difficulties understanding socio-cultural and local histories. Teachers appeared to believe that history should start from the child himself or herself, then, from family, school and so on.



Although in the case of Turkish social studies there is more time allocated to political history as children are expected to learn complex topics. There was a demand for this, as it is understood as history for social purposes. On the other hand, local and socio-cultural histories including child's own history, family histories, histories of daily life in local communities, socio-cultural histories of civilisations and of communities, which are dealing with change and continuity, are more helpful for children to construct their own understanding of the past. These histories are also helpful for a better understanding of political history.

The next question (4.2) was related to teachers' views of the difficulties pupils have in understanding different historical times. The results in Figure: 5.2 show that historical periods such as ancient and primeval times were the most difficult to understand. The Middle Ages were seen as the third most difficult to comprehend, with children having less difficulty in relating to modern history.

Figure 5.2 Percentage of pupils having difficulties in understanding different historical times



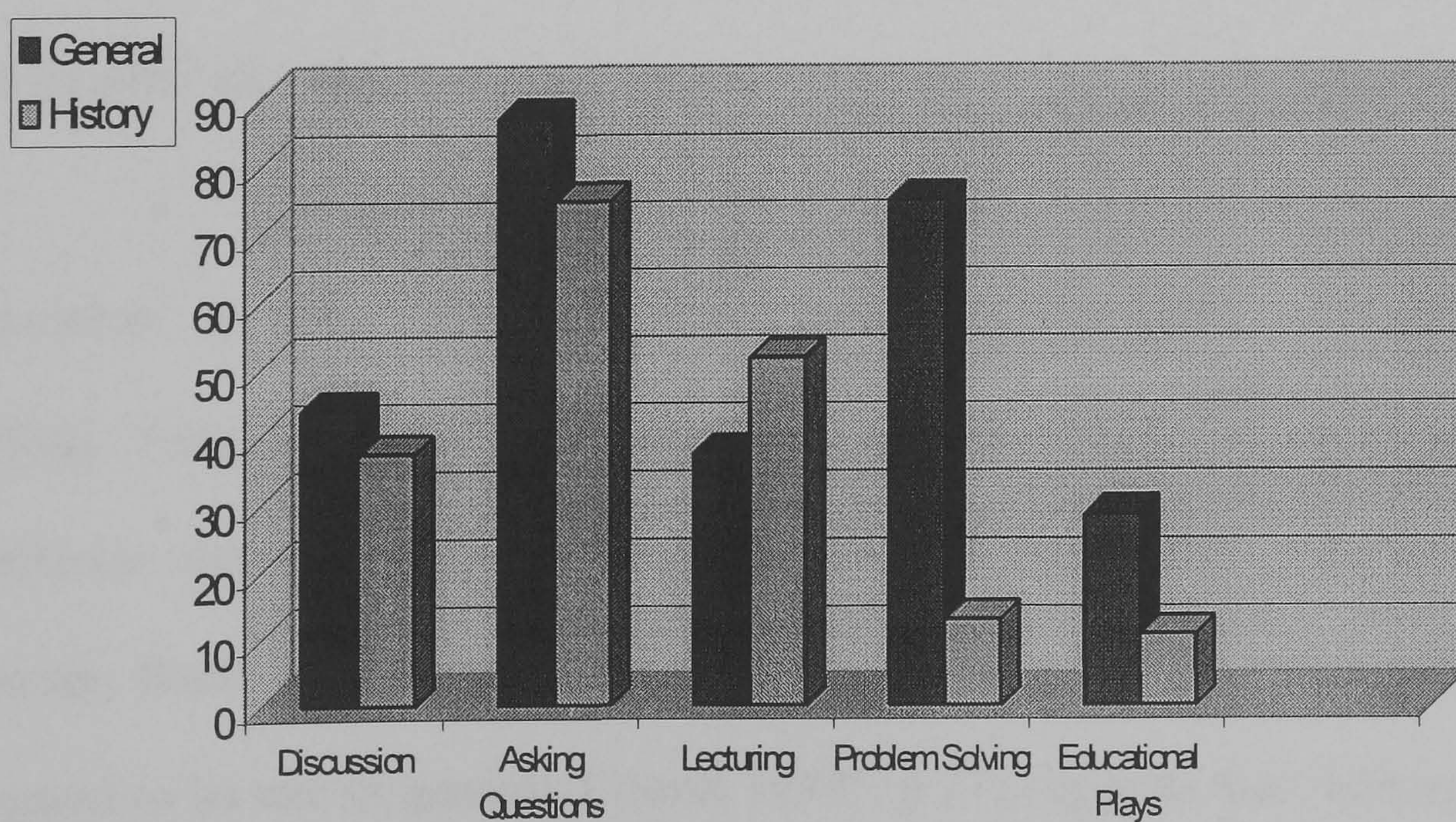
These research findings partly confirm a widespread notion that young children can master mathematical time, but they do not and cannot have any idea of historical time which is an assumption mostly derived from Piaget's work on time.³ On the other hand, in the case of Turkish elementary history there is little opportunity for the teacher to teach ancient and primeval times, and teaching materials are restricted by the textbooks. However, in history, most of the time is spent teaching modern and medieval history, which are complemented by sources outside the school such as films, old people's reminiscences, story books which are mostly related to the recent past and partly medieval times. As West says, 'children's knowledge about the past is more considerable than is generally recognised by adults and at least two-thirds of this knowledge is acquired from sources outside the school setting' (quoted in Kimber *et. al.*, 1995, p.16). I think that the above mentioned reasons help children to develop a better understanding of modern and medieval periods. The results also,

in part, confirmed the evidence that 'in Key Stage 1, children can make some sense of the Middle Ages' (Knight, 1993, p.96).

Methods in history teaching

Two of the questions (2.6 and 4.3), which were asked to teachers, enquired as to how often they used the respective teaching methods in the subjects generally and in history in particular. As Figure: 5.3 shows, teachers tended to rank 'asking questions' as the priority. Other methods were ranked in the following order of preference: 'problem solving', 'discussion' and then 'lecturing'. On the other hand, in history teaching while 'asking questions' was again seen as the first priority, there was a considerably higher emphasis placed upon 'lecturing', as compared with other teaching methods employed in general.

Figure 5.3 Percentage of teaching methods used in general and in history classes



The results of the questionnaire (see Figure: 5.3) and classroom observations partly confirmed a widespread assumption that Turkish elementary teachers tend to use most of their time for 'lecturing' in their lessons (see Erden, Undated).

Figure: 5.3 shows that elementary teachers used 'questioning' as a technique more than others. It is important for the teacher to understand what children already know and what they think, in order to comprehend the learning process (see 3.3 Teaching approaches). Many argue that carefully prepared reasoning and speculative questions not only promote historical thinking, but also develop historical empathy and historical understanding, in order that the past be understood in its own terms. However, results from the classroom observation showed that teachers frequently used 'closed' or simple recall questions in history teaching which I explain in one of the following sections. I believe that these questions encourage the measurement of pupils' recently acquired knowledge, which has been learnt in a process of memorisation, instead of contributing to the historical understanding of pupils in a more rounded out way.

'Discussion' is one of the most widely used and important methods in history teaching. Figure: 5.3 shows that teachers ranked 'discussion' third in order of importance amongst teaching methods, both in history and in other subjects. However, there was a decrease in the use of 'discussion' in history teaching as compared to its use in general. Cooper (1995, p.27) suggests that 'concepts need to be taught, and that they are best learned through discussion'. Edwards and Mercer

say that ‘the whole process of teaching and learning is a matter of arriving at shared understandings, in particular of the meaning of the language used, through shared activity and talk.’ (quoted in Dean, 1992, p.92). Each pupil brings his or her own ideas and experiences into the discussion . Therefore, one can claim that through ‘discussion’ method children can acquire an understanding of some of the concepts conflicting issues, which are needed in order to come to some understanding of history as a subject.

In this respect, I believe that group discussion will be useful in order to encourage the participation of most children as I explained in chapter three. What I saw in the classroom observation was that, in contrast to questionnaires, teachers rarely used discussions and when they did these were discussions involving the whole class. This resulted in the participation of the children remaining very limited.

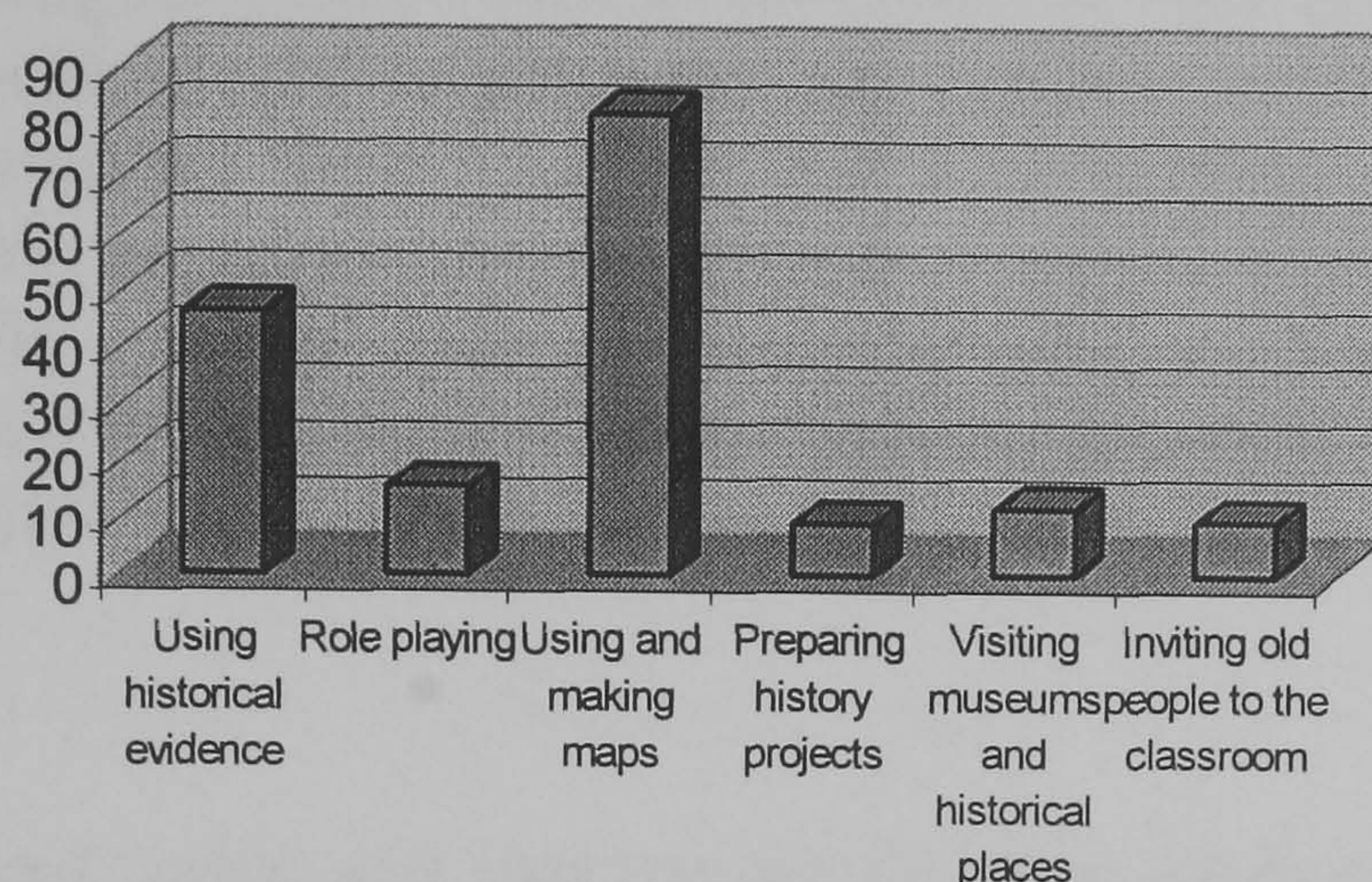
‘Problem solving’ was one of the issues which I tended to ask elementary teachers about in the sample. Figure: 5.3 shows that it is rarely used in history teaching. I would argue that every step in history teaching involves problem solving. The interpretation of historical evidence requires the application of the problem solving process if one is to ascertain historical facts. History teaching inevitably involves discussion, inquiry and carefully planned questioning of the pupils. Pupils need to use different kinds of historical evidence in order to *solve problems*, enabling them to comprehend historical facts and arrive at a better understanding of the past (see Cooper, 1995). However, most of the teachers saw ‘problem solving’ as a method

which they used in maths and science only, since the curriculum did not present historical issues as matters which are to be solved in order to be understood. So while the curriculum approach advocates that history be presented as facts, in practice the rejection of the ‘problem solving’ method encourages only the simple retention of elements that make up a “national myth”. A more objective fact-based learning would indeed require the application of the problem solving approach, in order that children be trained in the methods of piecing together an historical jigsaw, creating conditions for the possibility that the child might come to a greater understanding of the wider historical picture. In conclusion, teachers’ interpretation of the curriculum approach tends to lead to the adoption of a limited and reflective approach to the acquisition of knowledge, in order that simple facts, as they are presented, might be assimilated by the child through a simple process of memorisation. In placing an emphasis upon this method, the possibility of coming to an understanding of the historians’ craft, albeit at a basic level, is sidelined.

Activities in history teaching

One of the questions (4.4) in the sample was related to activities to be used in history. Figure: 5.4 shows that ‘using and making maps’ were the most common activity in the Turkish elementary history classroom and surprisingly nearly half of the teachers answered that they used historical evidence and resources, contradicting the evidence from classroom observation as in the case of ‘map work’.

Figure 5.4 Percentage of teachers using different kinds of materials and activities in history classes.



When pupils are reading or making a historical map they will apply their geography skills. Nichol and Dean (1997, p. 64) say that ‘a map or a plan is a model or representation of a reality at a point in time’. A few can deny that children will be able to understand that there is a strong relationship between time and place in which people lived when using their map skills. This understanding comes about by children filling in blank maps with the appropriate information, spotlighting early settlements and reasons for them or in a comparison between historical and contemporary maps of a given place.

Results showed that 46.3 per cent of teachers used historical evidence and resources as text materials. According to research in history teaching, using historical evidence and resources gives children an opportunity to work as historians. There are many historical resources such as photographs, artefacts, buildings, paintings, sites, replica written sources, films, maps and so on. Children need to make interpretations from

historical evidence and those interpretations will differ from one another. As Cooper (1995) says:

Interpreting historical evidence involves not only internal argument, but also debate with others, testing inferences against evidence from other sources and considering other points of view. It means then supporting opinions with arguments, accepting that there is not always a 'right' answer that there may be equally valid but different interpretations, and that some questions cannot be answered. This kind of thinking is as important to the social, emotional and intellectual growth of young children as it is necessary in adult society (pp.3-4).

On the other hand, using and interpreting different kinds of historical sources will provide objectivity and develop the ability to make generalisations from these sources (see also 3.2.3 The development of historical understanding). Dickinson *et al.* (1978, p.2) say that history 'should give children a practical introduction to the historical mode of enquiry'. One may argue that the historical mode of enquiry begins by using all sorts of historical sources in the history class as text materials.

Results showed that few teachers used such activities as role playing, visiting museums and historical places, inviting old people into the classroom and preparing historical projects. Yet research has shown that these kind of activities are essential for 'active learning' (as learning by doing) in history. These activities will probably create curiosity about the past in pupils' minds and will provide remarkable progress in pupils' historical understanding. For instance, in role playing children will have opportunities to add their feelings and ideas to the role as well as developing their historically imaginative skills. In the museum, they will learn actively to respect remains of the past and will improve their observation skills. By listening to old

people's reminiscences, making interviews and reporting what they heard and saw children will learn how to use primary evidence which is essential for the discipline of history.

Figure: 5.4 also shows that a few teachers encouraged their pupils in preparing history projects. Blyth (1989, p.9) says that children of nine to eleven years- old 'gain much satisfaction from individual projects' in which 'they choose their own particular topic within the syllabus and refer to many books and other sources of the past. This may be the only time that pupils can enjoy so much time and exercise so much choice in what they do' (*ibid.*) and obviously these projects help to improve the use of historical language and concepts.

Textbooks in elementary history teaching

The last two questions (4.5 and 4.6) of the questionnaire were related to teachers' opinions about the social studies textbooks. Only 2.5 per cent of teachers found textbooks 'very interesting'. While 56.1 per cent of teachers answered 'interesting' others said 'boring' (41.4 per cent). When asked about appropriateness of social studies textbooks to the ability of pupils 61.7 per cent of teachers responded that textbooks were 'not suitable' for the ability of their pupils.

Research in Turkey has been mainly focused on secondary history textbooks. History has been seen as a textbook demanding activity. Kabapınar (1995, p.213) says that history syllabuses have been prepared for the idea of national awareness

and national history since 1976. For this reason, only ten per cent of syllabuses have contained 'world history' in secondary history education... in first grade lycée history textbooks, 110 states and sultanates have been taught as history topics. Sakaoğlu (1995, p.141) reports that the work of the 'Revision of school textbooks' by UNESCO in 1945 suggested that textbooks were to be refined from prejudices and superior ideas of nations'. Millas (1995, p.127), reporting his minor survey of first grade (except Contemporary Greek students) undergraduate students of Ankara and Hacettepe universities who were attending departments of 'Contemporary Greek Language and Literature (first, second and third grades)', philosophy, history, international relations and economics, aimed to find out students' historical and cultural knowledge through basic questions related to field. Results showed that most of the students had failed to answer simple questions of political, social and art histories. Students had also made lots of mistakes in the chronological order of important events, historical characters, phenomena and places. He said that these students came to universities through university entrance examinations and they had to answer more difficult questions than the questions asked in the survey. After analysing the survey, he examined two of the most recent first grade lycée history textbooks. He found that writers of the textbooks allocated only five per cent to world history. He argued that the rest related to 'national history and the history of Islam'. In his opinion, national history had not been presented in relation to the great civilisations. It was, as a whole, simply presented in relation to national history.

I examined fourth and fifth grade elementary social studies textbooks written by Selâhattin Kaya in 1993. I found that 34 per cent of the topics are related to history in the fourth grade textbook. The textbook history topics are presented in the form of ancient history (four per cent), primeval history of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Egypt (fifteen per cent) with the rest relating to the national history of primeval and medieval times (81 per cent). Proportionally subject matter is allocated on the basis of twenty per cent to the history (Socio-cultural) of civilisations (with Turkish civilisation making up fourteen per cent) with 41 important dates which are presented for pupils to remember in the chronology section. In the fifth grade textbook, 40 per cent of the topics are allocated to history. These history topics comprise of the history of Ottoman Empire between fourteenth and twentieth centuries (97 per cent) and European history (three per cent; comprising of the inventions of the fifteenth century, the Renaissance and the Reformation). The history of civilisation, in the form of early Ottoman civilisation, makes up ten per cent and 89 important dates are presented for pupils to remember in the chronology section.

I have avoided embarking upon a programme of assessing the readability level of textbooks, in the light of the fact that there is no readability test specifically designed to deal with Turkish textbooks in existence. It is the case that recently Kabapinar (1998) modified the 'Flesh' readability test (see Sutton, 1981) for the purpose of a comparative analysis of Turkish and English history textbooks. Whilst this test is established as being one of the most reliable and valid indicator of the readability of

English texts (Harrison quoted in Kabapinar, 1998), Kabapinar (*ibid.*) found that his modified version of the test for Turkish texts proved to produce certain important inconsistencies and therefore resulted in findings of a dubious nature.

A close examination of each textbook showed that the language of historical texts is a simplified version of the language of historical books. A part of a text from the fifth grade textbook about the conquest of Istanbul is given below as an example:

c. The conquest of Istanbul

The siege of Istanbul began on April 6 1453. The Ottoman army comprised of two hundreds thousands personnel and the navy existing of four hundreds pieces surrounded the city by land and by sea.

Mehmet II, sending news, wanted the emperor of Byzantium to hand over the city without bloodshed. The emperor did not accept. Byzantiums who had closed the Golden Horn, prepared an army existing of thirty thousands personnel. In addition, the aid, coming from Geneva, raised their spirits.

Byzantium had a weapon called the ‘Greek fire’. Other states did not know how it was made. The Greek fire was burning both on land and sea...

Sakaoglu (1995) argues about the content of history topics and some of the biased historical information in social studies textbooks. He says:

It is pedagogically wrong to follow a chronological order in history topics. This is an enforcement of recitation. For this reason, it is not possible for the child, being desired, to put historical events in a place, where he or she wants, in his or her perception and imagination of his or her world. For example, elementary children are wanted to comprehend a long past on the time line, they are also wanted to conceive (!) beginnings and ends of primeval, medieval and modern times. So that, their perception of time is spoiled. Even it causes, in children’s minds, to suppose beginnings and ends of ages are not continuations, but those beginnings and ends become very punctual through instant events. For example, all elementary children suppose that the Middle Ages were ended when Mehmet the conqueror invaded Istanbul on Tuesday 29 May 1453 (p.141).

Bilici (1995. p. 304) points out that the complicated nature of the information that makes up history topics in the fourth grade social studies syllabus is related to the complexity of textbooks. She reports that, under the heading of ‘the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia’ reference is made to ‘the Seljuk civilisation’ and to ‘the motherland and the nation’, without ever mentioning contemporary Turkey. She asks that ‘What are the ideas that are being expressed to children?’, ‘Why is “the motherland and the nation” mentioned after Seljuk civilisation?’, ‘How will children connect this historical knowledge with daily life?’, ‘Do we have to locate motherland and the nation in the past?’ and so on.⁴

Both results of the questionnaire and research showed that social studies textbooks remain problematic (i.e. the use of language, content and the complexity of information) in the educational arena in relation to history education. However, these books are prepared according to social studies syllabuses and controlled by the Committee of Textbooks. Therefore, one may argue that no innovation will take place on the issue of textbooks in the absence of innovation in the curriculum itself.

5.1.2 Summary of results

Teachers’ responses to the questionnaire have provided useful information regarding their views on a variety of issues. The questionnaire was conducted before the interviews and classroom observation. This being the case, the survey’s presentation

of issues could only be tentative, as it was in this way that the study proceeded to come to an understanding of teachers' classroom practices, through observation.

Based on the results of the questionnaire, it can be said that the teachers believed their teaching practices to be focused on able children while ignoring the less able in order to prepare children for 'secondary examinations'. Most of the teachers found the curriculum too extensive in relation to history topics. Lack of any attainment target forced the teachers to teach history topics by means of complex information and dominated by textbooks in line with the syllabus requirements.

I think that one of the important findings was that teachers, pupils and parents did not find social studies as important and interesting as other curriculum subjects. Although there was a relationship between secondary examinations and the importance of social studies in those examinations, social studies were seen to be essentially factual and content based. Therefore, teachers did not discuss the social studies curriculum as extensively as they did some other subjects. Basically they employed traditional methods in the teaching of history, in which children were accepted as passive learners, the primary aim being to enable the teachers themselves to reach curriculum requirements.

Results showed that difficulties arose when the teachers taught political history topics. In general, teachers evaluated children's understanding of local and socio-cultural history topics better than they did political history topics. At the same time,

medieval and modern times were better understood by pupils of fourth and fifth grades than early historical times. This was partly because children had difficulties mastering early historical times especially ancient and primeval times and partly because there was little time allocation to those historical periods, as examination of the social studies textbooks showed.

According to the study's findings, 'lecturing' was employed by most of the teachers in the teaching of social studies. Teachers' responses showed that they frequently used 'discussion' and 'questioning' as teaching techniques apparently contradicting the evidence from the classroom observation. Because social studies teaching was based on factual information, 'problem solving' with 'educational plays' was being used by a few teachers.

Contradicting the evidence from the classroom observation, teachers responses showed that they employed such activities as the use of historical evidence and the use and the making of maps in their classes. Results showed that a minority of the teachers supported the use of history projects and out of school activities and so on.

As has already been seen history in Turkish elementary schools tends to be textbook dominated. Both teachers' responses and the research showed that current textbooks were not appropriate to the understanding and reading levels of pupils. In conclusion, one might understand the specific problems relating to social studies textbooks as a reflection of the syllabus as a whole, in a complex way.

Finally, at this stage, these findings have only reached the level of inferences, albeit based on the empirical evidence from the questionnaire. They are verified and further exemplified with the presentation of the interview and observation findings in the following sections.

5.2 Interview data

Using interviews alongside the questionnaire and the classroom observation was seen as necessary in order to fill in the gaps between the results of the questionnaire and of the classroom observation. The aim was to come to an understanding of the teachers' feelings, attitudes and thoughts about the issues of elementary education, curriculum, teaching approaches and in particular, history teaching. I thought that exploring teachers' definitions and explanations of the problems, derived from the curriculum and their teaching practice, in a sense, could extend and illustrate the data from the questionnaire and classroom observation which were primarily based on quantitative techniques.

Interview questions were open-ended and prepared beforehand. It was thought that teachers' ideas could be explored by asking more open questions through semi-structured interviews (see 5.2.2 The interview method). Although many questions overlapped in content with items in the questionnaire, a wide range of responses were obtained because of the ways they were asked. However, two of the questions were directly related to teachers' length of service and of teaching experiences in the

fourth and fifth grades. Others sought teachers' opinions of a number of issues about the curriculum, teaching practices, subject specialism, historical learning, text materials and textbooks in the teaching of history.

Although it was my concern to conduct two interviews with each teacher before and after observing his or her classroom, in practice this did not happen for the following reasons. First, the teacher's willingness to participate in these interviews was essential. Most of the teachers declined to participate in a second interview: either they had no time for this, or they could not see any point in talking about their teaching practice after the observations, as one teacher said 'you will see my classroom practice and you will record it. What can we discuss? Well this is the curriculum and those are the pupils...' (Teacher C). The second reason was 'the inspection of the schools by the Ministry'. The time plan for the interviews and observations had already been decided beforehand with the teachers and heads, in order to ensure that they coincided with classes on history topics. Therefore, I could do nothing to change the plan and conduct the interviews after the inspections. Understandably the inspection of the schools was stressful for some teachers. For instance, one teacher (Teacher D) agreed to participate in a second interview. But, after she was inspected in her maths class she was very upset due to the inspector's attitude.⁵ Therefore, she did not want to participate in her second interview.

Deciding the time for the interviews was left to the teachers. All the teachers and heads agreed to be interviewed in 'free' time. Interviews took place in different parts

of the school buildings. In School A, the head's room and the library, in School B and School C, staff rooms and deputy heads' rooms, were used for the interviews. These places were chosen by the schools' administrations in order to provide quiet and comfortable environments for the interviews. However, on some occasions other teachers entered the rooms and distracted interviewees. On those occasions, I preferred to rephrase questions and/or statements which were made by the interviewees. Before each interview, I explained the purpose of the interview to the interviewee and guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. His or her permission was also requested for tape-recording.

It is worth pointing out that both teachers and heads were informed about the questions and were free to choose which ones they wanted to answer. Some questions were prepared specifically for heads and some specifically for teachers (see Appendix 2). However, in the interview process, teachers were asked to answer questions designed specifically for heads and vice versa, if they were willing to respond and held opinions on the matters in question. If a question was not understood, I rephrased it and made a further effort to explain what I meant. But I tried not to lead the interviewee into particular answer. In some cases, I chose not to interrupt the interviewee if he or she was talking about something else which had no relevance to the question, but which would probably contribute to the overall purpose of the interview. In such cases, after the interviewee's comment, I would rephrase the question in order to clarify its purpose, if this was necessary.

The interviews were analysed in May 1998. Teachers' and heads' answers to the questions were fully transcribed. Translated versions of quotations from all teachers and heads about the issues are given where it is possible and appropriate for the purposes of the study. A note should be made that as far as translation is concerned, in some quotations, it was necessary to use some explanatory words, which are italicised and round bracketed, in order to convey what the interviewees meant, by attempting to make the translated version of quotations as authentic as possible. On the other hand, square brackets were used without italics to fill in for words missed out by the interviewees.

As in the case of the questionnaire analysis, issues derived from the interviews are presented under general headings.

5.2.1 Teachers' length of experience with the pupils of fourth and fifth grades and their aims as teachers of elementary education

The first series of questions focused on teachers' length of experience and their aims as elementary teachers. As explained earlier, the study deals with history teaching. History topics occur in years four and five of social studies. Therefore, teachers' length of experience with the pupils of fourth and fifth grades directly reflects their length of experience in history teaching. Four teachers (Head B, Teachers A, D and E) had taught fourth and fifth grades for between eight and seventeen years. Others (Heads A and C, Teachers, B, C, F, G) had three to six years length of experience in the teaching of fourth and fifth grades. In some cases, their year fourth and year fifth

experiences took place when teaching mixed age classes in village schools together with Stage 1 (Head B, Teachers B, F). Therefore, the teachers in the study were experienced in the teaching of history. It might be noted that their overall teaching experiences ranged from 19 to 37 years.

It was useful to explore what motivates the teachers to work in elementary education and how far their ideas resembled the formal aims of elementary education (as stated in the curriculum). For instance, Head A was very sensitive when he said:

I have been in this profession now for 37 years. I love the job too much to give it up. If I had to start again, I would do the same thing all over again.

The teachers might be classified according to their ideas about the role of the teachers in elementary education as *national utopians* and *utilitarian/instrumentalists*. Alexander (1995) identifies at least seven dominant ideologies which affected British primary education. According to this, the teachers (utilitarian/instrumentalists), in the second group might be classified, in Turkish context, as those who believed that the purpose of the ‘curriculum [is] to meet society’s economic, technological and labour needs, to enable the child to adapt to changes in these, and to preserve the existing social order’ (Alexander, *ibid.*, p. 16). However, the teachers (national utopians), in the first group, believed that the purpose of the curriculum is to educate the child to contribute to the desired future society, which has never existed but has taken ideas from the glorious past, defined in terms of national pride and success in every aspect of societal, political, cultural

and economic lives. Therefore, the teachers, in the first group, saw themselves as social engineers of the school community who educate pupils according to the aspirations of the state's education policy and whose opinions could be gathered under the category of citizenship education. For instance, when asked about his most important aim as a teacher of elementary education Head A did not answer the question directly. However, he defined the school and the teacher as:

There is only one institution which educates a human being, and prepares that human being for that society and that is the school and its teachers. The word 'teacher' conveys the meaning of a man who learns and teaches. A teacher, uses different techniques and methods to teach something to prepare the new generation for their future in society.

Reflecting a common view among the teachers in the first group Head C said:

As administrators and teachers our wishes for our pupils are to educate them into being good students and to give them the knowledge and the culture which is useful to their country and their nation.

As given in chapter three (3.1.3 Aims of history teaching in Turkish elementary schools), the formal aims of elementary education (in some senses) can be found in the teachers' thoughts as individualised versions. When asked about the main problems in elementary education Head A devoted part of his answer to the aim of elementary education:

The aim of our elementary school is to provide a service to children who have physically, mentally, ethically and emotionally balanced and healthy characters, who have the abilities of free and scientific thoughts, so that they can get jobs later in which they feel fulfilled and which contribute to the happiness of society. Thus our aim is, on the one hand, to improve economic development, on the other hand, to convey the Turkish nation as a builder, a creative, and distinguished partner of contemporary civilisation. This statement is in the direction of aims of Turkish national education, certainly we welcome this and we spend every effort to educate our children in this direction.

In the curriculum and in some teachers' views, socialisation of the child is a very important aim for schools as institutions and for teachers as individuals. Both the curriculum and the teacher see social studies as a vehicle in this process. As Teacher B said:

We want to educate our pupils as social beings. I love the word 'social' which is part of the title of this subject (*social studies*).

Moreover, in the second group, the teachers' ideas fell into those whose ideas were more instrumentalist rather than national utopian. Supporting the evidence from the questionnaire, some teachers either saw their most important aim as to teach necessary basic skills, in Alexander's (1984) word, 'Curriculum I' (i.e. literacy and numeracy) or to reach specific standards of the prescribed curriculum (i.e. to teach necessary knowledge and skills in order to prepare pupils for secondary examinations):

My most important aim is to teach basic skills. For me, these basic skills are children's maths and Turkish knowledge. When these have become concrete in children's minds, I mean, the use of language and the use of mathematical skills, children can apply these basic skills to all other subjects (Teacher D).

I try to teach what the curriculum says. Because it is important for me to see that my pupils pass the secondary examinations to enable them to attend Anatolia High Schools (Teacher C).

The most brief answer in this group came from Teacher G:

Our aim is simply, to educate our pupils according to the curriculum.

5.2.2 Teachers' opinions on the issues of elementary education in Turkey

The next question focused on the issues of elementary education. Issues varied from the quality of elementary education to financial problems. Some teachers thought that there was little effort to improve the quality of elementary education. They believed it to be dependent upon the quality of teacher training. Their claim was that many qualified teachers were employed by the private sector as a result of secondary examinations. Because of government policy, a great deal of university graduates were appointed as elementary teachers who did not attend teacher training colleges and education faculties. As teacher B said:

If education starts from elementary school greater importance should be given to it.

The teachers, in School B (Teacher C and Teacher D) talked about the 'lack of enthusiasm' of novice teachers. They thought that to be an elementary teacher was a really tiring job. For them, many novice teachers had chosen elementary education because they had no opportunity to choose secondary education or to find a job in the private sector. For this reason, some of them, who were educated for secondary education or for other occupations, were not able to help to improve the quality of elementary education, since they were not professionals and lacked the enthusiasm for the teaching of elementary children. Therefore, the teachers did not agree with the policy of the Turkish government of employing secondary subject teachers and other university graduates as class teachers. They also criticised the government's policy of teachers' salaries. Elementary teachers' salaries were less than subjects

teachers' salaries. They felt that it was a kind of measurement of how the government attached importance to different teachers and schools.

Teachers' self criticism of the quality of the education which they provided for elementary children, did not appear widely. Teachers thought that more help should come from the government and from parents in order to improve the quality of elementary education. Only Head A said:

Although, in our constitution, it is said that elementary school is compulsory and it is optional in state schools, we certainly like to practise that compulsion but we are not able to give our children all they need all the time because of lack of money and facilities.

Insufficient school buildings, lack of materials, crowded classes and -depending on these- morning and afternoon (dual) teachings were widely seen as major problems.

Head B, recognising the extent of economic difficulties, said:

Government grants for schools are not high enough. City councils should handle this. We have to put up with a 100 years old building. How can we meet the demands with an outdated school. We have enough difficulties as teachers and administrators. Because of the lack of space for laboratories and halls, we have to do all our work in crowded classrooms.

Teachers at School A and School C, where teachers and pupils had better facilities than School B, focused on parent-school relations, lack of teaching materials and the curriculum. They thought that parental encouragement, parent-teacher and parent-school relations were not developed as they might be expected to be. The rural background of the some pupils' parents was seen as an effective factor in pupils' underachievement. According to Teachers (A, B, E, F and Head C) those parents

had little interest in the basic education of their children. For parents, as one teacher said:

Especially in rural areas, parents say, we hear a lot that, if their children learn how to write and how to calculate, that is enough for them. They believe that to have a proper education does not guarantee them a proper job (Teacher B).

In many cases, teachers made the pupil's background an excuse for not practising the things that he or she was obliged to do.

Teachers also mentioned the lack of teaching materials. For example, in School B and School C teachers and pupils had never had access to computers and films, while in School A some teachers used computers and films as teaching aids. However, in School C, lack of experience with teaching materials appeared more of a problem than the lack of teaching materials, as classroom observations and investigation of the school facilities showed.

5.2.3. Teachers' opinions on curriculum issues

The teachers and heads were asked a series of questions which were mainly about their curriculum planning and the difficulties arising from the curriculum in the teaching process.

Confirming the evidence from results of the questionnaire, teachers' responses showed that the curriculum was too extensive and as a result of this, there was little time to deliver it according to the laid down requirements. Teachers thought that the syllabus, in each subject, had too many units (topics) and too much useless

information. Therefore, planning to teach each unit, in a given time, appeared to be problematic. As one teacher said:

Every year, we receive questionnaires. The questionnaires ask what teachers think about the curriculum. We express our opinions. When we look at the curriculum at the beginning of the next year we see that there has been no change. For example, in the maths class we've got a certain number of units. We distribute topics in the programme. When it comes to teaching there is not enough time. I mean, it has to be made topical. Well you teach social studies, let's say South American countries. For example, you teach about Brazil, you name the capital of it. As if that is not enough, what Brazilians grow in agriculture, how their economic situation is, which way the Amazon River flows in Brazil. Okay, I mean a child will certainly know about Brazil. It is enough for him or her to know that coffee is the most important thing, that the Amazon is the biggest river in the world and that it has the most water capacity. But there is no need to teach what the Amazon water capacity is, how many kilometres long it is. Anyhow he or she will soon forget it (Teacher B).

Teachers argued that children should learn basic skills and how to use them in elementary schools. Having mastered those basic skills they would be able to continue their further education. However, in practice, teachers were not allowed to decide what to teach and to some extent what it is appropriate for children to learn.

Teacher A said:

Well, this evening my friend and I looked at the maths questions prepared for the third grade middle school pupils who attend Anatolia high schools. Believe me we give much more difficult questions to our pupils than these questions in order to prepare them for Anatolia high school examinations. The Directorate of the Ministry conducts achievement tests each academic year according to the curriculum. Most children find the tests easy because in their day to day school life they are forced to solve or know more difficult tasks. Last year one of my students came top in the district. When the Ministry does college exams, it asks very different questions. They aren't on the same level as the achievement test's questions. They are too difficult. Therefore, we have to teach without considering the child's current level. It is a really extensive syllabus but we have to follow it.

The teachers argued that Turkey was not in the same economic condition as in the 1930's. For them, most parents were able to support their children for further education. Therefore, elementary schools should not have been seen as institutions where teachers try to teach all the skills and knowledge in order to prepare elementary children for future adulthood. Children could have been given opportunities to improve their skills and knowledge in their secondary education. Having said this, the teachers widely believed that a primary curriculum should reflect the current needs of elementary children. The teaching of the specified requirements as set down by the curriculum, was itself problematic because the teachers were not prepared to teach all the complex information and tasks (see 5.2.3 Subject specialism for more information). Therefore, as one teacher said:

A curriculum reform, taking into account teachers' opinions, at policy level, should be prepared. Because we don't believe these children are educated according to curriculum requirements and we don't expect that behavioural changes and meaningful understandings take place when we deliver this curriculum. The curriculum requires us to know a great deal of knowledge in all subjects. We cannot teach it, we simply deliver. Most of the things which the curriculum wants are not suitable for the child's development. I mean, you don't expect that children behave and learn what the curriculum wants when they have graduated from elementary school. We live in a society in which most adults fail to become the good citizens that the state expects them to be (Teacher C).

Some teachers believed that the curriculum is too centralised. Pupils, across the country, were expected to be taught all units in each subject. There was no concern for local peculiarities and optional units. The only flexibility was that the teacher could change the order of units if he or she found this was necessary. Because of the centralised curriculum, schools have to follow the same programme regardless of

their limited facilities such as class sizes, text materials, teaching time compositions, locations and so on. One teacher said:

In my opinion, firstly the programme is too extensive and there are no flexible ways to implement it locally. Let me say that there is no chance of success, if a programme which is prepared in Ankara has to be implemented in a rural school which has poor facilities. Local characteristics aren't taken into account. It is not flexible (Teacher E).

Teachers also argued that the curriculum, in the same conditions, was implemented in both full day (normal) teaching schools and mornings and afternoons (dual) teaching schools:

You are supposed to teach pupils between 07.50 a.m. and 12.30 a.m. or between 1.00 p.m. and 4. 40 p.m. Is this the programme which was prepared for a full day's teaching? If you have morning pupils, you can forget the first lesson, because most of the pupils are sleepy. Then, I am supposed to teach three, four or five subjects in five (*each lasts forty minutes*) lessons (Teacher D).

Well, our school has good marks in secondary examinations. Most parents want to send their children to this school. I have 58 afternoons pupils in my class. You know there is not enough time to check whether pupils have learned the task as described in the curriculum (Teacher C).

Time is the problem. Topics are being forgotten, I mean, we don't repeat [topics]. We cannot repeat because of the lack of time. We cannot make children comprehend the curriculum (Teacher G).

One of the questions was related to the role of head when the curriculum was being planned in the staff room. Heads, in School A and School B, said that they have meetings at the beginning of each academic year with all their colleagues to discuss and prepare yearly plans. For instance, Head A said:

Well, at the beginning of the academic year we arrange a meeting with the staff having the curriculum in front of us. We consider what grades should be introduced, which curriculum subjects in a frame of a plan and each teacher his/her class's subjects places to this plan and we call this a yearly plan. Then,

we frame this yearly plan as units and we call this 'unit plan'. In unit plans periods are obvious..., it is transferred from the yearly plan to units. Teachers also arrange daily plans everyday according to the process of units plans in order to plan what they teach...All these processes are in my control I would like to say that this is because we have a frame programme therefore we can change the places of units but we do this democratically by consulting each colleague's opinion.

Although it is difficult to generalise, the elementary schools (A and B), appeared more organised than School C which was the only primary (basic) school in the interviews and classroom observations in terms of planning the curriculum. Head C (deputy head who was responsible for the elementary department in School C) had no clear answer to the question of his role. He thought that the prescribed curriculum explained everything to the teacher and the decisions were taken by the teacher in curriculum planning.

Interviews with the teachers, in School A and School B, showed that colleagues discussed a wide range of curriculum issues and that these discussions provided for useful interaction. In School C, the teachers, according to their answers, talked little about curriculum matters:

Well, I discussed those in the first years of my job. But when we realised nothing was done to improve the situation we gave up (Teacher E).

Well, we discuss these matters that I have talked about (*she was referring to the previous question which was about the main problems in elementary education*) (Teacher G).

Teachers were asked about their criteria when planning their curriculum. Contradicting the evidence from the survey most of the teachers saw pedagogy as the most important concept. For example, Teacher A's ideas fell somewhere

between those of Piaget and Vygotsky. Paraphrasing the Piagetian approach he believed that the teachers keep step with the child's developmental stage in learning. However, he accepted that 'the teacher should scaffold a pupil to competence in any skill and should extend and challenge the child to go beyond where he or she would otherwise have been' (Sutherland, 1992, p.43). He said:

I personally believe that we have to follow the steps in child's learning. For example, if we see the learning as stairs, each step must be carefully constructed before passing onto the next step. Even we don't see the outcome of the learning in the short time. We will see the difference in the following years. But I am not saying that this is the child's understanding level so we have to keep within his/her capacity of learning. I mean, first we have to teach basic skills then we can accelerate the process. Some of us don't teach basic things because they see these things as easy and they are in hurry to deliver the curriculum...The teacher should know children's levels before teaching something. For this reason, we have to teach the basic things and have to make sure that the child has understood these basics. Pedagogy is very important here. Take us as an example, we graduated from elementary teacher training colleges. We weren't taught how to understand child's aptitudes in music, art and painting and physical education...(Teacher A)

Reflecting the common views among the teachers who saw pedagogy as very important concept in the curriculum planning. Teacher B and Teacher F said:

When I am planning the curriculum, I think of this: how the child changes himself or herself (*behavioural change*) ...I can say that I chose a plan which can give permanent and concrete information and is suitable for pedagogy, instead letting pupils memorise. (Teacher B)

The tasks, being appropriate for the child's level, should be used in a language which the child can understand. Pedagogy should come first (Teacher F).

Some teachers considered there should be a balance between the needs of the child and the curriculum in their plans:

When I do the programme I take both the child's level and the curriculum into account. (Teacher G)

I know children's needs. I'd love to teach basic skills, the tasks which are appropriate for them. I'd love to guide my pupils in the task instead of giving lectures. But, I have to be rational. There is a curriculum content which has to be given. So I try to establish a balance between these (Teacher C).

On the other hand, one teacher argued that pupils are required to learn topics and this can be done only when the content knowledge is covered. She said:

I feel the parental pressures of the pupils on me. We prepare our pupils to secondary examinations. This is only possible, when you take the curriculum content into account. I think I am obliged to plan my curriculum according to the content. Because of the collapse in the system, schools became teaching courses in which content knowledge has to be covered... (Teacher D).

5.2.4. Teachers' opinions on subject specialism

One of the questions asked during each interview was related to the teachers' opinions about subject specialism in elementary stage. Teacher responses showed that almost every teacher supported subject specialism in Stage 2 (in fourth and fifth grades).

Head C stated a common belief among the teachers:

In these days, education is not on one level and because the teacher has not enough knowledge, I believe that especially in Stage 2, it is useful if subjects are taught by subject teachers, but, in Stage 1, it is not necessary.

However, one teacher thought that class teacher system was useful in terms of knowing the needs of elementary pupils. He said:

Well, subject specialism is always good, but it is a little bit of fantasy in elementary education. Because children -in the elementary school, because of their age- are sensitive towards their own class teacher. A class teacher system creates a situation in which a class teacher knows children more closely, in terms of knowing their parents and their environment, establishing relationships with their parents so a class teacher is better [than subject specialist] (Head A).

The teachers were almost unanimous in their opinions of having subject specialists in some curriculum areas such as music, physical education and art and painting. Some teachers felt that these areas were not to be left to class teachers. On the other hand, according to staff availability, some primary schools had already left these areas to subject specialists who are appointed as secondary (Stage 3) teachers. But, generally speaking, most elementary schools had lacked specialists in these areas.

Teachers thought:

I, particularly, want subject teachers in the elementary school. Teaching of physical education, music and art and painting necessitate abilities. A teacher can be good at teaching all the curriculum areas but, for example, there are different methods and techniques in teaching of physical education...these areas are better taught by subject specialists (Head B).

I think it is good to have specialist teachers in the following grades (*Y4 and Y5*). However, it is more desirable to have subject specialists in music, art and painting and physical education (Head A).

Well, subject specialism should be necessary especially in music, art and painting and physical education. You should have the ability to teach one of these. Otherwise it is waste of time both for you and for the children (Teacher D).

Teachers believed that they were not able to cover each subject in the curriculum and were not expected to be equally good as in every subject. Some teachers argued that they taught some subjects better than others. These teachers stated that they had mastered those subjects and had enthusiasm to teach them:

I am good at maths. I am good at Turkish too. However, I have to confess, I am not good at music and physical education. Well, I think that when I teach music, physical education and other subjects I am not successful... (Teacher E).

Subjects which are related to culture (*he means humanities*) should be taught by specialists (Head B).

I like maths. I think I am good at teaching maths. Maybe because of this, my pupils got better marks in maths than in other subjects (Teacher D).

Subject knowledge is very important and in our curriculum it needs to be covered. It is not possible if you don't exactly know what you are teaching. Unlike social studies, I am good at maths and science. Anyway thanks to textbooks and preparation books for secondary examinations, each year we remember what knowledge, to what extent, needs to be given to our pupils in social studies (Teacher C).

5.2.5. Teachers' opinions of teaching approaches

The complexity of defining teachers' classroom practices as *formal* or *informal*, in which the teachers employ traditional (teacher-centred) or progressive (child-centred) teaching approaches, is somehow problematic in theory. Therefore, the next series of questions were devoted to how the teachers defined their teaching practices and how far their ideas reflected the complexity of theories of the child-centred approaches in the curriculum.

Alexander (1995, p.8) says that 'the word "informal" is popularly presented as the antithesis of the "formal" or traditional primary education of regimented classrooms, didactic teaching and a subject-bound curriculum'. He (1988) argues that

Certain words have acquired a peculiar potency in primary education, and a few more so than 'informal'. Never properly defined, yet ever suggestive of ideas and practices which were indisputably right, 'informal' was the flagship of the semantic armada of 1960s Primaryspeak, whose vessels, somewhat tattered now, are beginning to disappear over the educational horizon: spontaneity, flexibility, naturalness, growth, needs, interests, freedom, the whole, the seamless robe, the child's view of the world, thematic work, integration, individualization, self expression, discovery ... and many more. ...the language of the informality is of itself on the move. ...It is true that where protagonists once espoused 'freedom', 'flexibility', 'spontaneity' and

‘discovery’ they may now espouse the apparent rigour of ‘skills’, ‘concepts’, ‘match’ and ‘standards’ where they endorsed ‘creativity’, self-expression’, and ‘making and doing’ they may now endorse ‘problem-solving’ and ‘technology’ (p.148-9).

Having said that the complexity of defining the teachers’ teaching practices as *informal* and *formal* or categorising the teachers as *traditional* and *progressive* was problematic. Considering the academic debate on Turkish elementary education, the traditional teaching styles were mostly employed by class teachers (i.e. whole class teaching in which the teacher employs ‘lecturing’, ‘asking questions’, ‘child’s recitation’ and so on), while the curriculum, in theory, advocated grouping children in which the teacher employs thematic teaching and collaborative work through discovery, experiment, problem solving, discussion and so on. Hence, it was also thought that asking those questions and classroom observations, in some ways, could provide information on how far the teachers’ practices matched the ideas in the curriculum. This, in turn, might enable identification of conflicting issues in the curriculum, in order that one might ascertain the reasons for teachers not putting into practise the required procedures.

Therefore, to begin with the teacher’s definitions of the ideas about the ‘informal teaching’, in which -in Alexander’s (1984) words- ‘a kind of child-centred sloganising’ is usually expressed, seemed to be necessary in terms of representing the ideological inconsistencies in the curriculum and how the teachers found a way to adapt their practices accordingly. For instance, the curriculum advocated thematic teaching and an integration between the subjects but defined the subjects as

disciplines and showed the time allocation for each subject in the weekly lesson programme or the curriculum advocated child's own discovery, problem solving, group discussion and experiment but necessitated the content knowledge to be covered and regular testing in each subject.

Interview data showed that some teachers understood child-centred approaches as 'pupils having active roles in learning process' and thought that this was a way by which teachers could employ discovery techniques, co-operative group work, pupils' ideas in curriculum planning, out of school activities and so on:

Well, our educational system has been based on 'memorisation'. But, we try to enable our children to study as researchers and examiners. The periods when I taught, I sent my pupils to the city library. I suggested to my pupils to learn the topics through examination of different resources. I believe that success, in teaching, doesn't come through memorisation, but it happens when you let children investigate (Head B).

However, I understand this as the opposite of what I practise in the class. Theoretically, it allows us to accept children's ideas in the subject which we teach. Decisions are not left the teacher. They are taken collectively in the class.....child's own experiment is important here. Letting children work in groups ... maybe allowing them to undertake different tasks on the same subject, allowing them to present their findings in front of the class... (Teacher D).

However, some teachers argued that the educational system forced them not to use child-centred approaches in the teaching of elementary pupils. As teacher C said:

I think, we as teachers, prefer pupils as listeners, because we haven't got the time and don't have a small number of pupils allowing us to practice child-centred approaches. Because of the extensive curriculum and crowded classrooms, we chose 'lecturing', 'child's recitation' and 'questioning' techniques. ...you have got 25 lessons each week and it is obvious that certain times are allocated to certain subjects. You have to follow your yearly, unit and daily plans to deliver the curriculum at the end of the academic year. I mean everything is set out beforehand...

Teacher B expressed the reasons why child-centred education did not occur in elementary education:

Well, I understood that being a teacher is being a guide. But, the educational system doesn't allow the teacher for being a guide. I mean, because the pupil studies at an extensive level and he or she is not encouraged by materials, nor by his or her parents or by his or her environment, he or she needs help. Therefore, he or she cannot improve himself or herself... (Teacher B).

Some teachers understood child-centred approaches as meaning that the pupil has an active role in recitation and presenting the task or topic in the class. These teachers often complained about the pupils who did little preparation for the task or topic. For instance, Teacher F and Teacher G said:

Well, we certainly want children to be active. If we lecture and children listen, then they are used to this style. In addition to this, if the child recites the topic, we shortly summarise the topic and let them write a summary. Certainly, if the child is brought into activity, on the subject, the teacher likes that lesson. It becomes equal. But, if we lecture and lecture and if the child accepts this, neither the teacher enjoys the recitation nor does the student understand.

Actually, we want child-centred teaching, but the teacher is always in an active situation, pupils are in passive situations. We see this as a problem coming from the curriculum. I mean the teacher is always active. Because the child doesn't come to class prepared for the topic. We say to the children 'study' and 'prepare' before coming to class, but they are not ready when they come to class. Only a few students come to class prepared. Therefore, we have to lecture on the topic. Then, we continue our lesson with questions...

On the other hand, although Head A understood the child-centred approach, as the child taking the teacher's role in 'lecturing' and 'questioning', he thought that there was a balance between the teacher and pupils in terms of having active roles in the class. He said:

Sometimes the teacher is active, the student is in the situation of listener. Sometimes the student is active and the teacher is in the situation of listener. This is a pedagogic formation. When a teacher is delivering a subject or when s/he is rendering her/his education effective sometimes he or she wants children to be active... sometimes he or she wants herself/himself to be active. This is a [matter of] method and technique.

In summary, child-centred approaches were seen as a classroom situation where pupils had active roles in the learning process (i.e. learning by doing) but in reality such an approach was little practised by teachers and for most teachers the applicability of this approach was dependent upon factors beyond their control.

Following on from the teachers' opinions of child-centred approaches, teachers were asked their views on mixed curriculum teaching, meaning different groups simultaneously working on different curriculum subjects. Teachers, in this study, had never practised a mixed curriculum approach in the same grade. However, some teachers had had the opportunity to group their pupils according to grades, in which groups studied different curriculum areas, when the teachers had worked in village elementary schools with few staff.

Most teachers did not consider mixed curriculum teaching as effective as single subject teaching. Because of the nature of the Turkish educational system, almost every teacher thought that mixed curriculum teaching was not applicable in elementary classes. Some teachers argued that they could easily lose control, if pupils were involved in different activities simultaneously. For instance, Teacher E said:

Well, I don't think that [mixed curriculum teaching] will contribute a dimension to our curriculum and to the social structure of Turkey (*Turkish educational system*). For example, if I teach maths in a lesson, I want all the children's attention in order to teach maths. If I give freedom to children and say: 'children, everyone is free to chose his or her subject for studying, I mean, I would make them confused. You cannot teach the lesson at all. When you want to teach [a subject to a group] you have to be in control. I mean, this is tiring for a teacher.

Although Teacher A thought that practising mixed curriculum area was interesting and believed in its possibility, he argued:

I think it is possible with children who come from good socio-economic backgrounds. It requires grouping and freedom, and the teacher is a guide in this context. But I don't think it works. For example, I have pupils from different socio-economic backgrounds and I think that we would have more disciplinary problems if we practised a mixed curriculum. It is easy in whole class teaching to keep children working and to be in control.

On the other hand, Teacher B said that he grouped pupils according to their abilities and practised different tasks with different groups in the same subject. Because he had never practised in a mixed curriculum area, he had no knowledge of it and therefore could not comment on its applicability to the classroom situation. However, he advocated ability grouping in Turkish, maths and social studies lessons.

Teachers' thoughts varied when they answered this question. For Teacher F, the most effective way to make all pupils understand a task or a topic was to emphasise that task or topic until each pupil had mastered it. According to her, this could take whole day, but in the end she would not return to that task or topic again. Teacher G considered mixed curriculum area to some extent as meaning the integration of

subjects in whole class teaching or shifting from one subject to another in order to maintain pupils' attention.

Almost every teacher, who understood 'practising mixed curriculum area' as different groups working in different curriculum subjects, thought that certain difficulties could arise in time management and classroom control.

The next question was related to teachers' preferences of class, group or individual teaching. Teachers' answers showed that they preferred whole class teaching. However, only two teachers (C and F) expressed that it was their decision to apply direct teaching techniques to the whole class. They thought that teacher and question led whole class interaction was more beneficial than other teaching organisations.

The rest of the teachers argued that they employed whole class teaching by direct instruction because class sizes, teaching materials, pupils' parental backgrounds and finally the content of the curriculum did not allow the practice group or individual teaching. Therefore, they tried to justify their practice of choosing whole class teaching in which pupils sit in rows.

Teachers (B, C and D) of School A and School B stated that their classrooms were too crowded and because of the dual teaching, they did not practice group or individual teaching. These teachers said that they were concerned to make sure

every pupil gained enough of the teacher's attention during the teaching sessions.

For instance, Teacher B said:

If I have twenty pupils instead of having 50 pupils I would have preferred individual teaching. This is more logical. Well, we try to time the teaching minute by minute. This is a big mistake...

Some teachers believed that organization of the class and -depending on this-teaching methods were culturally specific. Therefore, whole class teaching, interpreted as meaning whole class work in the same task or topic by direct instruction, was seen as the most efficient way to reach the standards specified by the curriculum:

Well, it is difficult to practise this (*he means group or individual teaching*) with the pupils who come from both the city and village. I mean that the child who comes from the village does not even know how to read and write. The child from the city, however, comes to elementary school already cultured and knowledgeable. From my point of view, it takes two months to teach reading and writing to the child from an educated family. However, it takes approximately a year to teach reading and writing to the child from an uneducated family. Well, it is difficult to manage the class.... if you let the child who knows how to write and read teach the other child. Similarly if I try to teach it becomes very difficult (Teacher E).

Teacher E also blamed both the Ministry of Education's policies and the pupils, in order to justify himself in not practising group teaching:

Well, we had been practising group work till fifteen years ago. Policy changes gave children the right not to have to repeat the same grade again. Because pupils think that they will pass their grade anyway, therefore they don't participate in group work, they don't volunteer to become president or secretary of the groups. This affects our work negatively.

Teacher G understood individual teaching as a kind of individual work in which the child undertakes the recitation of a topic or explanation of a problem in his or her

row or in front of the classroom. The reason she gave for not practising group work was:

We don't practise group work. We always do individual work because the pupils don't come to class prepared we cannot do group work. We try to teach the topic by individual work and 'questioning'.

Head C said:

First of all, I believe that group work is useful for the pupil and the teacher. But when the pupil does group work, I don't believe it is useful because of the lack of materials in his or her home and environment.

As can be seen teachers (Head C, E and G), in School C, felt the need to make justifications for their failure to practise group work, when they answered this question, because the Ministry was in favour of grouping pupils in the class. The classrooms were not crowded in this school, therefore, it was feasible to organise group work.

On the other hand, teachers' answers showed that the lack of practice in group work meant that they had little to say about it. Instead, they advocated individual teaching which they understood as being applicable to the whole class while the pupils sat in rows. As Teacher A understood individual teaching in this way, he also argued that these three are applicable in different contexts:

A child's social environment is very important... We have such students that if I say 'Children you are responsible for this [task] and I will want this information soon after. This is very simple information. When you start to listen to children's responses you will have only ten or fifteen responses. This information is summarised in the one or two sentences that I have just said. To other students: I say look my child your friends knew this... again I give you the opportunity to comprehend this. I will want this from you again. You let the child stand up and ask for any response. S/he is not able to say anything.

Again you tell or demonstrate to her/him. When you teach that child the child next to him doesn't learn ...I have experienced this. For example, in the first grade, I told the children a dot is placed at the end of a sentence. I gave them such information and I said 'The first letter of a sentence is always written as a capital letter and a dot is placed at the end of a sentence.' I wanted this information back. Only fifteen pupils were able to say what I told them. I individually asked the other children: look my child repeat what I told you, I want this again...You teach that child and the child next to her/him doesn't learn. S/he doesn't want to learn.... For that reason, able children, who also go to private teaching courses (*in weekends to prepare themselves to secondary exams*) have the ability to understand a given task. Others, who haven't got the ability to understand, cannot take in anything. This depends on the achievement levels of the children (*he means more able and able children*). These three methods can all be successful anyway, but I believe that individual teaching is better than others.

Later, in his interview, Teacher A argued that he used whole class teaching by 'lecturing' and 'questioning' because his class was over 45 pupils, therefore, for him, it was difficult to organise his classroom for group work. He said that because the curriculum is too broad, and some pupils had difficulties in mastering maths and Turkish, he helped them individually. This, he defined as individual teaching.

5.2.6 Teachers' opinions on the issues of history teaching

The last series of questions, which were derived from the questionnaire about the issues of history teaching, were asked in an open-ended way.

Teachers were asked whether they prefer to teach social studies separately as history, geography and citizenship respectively. As was the case in the results of the questionnaire, although most of the teachers thought that social studies should be taught as an integrated curriculum area, some believed that whether the integration of the subjects took place was left to pupils and teachers, because the curriculum

outlined the geography, history and citizenship separately into social studies syllabus:

If social studies needs to be taught on a basic level, only the essence of the units (*topics*) should be given without containing too many details (Teacher F).

This integration was made ages ago as having these three under social studies, but since then, no change was made in their content (Teacher C).

On the other hand, Head A thought that an integration was necessary because these three curriculum subjects are related to one another. He said:

...These separate subjects were unified. [This] unification was more useful because these [subjects] are already related. When history is being taught geography and citizenship are in the same context in terms of location and time, and when geography is being taught citizenship is in the same context [for example] you will not cut trees in the forest, ... you will protect our forests, things like that as citizenship education and it became better taught as integrated subjects... There is no advantage in separating these subjects...

Almost every teacher who thought that social studies was to be taught as an integrated curriculum area said that the aim of social studies teaching was to ensure that pupils acquired national and cultural values of Turkish society. Therefore, social studies was required to meet the needs of citizenship education in modern Turkey and the topics were to be selected in relation to citizenship education (i.e. topics should be mainly national in history and geography). In this respect, teachers reflected the purpose of the social studies teaching in the curriculum.

Teacher C, Teacher E and Teacher F believed that social studies subjects should be taught separately, because each subject should be introduced to pupils in a

disciplined way. They argued that unless each discipline was taught within its own limits, pupils were likely to be confused:

The description of history is different and so its topics are different, other [topics] are different. For example, history is about our past, citizenship is related to our duties and our rights. These are different things. So we should differentiate between these subjects for the pupils' sake (Teacher F).

On the other hand Teacher C, too, was keen about history as a specific discipline. She was critical when she talked about the misuse of history and of integration as she understood it:

I personally believe that every discipline should be introduced to our children as early as possible. Therefore, they could make sense of it. I think it is wrong to use a subject for other purposes...I think that there is no integration in social studies or in any other subjects. Integration could be made for all curriculum areas, I mean thematic teaching, but what I see is the use of history and geography for citizenship. So our children are confused, they think that everything is fact in history because history is about taking lessons from the past for the future (Teacher C).

Teachers were then asked about the methods which they used in history classes. Their answers, confirming the evidence from the questionnaire, showed that almost every teacher used 'questioning' and 'lecturing'. Teacher D and Teacher G also said that they organised group competitions by asking a series of questions.

However, Teacher B, who was the youngest teacher in interviews and classroom observations, said that he used various methods in history teaching:

Well, generally, I try to practise learning by doing which I call the active method, problem solving, and lecturing. I attach a special importance to dramatisation. Children can directly feel themselves to be part of the event. I sometimes give a place to dramatisation and see its usefulness.

Teacher D was the only teacher who said that she used discussions among the other methods in her history classes. She said:

My pupils are too noisy. They don't easily accept what I tell them. They like to criticise me and each other. You can't simply lecture a topic to them. So it is easy to use discussion for me. Sometimes I start and sometimes they start. I really enjoy this. But, they don't know when to stop. Anyway, in the end, I think that they learn something from the discussions.

When the teachers were asked their views of the difficulties that pupils have in understanding different historical times, all teachers agreed, as was the case in the questionnaire results, that pupils could more easily understand modern times (if these were not related to political history) than the ancient, primeval and medieval times. Most teachers thought that the late modern age was better understood than the early modern age. Pupils easily accessed the information either through their old relatives or television programmes. In addition to this, teachers taught extensively about modern Turkey. Therefore, the combination of these materials and similarities between the recent past and the present, which helped to make connections, enabled pupils to construct their own understanding of modern times. As one teacher said:

Understanding of a historical topic is dependent upon the accessibility of materials around the child and the time span. Because we understand modern times better than others, and we give more examples, maybe we teach these times better than others (Teacher D).

A note might be made that Teacher B said that pupils very much enjoyed pre-historical times and ancient history when he taught about the formation of life in nature and about human life in the stone, copper and bronze ages. Pupils asked speculative questions and were curious. He thought that pupils understood those

ages as tales from the past rather than as the past which humanity lived a long time ago.

Teachers were then asked to answer to what degree pupils find difficulties in understanding the different branches of history. Confirming the evidence from the questionnaire, teachers thought that socio-cultural and local history topics were more easily understood by pupils than were political history topics. However, interview results showed that a balanced political history was necessary in order to understand socio-cultural history and vice versa. As Teacher D said:

When you only teach the key events and you make clear connections between how these key events and changes affected social and cultural life, pupils gain a deeper understanding in both (Teacher D).

However, when pupils were taught political history of medieval and modern times, teachers thought that pupils had a great deal of difficulty in understanding the information given. As Teacher A said:

Sometimes children fail to understand history more than maths and science. Because there is a very simple chronology in ancient and primeval times they understand these events better than the events which occurred in medieval and modern times. Because they know events in a mass. However, they confuse events and wars, which sultans made, during the Ottoman period. Because they mix one event up with another, they have difficulties to understand. This is because we teach the political history of the Ottoman period.

Therefore, teachers' answers showed that while the pupils had a better understanding of historical time in the Modern Ages, however when classes on modern times were based on political history, they found difficulties in understanding the historical information because of its complexity.

The last two questions of the interview were related to text materials and textbooks. In School B and School C, teachers responses showed that they did not encourage the pupils in ways of using a variety of materials which could be provided locally (i.e. video-films, museum brochures, photographs, artefacts, and so on). Although the use of maps and time lines were limited in classroom observations, supporting the evidence from the questionnaire, almost every teacher agreed that historical maps and time lines were necessary and ought to be used frequently in history classes.

Both School A and School C had computer, projector, video, and television facilities. School A had also compact disks of Turkish history and video-films. Interviews showed that only the teachers in School A accessed these materials in using history classes. Teacher A also criticised the video-film materials which he used in history teaching:

We have got historical maps and video-films in our school. But, I think that those materials are not enough. We watched some video films when I taught the Ottoman period. They are not efficient materials. These [films] should have more attractive qualities in order to attract children. These films were prepared in the Centre of Lesson Education. The persons [who made these films] used pictures from books. Historical events were not dramatised. Educationists can provide help but we must go to the expense necessary. Each *kurus* (*worth one hundredth of a Turkish lira*) that we spend on science (*education*) will grow to a golden lira in the future.

When teachers were asked about their views on social studies textbooks, they focused on the use of language, content, the degree of validity and the complexity of information. Most teachers argued that the use of language in textbooks should be simplified according to the reading and comprehension levels of the pupils.

Teacher C and Teacher D thought that it was wrong to present all geography, history and citizenship topics in one textbook. As Teacher D said:

Presenting all these topics in the same textbook increases the text. Therefore, there is more text and less pictures and I think that to present geography, citizenship and history topics in this way makes them less attractive.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter textbooks' contents were directly related to the syllabus which is outlined in the social studies curriculum. Therefore, some teachers thought that some topics should not be covered (Head C, Teacher D and Teacher F), because these were taught in the following grades (i.e. in Stage 3 and in Stage 4). In addition to this, Teacher B and Teacher C considered that textbook should help pupils to construct a logical relationship between cause, improvement and effect in each event and should be didactic. For example, Teacher B said:

Textbooks should give cause, improvement and effect without telling stories in detail. I mean, when the textbook presents these it should say that this and that happened and it shouldn't happen again. As an educator I should be able to say 'look my child this happened because that caused this and let's hope it won't happen again.

Almost every teacher thought that textbooks had inconsistencies relative to one another in terms of information, some of which were inaccurate and some were out of date. For instance, Teacher A and Teacher B said:

...When you make comparisons some books date the invention of writing at 4000 BC, some 5000 BC and all those books were certified by the Ministry of Education. Children ask me if 5000 BC is correct in the exam (*in the secondary examination*) Okay, let us say that the invention of writing is old we aren't certain. But some books write that the length of Kızılırmak river is 1151km some write as 1140km. These textbooks give different information about the same subject. If the height of Mount Ararat is 5165m it cannot be increased to 5167m or reduced to 5160m. Absolute things must be unique.

There was a committee which examined world textbooks who visited to Turkey. The committee reported that the textbooks with the most mistakes were published in Turkey. I think textbooks must be scientifically examined in the Ministry of Education (Teacher A).

I will tell a reminiscence. As you know there was a revolution in Iran and an Islamic republic was established. After Iran's revolution, I think four or five years later, I saw a textbook which wrote that Iran is governed by the Shah (Teacher B).

5.2.7 Summary and discussion

Interviews sought to exemplify, test and further explain the survey findings. Although interviews were conducted with a small number of teachers, most of the opinions which teachers expressed could, more or less, be found in the survey results. Additionally, the interview asked about a number of issues related to subject specialism, curriculum planning and teaching practices which could have helped to explain issues raised by the classroom observations.

Just as exemplification of the questionnaire's items, through interviews, provided useful information for this study, so the uniqueness of each teacher's responses to the questions revealed the complexity of the issues which cannot be explained solely by the quantitative analysis. A note should be made that some discrepancies appeared between the results of the questionnaire and that of the interview. In the study's case, these were assessed as the weaknesses and the strength of both research methods. However, I believe that each teacher who was interviewed took the interview questions seriously and each attempted to express his or her feelings, attitudes and thoughts about the many aspects of the curriculum and their classroom practices which the survey could never have achieved because of its structure.

Firstly, while the survey findings showed that elementary teachers focused on the literacy and numeracy skills of the pupils and on the preparation of pupils for secondary examinations, analysis of the interviews showed that teachers also laid emphasis on the aspirations of the state's education policy. Although it is difficult to make a generalisation, during the interviews, female teachers appeared more instrumentalist in their efforts to achieve the standards of elementary education than did their male colleagues. On the other hand, male teachers emphasised the aspirations of the state's education policy (i.e. socialisation of the child, meanings of the teacher and school, preparing pupils as future adults, and so on).

In general, teachers thought that the quality of elementary education was dependent upon the quality of teacher training, pupils' backgrounds, and governmental policies on elementary education, in which most teachers felt that the government did not attach as much importance to elementary education as it did to secondary and further education. Some teachers also believed that the policy of appointing secondary subject specialists and other university graduates as elementary teachers was a mistake because these teachers lacked professionalism and enthusiasm for elementary education. Dissatisfaction at the inconsistencies between secondary teachers' and elementary teachers' salaries were also expressed by some teachers. In summary, teachers' self criticism about the quality of elementary education did not appear widely and, in many cases, teachers saw the pupil's background, the curriculum and the lack of text materials as the key factors behind the lack of

practice of the methods laid down by the curriculum, and which they had an obligation to implement.

Supporting the evidence from the survey findings teachers thought that the curriculum was too broad and there was little time to reach its specific standards, claiming that there were too many units and too much useless information which they had to teach. Therefore, some teachers suggested that some topics and acquiring some skills were to be left to secondary education.

Interviews showed that some teachers believed that the primary curriculum had few answers about local peculiarities and about schools' limited facilities (i.e. dual teaching compositions, class sizes, lack of text materials and so on.)

Interviews with heads in these three schools revealed that of those in the elementary schools took an active role in curriculum planning and held regular meetings with the teachers while the head of the elementary department of the one primary school was not clear about his role in planning the curriculum.

Interviews with the teachers of the two elementary schools showed that curriculum matters were discussed amongst colleagues and they believed that these discussions proved to be useful.

Most of the teachers thought that pedagogy was the most important concept when they were planning the curriculum. Some teachers believed that there should be a balance between the needs of the child and of the curriculum in curriculum planning. However, one teacher argued that pupils were required to learn all areas of the curriculum and this could be done only when the content knowledge was covered. Overall, these responses partly confirmed the evidence from the survey findings, that the teachers, aged between 31 and 40, considered that pedagogy and content were the most important concepts in curriculum planning.

One of the most important findings of the interviews related to teachers' opinions about subject specialism. The teachers were almost unanimous in their opinions of the need to have subject specialists in Stage 2 subjects. On the other hand, the teachers of two elementary schools thought that music, physical education and art and painting should be taught by specialists at the elementary stage. Many teachers felt that they were good at a few curriculum subjects and that they could not be expected to teach all the subjects with the same proficiency.

An assumption which was confirmed to be widespread during the interviews was that child-centred approaches, as defined in the curriculum, were little practised by teachers and most of the teachers interviewed claimed that the practice of those approaches was dependent upon factors beyond their control.

In general, the teachers who understood mixed curriculum teaching as different groups working in different curriculum subjects, believed that this was not as effective as single subject teaching. Some teachers argued that they could easily lose control of the class, if pupils undertook different tasks simultaneously and that they could also have difficulties in time management.

Teachers' answers showed that they preferred whole class teaching. Few of them believed that teacher and question led whole class interaction was more beneficial than other techniques and teaching organisations (i.e. group or individual teaching). One teacher argued that organization of the class and teaching methods were culturally specific, pupils' backgrounds and aspects of the curriculum being the determinant factors in guiding practice. In sum, whole class teaching by direct instruction was seen as the most efficient way in crowded classrooms.

As in the case of the questionnaire, most of the teachers believed that social studies should be taught as an integrated curriculum area. These teachers thought that the purpose of social studies was to meet the needs of citizenship education in modern Turkey. On the other hand, some argued that the curriculum left decisions about integration of the subjects, at the classroom level, to the teachers. However, the teachers, who thought that social studies subjects should be taught separately, argued that due to the teaching of geography, history and citizenship under the same title, pupils were likely to confuse the basics of each discipline. One of the teachers stated

that she was against the use of history as the grouping of facts in order to serve citizenship education.

Confirming the evidence from the survey findings, almost every teacher used 'lecturing' and 'questioning' in his or her history classes. Nevertheless, only one teacher said that she used discussions in addition to the other methods.

As in the case of the questionnaire, most teachers thought that pupils could more easily understand modern times than ancient, primeval and medieval times because of the availability of materials around them. Again, supporting the evidence from the questionnaire, teachers thought that socio-cultural and local histories were more easily understood than political history. A note should be made that while the pupils had a better understanding of historical time in the Modern Ages, they had difficulties in understanding historical information which was mainly based on political history topics.

Interview results showed that most teachers did not use some of the text materials such as films, compact disks, photographs, replica written sources, artefacts and so on (A note should be made that there was no facility to use compact disks and films in School B). However, almost every teacher stated that maps and time lines were necessary and to be used in history classes.

Confirming the evidence from the survey findings, teachers argued that the use of language in and the content of social studies textbooks were not appropriate to the reading and comprehension levels of pupils. On the other hand, almost every teacher thought that the textbooks were full of inaccurate information and inconsistencies.

Finally, it is hoped that the interviews with the observed teachers and heads provided useful information through further exemplification and explanation of the questionnaire items and for the issues in the following sections. Interviews also confirmed the evidence from the literature review of this study that the social studies curriculum was designed and implemented for the needs of citizenship education and in this context history was used for its social purposes. As will be presented in video-tape data, teaching history as historical facts and complex information, as a means by which pupils are to be socialised for citizenship, had little influence in the development of pupils' historical skills and of teachers' subject knowledge. This was also shown to some extent in both the literature review and the results of the interview.

5.3 Classroom observation, supported by videotape

The previous two sections in this chapter were devoted to a number of issues which presented teachers' opinions about the curriculum and history teaching. This section examines both the teachers' teaching practices and the role of the teacher in pupils' historical learning through classroom observation. Therefore, it hopefully completes the picture by adding an insight into the historical learning of pupils, through observations. It presents the findings of the classroom observations through pupil

and teacher records and analyses the qualitative data which was extracted from the videotape records of observed classrooms, as verbal exemplification of the observation data.

Classroom observations were carried out during a period of three weeks in March 1997. Before the observations were undertaken formal permission was attained from the Directorate of Primary (Basic) Education for the Bafra district of Samsun in order to access the study's case schools. A standard procedure was followed: I met the head teacher of the school, showed him or her the formal permission of access and explained the objectives and purposes of the study; I informed him or her of the procedure for classroom observations and asked his or her permission to observe fourth and fifth grades classes; the head teacher agreed to ask the teachers of these classes whether they were willing to participate in the study's observations.

On most occasions, I was introduced to the teachers on the same day, explaining to them the purposes of the study and the observation procedure. I asked them for their permission and negotiated with them the time for interviews (see 5.2 Interview data) and classroom observations. I explained to the teachers that I was not there with an official duty, I was rather doing my research, but not in order to judge their classroom practices, but to address the issues of elementary history teaching. The teachers were also assured anonymity and confidentiality and were asked whether they objected to the observations being videotape recorded.

For the classroom observations, I selected three year four and three year five classes and there were two classes (a fourth grade and a fifth grade) in each school. Three boys and three girls were chosen to be observed in each class according to their achievement levels. The selection was done randomly, within each achievement level, therefore the teachers would not know which pupils were being observed. Teachers' help was received in obtaining all the pupils' achievement levels. In determining the achievement levels, teachers' assessments and students' exam results were used with regard to social studies, Turkish, science and mathematics. Hence, I was able to make comparisons between different ability pupils. This provided the background for the first set of quantitative data.

Apart from this, the teachers provided photographs of their pupils. This helped both myself and the camera person to study the faces of target pupils beforehand. As every pupil wore a black uniform and the classes were small and usually crowded identification of the target pupils could be difficult.

It is worth pointing out that before the observation of each history lesson, the observers and the camera person were present in the previous lesson in that class. It was thought that pupils and the teacher could become familiar with the strangers and therefore could manage to behave according to their normal classroom behaviours during the real-time observation (pupils thought that they were videotape recorded and observed during the previous lesson and in most occasions, their distraction lasted in this lesson). When the observers first entered the classroom, the teacher

introduced them to the class and pupils were given permission to ask questions. The teacher also informed the pupils of the reasons for the observers' presence. During the previous lesson a copy of the pupils' seating plan was prepared and given to the camera person in order to enable her to find the most suitable place for the equipment to be situated. It was considered that the camera person should be able to record all the target pupils without moving around the classroom in order to ensure that target pupils were not given a sense of being recorded and focused upon.

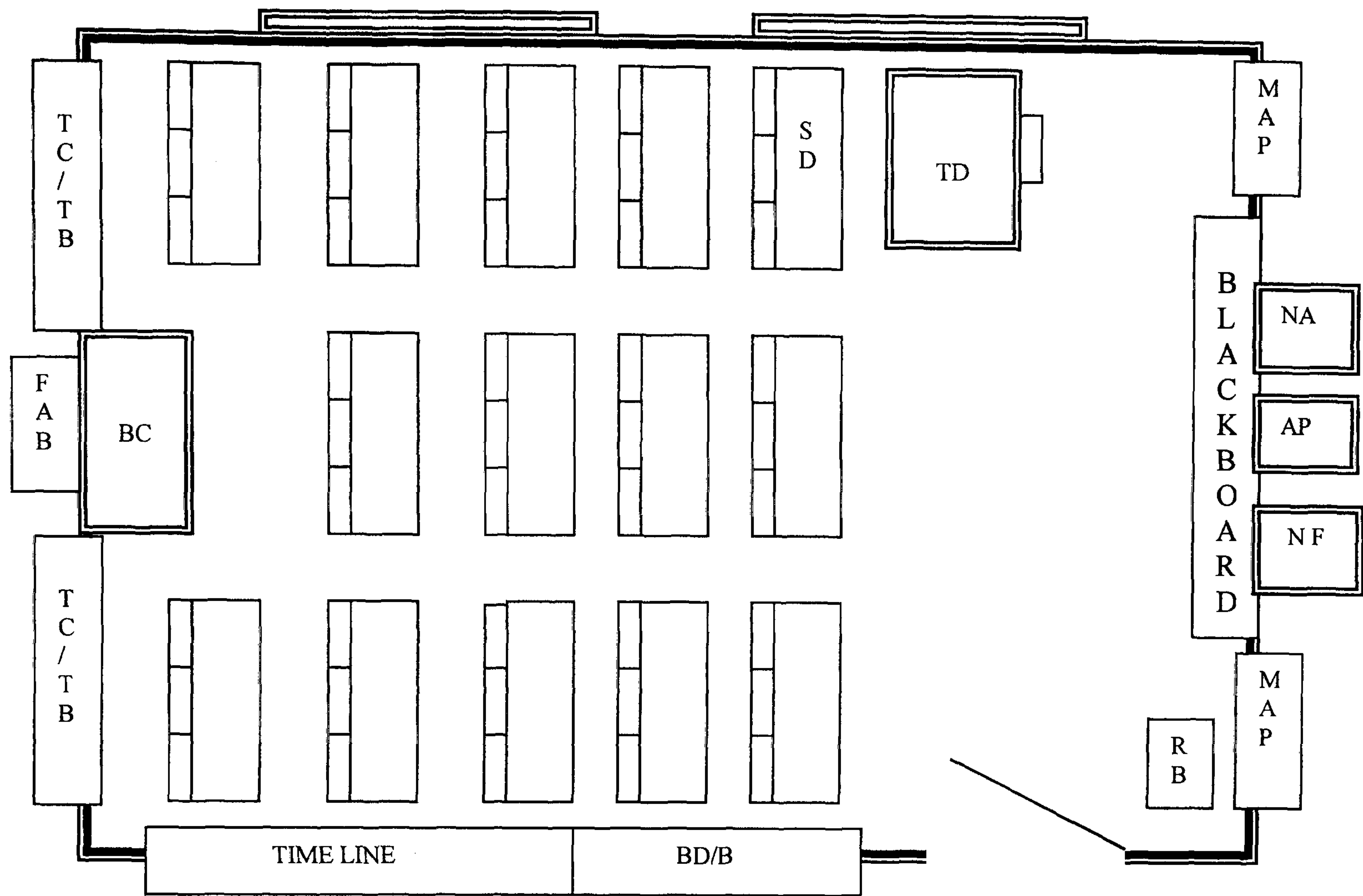
I thought that if I and the second observer sat in the back corner of the classroom this would make our presence as unobtrusive as was possible. However, in the first observed lesson, it was apparent that some pupils would be out of focus because of the extensive number of pupils in the class (on average, the number of pupils per class was 45). Therefore, I decided to sit at the teacher's desk which provided me with a clear vision of the target pupils. The second observer, observing the teacher, sat in a back corner of the classroom, providing a clear vision of the teacher.

Classroom layout and information about the schools

Half of the six classrooms were small, situated in School C (two classes) and School B (one class), and the others were large, situated in School A (two classes) and B (one class). The number of pupils per class ranged from 35 to 59. Pupils' ages ranged from nine to eleven. Classroom layout and pupils seating plans were similar in all the schools; pupils sat in desks, each desk accommodated two or three pupils

and the teacher's desk being in front of the blackboard on the right side of the classroom (see Figure: 5.5).

Figure: 5.5 Standard classroom layout



- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| AP | - Atatürk's portrait | NF | - National flag |
| B/DP | - Bulletin/display board | RB | - Rubbish bin |
| BC | - Bookcase | SD | - Student's desk |
| FAB | - First aid box | TC/TB | - Topic corner/Topic board |
| NA | - The national anthem | TD | - Teacher's desk |

School A was an elementary school built in 1968 in the city centre. It had a reputation of being successful in the secondary examinations. It mainly served working and civil servant classes. There were 905 pupils on roll and there were ten classrooms which served eighteen classes from first to fifth grades by dual teaching. There were a science laboratory, a library consisting of 2000 books, a computer centre and a multifunctional hall. In the garden, the old building was arranged for two nursery classes. Observations took place in one fourth grade (52 pupils on roll) and one fifth grade (42 pupils on roll) class and lasted 265 minutes. The school was involved in the National Education Project.

School B was an elementary school built in 1898 in the city centre as a boys school. In recent years, it had a high reputation of being successful in the secondary examinations. It mainly served working and civil servant classes. There were 600 pupils on roll and there were six classrooms which served twelve classes from first to fifth grades by dual teaching. There were administration and staff rooms and a multifunctional hall. Observations took place in one fourth grade (50 pupils on roll) and one fifth grade (59 pupils on roll) class and lasted 297 minutes.

School C was a primary (basic) school built in the early 1980's on the outskirts of the city. The school had two departments consisting of one elementary (Stages 1 and 2) and one middle (Stage 3). It mainly served working and peasant classes. There were 1050 pupils on roll and 15 classrooms which served 30 classes from first to fifth grades by dual teaching in the elementary department. There was a science laboratory, a music room, administration and staff rooms and a sports hall. Observations took place in one fourth grade (36pupils on roll) and one fifth grade (35 pupils on roll) class and lasted 134 minutes.

The second set of quantitative data was collected via systematic observation records focusing on target pupils and the teachers. In the preparation of the systematic observation records, categories were derived from the PRINDEP observation system (see Alexander, 1995). However, the PRINDEP schedule was modified for the Turkish elementary context of history lessons. Apart from this, in the teacher record the second observer coded teacher-pupil interaction in a similar way to the PRINDEP study with the addition of direction of the interaction (*teacher-pupil*, *teacher-group* and *teacher-class*). Similarly, I coded target pupils' verbal interactions with others in the pupil record in which I thought that direction of the target pupils' verbal interaction could be detailed as *pupil-teacher*, *pupil-pupil*, *pupil-group* and *pupil-class*.

It should be noted that I adopted a 'time sampling technique' which was used in the ORACLE and the ILEA projects (see Galton *et. al.*, 1980a; 1980b; Mortimore *et. al.* 1988, and Alexander, 1995) . The target pupil's or teacher's activity was coded at regular intervals of thirty seconds in which at the end of each interval appropriate categories were ticked. As Alexander (*ibid.*) says:

Time sampling has the advantage that observers need not concern themselves with the question of when the interactions began, when they will end, or whether they are still the same interactions as they were earlier: the question to be answered is not about the number of interactions, nor about their average length, but simply about the teacher's allocation of time among different types of interaction (p.133).

In the study's case it is also about the target pupil's allocation of time within different types of interaction.

The two researchers coded pupil and teacher records during the observations while the third person videotaped. The observational procedure was to observe each pupil for six and half minutes at a time, moving from pupil to pupil in a pre-determined order and to observe the teacher during the lesson. Observations took nineteen formal lessons and each lasted between forty and forty-five minutes.

In order to define classroom activities in a quantitative form the pupil record was divided into four sections. These were task-related behaviour (TB), generic activities (GA), using text materials (UT), and interaction that has three sub-sections which are: initiation (IN), content (CN) and direction of the interaction. In the teacher record I was interested in focusing on the interaction between the whole class and the teacher, and the types of questions asked by the teacher.

Task-related behaviour

-Task

A task may be described as the content of the prescribed curriculum subject (in this study's case it is a historical topic) in which the teacher and pupils engage in a range of exercises and activities set by the teacher in order to master it in a given time.

Two examples below are given from the field notes:

The teacher asked a question to the children. She asked them to find the answer and discuss the correctness of their answer with their peers. The target

pupil looked at his textbook to find out the answer then showed his peer and asked him whether it was correct. After receiving his approval he raised his hand to answer the teacher's question.

The target pupil listened to her friend who recited the topic. She took some notes. She looked at her map book and textbook to find out the information which was recited by her friend. In the 'question' time on some occasions she raised her hand and answered the question asked by her friend or the teacher.

-Behaviour

Alexander (*ibid.*) says that

However, well-organised a class may be, there are times when pupils are not getting on with the work which has been set. This does not necessarily mean that they are chattering or daydreaming; individual pupils might, for example, be sharpening a pencil, or hunting for a piece of apparatus, or tidying up after completing a messy piece of work. Alternatively, they might be waiting for the teacher's attention, either standing in a queue or sitting in their places with their hands up. ...all these possibilities are treated as different task-related behaviour...(p.109).

Pupils show at least four quantifiable behaviours in a task. Therefore, 36 target pupils were observed (six pupils per class) in regard to these task-related behaviours which were adopted from the PRINDEP study (Alexander, 1995) and were coded as:

-Working If the target pupil was engaged in a task, the behaviour was coded as WORKING (e.g. reading a book, listening to the teacher, reciting a historical topic, discussing with his or her peer).

-Routine If the target pupil was not engaged in a task but was doing some necessary activity which was related to the task, it was coded as ROUTINE (e.g. sharpening a pencil, opening his or her book, exchanging a text material with a friend).

-Awaiting attention If the target pupil was waiting for help or feedback from the teacher it was coded as AWAITING ATTENTION (i.e. waiting with hand up, trying to make eye contact with the teacher, calling the teacher).

-Distracted If the target pupil was doing anything else, in other words, s/he was distracted from the task it was coded as DISTRACTED (i.e. playing with something, scribbling, disturbing his or her friends, lying his or her head on the desk).

Generic activities

Generic activities may be described as, in Alexander's (1995) words, 'whatever their curriculum labels, all the tasks commonly set by teachers are made up of a rather small number of simple basic activities one or more of which are necessarily involved in the successful completion of each task' (p.153-4). Therefore, target pupils were observed with regard to their basic activities as set by teachers in the history classes. These *generic activities* were derived from the categories used in the PRINDEP study (Alexander, 1995) with the addition of *repeating teacher's speech* and *recitation*. All *generic activities* were coded in the following way:

-Listening/looking If the target pupil was listening to the teacher or his or her friend or looking at the map, projector or blackboard, the activity was described as 'task-related' and coded as LISTENING/LOOKING.

-*Silent reading* If the target pupil was reading silently from the textbook or other resources it was coded as SILENT READING.⁶

-*Writing* If the target pupil was writing a text from the textbook or blackboard or s/he was taking notes from the teacher's lecture it was coded as WRITING.

-*Recitation* If the target pupil was reciting a topic with or without using textbook or other resources it was coded as RECITATION.

-*Talking to the class* If the target pupil was talking to the class for a task-related activity it was coded as TALKING TO THE CLASS.

-*Talking to the teacher* If the target pupil was talking to the teacher for a task-related activity it was coded as TALKING TO THE TEACHER.

-*Collaboration* If the target pupil was carrying out a task with his or her friend(s) it was coded as COLLABORATION.

-*Movement* If the target pupil was moving around for any kind of task related activity it was coded as MOVEMENT.

-*Drawing* If the target pupil was drawing an object or a map from the textbook or blackboard or other materials it was coded as DRAWING.

-Repeating teacher's speech if the target pupil was repeating the teacher's words the activity was coded as REPEATING TEACHER'S SPEECH.

Text materials

Every task which is set by the teacher is taught using a range of text materials. These were, in Turkish elementary history classes, coded as: *textbook, blackboard, map, mapbook, time line, projector and notebook*.

Verbal interaction: pupils

This category focused on the target pupil's verbal interaction with others and was divided into three sub-categories which are derived from the PRINDEP study. A note should be made that target pupil's verbal interaction should not be confused with categories of pupil's task-related behaviour, or with teacher's interaction which was based on the interaction between the teacher and all pupils. As in the PRINDEP study (*ibid.*, p. 135) 'the types of interaction are broadly parallel to the categories of task-related behaviour'. These were:

1. Initiation of the interaction. It was coded as: *pupil initiated, teacher initiated*

2. Type of the interaction. It was coded as:

-Working If the interaction dealt with the content of the task it was coded as WORKING. For example:

[e.g.] Teacher	Mustafa Kemal arrived at Ankara. Let's see What would he do in Ankara? Yes, you want to tell Oz.. don't you? Okay then we listen to you.
Target Pupil	My teacher, he decided to establish the Turkish National Assembly after the Ottoman Assembly was abolished. [<i>She looks at her textbook.</i>] According to this decision there would be a new election and the members of the Ottoman Assembly would be able to be candidates in this election.

-*Monitoring* If the interaction was concerned with the progression of a task or the correctness or acceptability of an answer, but was not related to content of the task it was coded as MONITORING. For example:

[e.g.] Target pupil	My teacher I can't find River Talas on my mapbook.
Teacher	Let me show you.
Teacher	You can't find it on this page. As your friend said that it is in Asia. [<i>The teacher waits until the target pupil finds Asia on the mapbook.</i>] Have you found it ?
Target pupil	Here it is. [<i>He shows the river.</i>]

-*Routine* If the interaction dealt with activities associated with a task but were not themselves part of the task it was coded as ROUTINE. For example:

[e.g.] Target pupil	Is this right? [<i>She tries to put a map on the projector.</i>]
Teacher	Let me help you.

-*Disciplinary* If the interaction had no task content but was concerned with the target pupil's conduct or the action itself contained disciplinary interference it was coded as DISCIPLINARY. For example:

[e.g.] Teacher:	What are you doing over there? [<i>Target pupil speaks to his peer.</i>]
Target pupil	Nothing my teacher.

Teacher	Listen to me, will you? [<i>Target pupil remains silent.</i>]
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3. Direction of the interaction. It was coded as: *pupil-teacher, pupil-pupil, pupil-group, pupil-class.*

Verbal interaction: teachers

In the teacher observation record, teacher-pupil interactions were observed regardless of target pupils and were linked to the teacher's activities. There were three categories in the record which are derived from the PRINDEP study (Alexander, 1995). However, I made modifications in order to apply these categories to the Turkish elementary class. Namely, the PRINDEP's (*ibid.*, p.135) 'work' as a type of teacher-pupil interaction was modified, becoming a categorical representation of the teacher's: 'lecturing', 'asking questions', 'introducing a new topic' - in which the teacher-pupil interactions were based on the content of the task and 'working', as a teacher activity, was described as the teacher's his or her own – usually silent- activity in relation to task. Apart from this, the PRINDEP's 'other' (*ibid.*, p.136) as a type of teacher-pupil interaction was modified, to become categorised as 'talking' when the teacher-pupil interaction was not related to the task or other types of teacher's activity.

For example, the teacher asked a question: this was linked to the teacher's 'asking questions' activity. A pupil responded the question. The teacher gave evaluative comment or feedback which was linked to the teacher's 'monitoring' activity or

gave a statement which was linked to the teacher's 'lecturing' activity: Initiation of the interaction was coded as: *teacher initiated*. The direction of interaction was coded as *teacher-class* when the teacher addressed the whole class by asking a question or making a statement. Alternatively, when a pupil asked a question and the teacher answered the question or the teacher approved of the pupil's statement by showing some facial utterance or by explicitly listening to the pupil, this was linked to the teacher's 'listening' activity: Initiation of the interaction was coded as *pupil initiated* and the direction of the interaction was coded as *teacher-pupil*.

On the other hand, *monitoring*, *routine* and *disciplinary* interactions were coded as was exemplified in the pupil record.

1. Initiation of the interaction. It was coded as: *teacher initiated*, *pupil initiated* (This category was coded when the teacher and pupils verbally interacted and it linked to the teacher's activities when it was appropriate.

2. Content of the interaction (Teacher's activity). This was coded as:

-Lecturing If the teacher was making a: recitation, statement, explanation or demonstration on a task, his or her activity was coded as LECTURING.

-Working If the teacher was reading his or her notes, textbooks, working on the map or doing anything else which was directly related to a task, his or her activity was coded as WORKING.

-Monitoring If the teacher was concerned with the progression of a task or the correctness or acceptability of an answer, but it was not related to content of the task, his or her activity was coded as MONITORING.

-Routine If the teacher was checking his or her notes, making some arrangements for a task, or making any kind of preparation related to the task -including or excluding interactions with the pupils- his or her activity was coded as ROUTINE.

-Disciplinary If the teacher was showing his or her expression (i.e. facial, verbal) against any kind of unwanted behaviour, his or her activity was coded as DISCIPLINARY.

-Introducing new topic If the teacher was introducing a new topic his or her activity was coded as INTRODUCING NEW TOPIC.

-Listening If the teacher was listening to pupils his or her activity was coded as LISTENING.

-Talking If the teacher was talking to the class, group or individual pupil rather than the other activities listed above his or her activity was coded as TALKING.

3. Direction of the interaction was coded as: *teacher-pupil, teacher-group, teacher-class*.

Teachers' questions

In the teacher record, teachers' task-related questions were also categorised:

-Pseudo If the teacher was himself or herself answering a question which he or she asked after making a statement or explanation, and the direction of the question was unclear or the teacher was using it to support his or her own statement, this type of questions was coded as PSEUDO. For example:

- [e.g.] What is the importance ...of this thing...of Mondros Cease Fire Agreement? [*The teacher answers his own question without waiting for any response from the pupils.*]
- [e.g.] Before this unit, we learnt, first of all, the establishment of the Ottoman state, didn't we?

-Closed If the teacher was asking a question to seek a brief response, in order to measure pupils' historical knowledge or recall previous knowledge, the question was coded as CLOSED. For example:

- [e.g.] Which six districts are they?
- [e.g.] What did we do?

-Open If the teacher was asking a question to encourage a variety of responses, by which to speculate and lead pupils' thoughts, it was coded as OPEN. For example:

- [e.g.] What do you think? - why did our prophet move to Medina?
- [e.g.] What could have happened if the Ottomans did not participate in the First World War?

5.3.1 Analysis of the observation data

This and the following two sub-sections focus on the results of the classroom observation. They begin with a presentation of the quantitative results of the classroom observation, in which some explanations are given from the videotape data where appropriate, and follows on with an analysis of the relating extracts from the six videotape recorded classes. A summary of the most important findings is also given. Presentation of the results are given under the name of categories which took places in the observation records.

a. Task-related behaviour

As outlined above pupils’ task-related behaviour was explicitly divided into four quantifiable categories, within which it was expected that pupils would show an engagement with the task set by the teacher.

*Table: 5.3 Percentage of time spent on task-related behaviour by all pupils
based on the pupil record.*

Task-related behaviour	<i>min.</i>	
Working	576.5	82.7
Routine	18.0	2.7
Awaiting attention	60.0	8.6
Distracted	42.0	6.0
Total	697.5	100.0

Table: 5.3 indicates that over the three-week observation period pupils spent 80 per cent of their time ‘working’ on the task. It is worth noting that a very high percentage of working behaviour can be explained by reducing routine behaviour. As shown in the previous sections, because history was dominated by textbooks and exploitation of only a few direct teaching styles, pupils’ routine behaviour tended to be low. However, the study’s findings of the time spent on pupils’ ‘awaiting attention’ and ‘distracted’ behaviours are very close to those of the ORACLE (see Galton *et. al.*, 1980a) and the PRINDEP (see Alexander, 1995) findings.

It is evident that gender differences affect pupils’ behaviours towards the task. In the study’s observation, girls spent 87.9 per cent of their time working while boys spent 77 per cent of their time working on the task. Girls were distracted 3.3 per cent of their time from the task and waited for the teacher’ attention (6 per cent) less than boys (11.4 per cent). It might be noted that there were similar findings in a number of research projects in Britain (see Alexander, 1995, p.140; Galton *et al.*, 1980a, p.66).

Time spent on ‘working’ behaviour between above average pupils and below average pupils were close to one another (80 per cent and 78.7 per cent respectively) as Alexander (1995, p.141) found in the PRINDEP project. However, above average pupils noticeably showed themselves to be ‘awaiting attention’ from the teacher (16.1 per cent) while there was an increase of ‘distracted’ behaviour amongst below

average pupils (14.1 per cent). (In the PRINDEP project below average pupils distracted behaviour was fifteen per cent, Alexander, *ibid.*, 141).

It was observed that most ‘working’ as a task-related behaviour was recorded in School A and that there were striking differences between the schools in the recurrence of ‘awaiting attention’, while the time spent on other task-related behaviours was similar in all schools.

Table: 5.4 Percentage of time spent on task-related behaviour by pupils in each school based on the pupil record.

		Name of school					
		A		B		C	
Task related behaviour	min.		min.		min.		
Working	230.5	87.0	240.0	80.4	106.0	79.1	
Routine	5.0	1.9	10.0	3.4	4.0	3.0	
Awaiting attention	15.0	5.7	29.5	9.9	15.5	11.6	
Distracted	14.5	5.5	18.0	6.4	8.5	6.3	
Total	115.2	100.0	298.5	100.0	134.0	100.0	

As the videotape data tell us the use of notebooks, maps and visual materials kept children busy in School A. It can be argued that the teachers in this school employed ‘lecturing’ as a teaching style more than the teachers did in School B and School C. This also provided more control over pupils as Galton *et. al.* (1980a, p. 123) in the ORACLE project and Bennett (1978, pp. 127-47) also found in English primary classrooms.

b. Generic activities

Research has shown that pupils are involved in a number of observable ‘generic activities’ (see Alexander, 1995). This concept provides a useful tool to examine pupils’ classroom learning in history. Although most of those activities are common in each curriculum area, a few of them are especially practised during the social studies (i.e. recitation, silent reading and repeating teacher’s speech).

Table: 5.5 indicates that these generic activities were in observed history lessons. As the table shows, pupils spent a very high proportion of their time in ‘listening/looking’. Pupils were also involved in ‘silent reading’ and ‘writing’ activities during one-sixth of their time, while they spent little time engaged in other activities.

*Table: 5.5 Percentage of time spent on generic activities by all pupils
based on the pupil record.*

<i>Generic Activities</i>	<i>min.</i>	
Listening/looking	512.5	73.3
Silent reading	57.5	8.2
Writing	57.0	8.2
Recitation	1.5	0.2
Talking to the class	20.5	2.9
Talking to the teacher	18.0	2.6
Collaboration	6.0	0.9
Movement	18.0	2.7
Drawing	1.5	0.2
Repeating teacher's speech	5.0	0.7
Total	697.5	100.0

As can be seen from Table: 5.5, 'talking', 'collaboration' and 'movement' rarely occurred among the target pupils, when compared to 'listening/looking', 'silent reading' and 'writing'. I also found, like Mortimore *et al.* (1988, p.240), that 'where all pupils worked a single curriculum area within a session, levels of pupil noise and movement tended to be lower'. It can be argued that because of the small sizes of the classrooms which were crammed with a large number of pupils then -depending on this- teachers' preference for 'lecturing' as a teaching style, was recorded. The reasons behind this were identified as being that the teachers were constricted by the very size of the numbers in the class and its crowded nature, therefore 'talking', 'collaboration' and 'movement', could be misinterpreted as some kind of activities disciplinary ones. In such circumstances, in order to maintain teacher control a silent atmosphere is perceived as being required. As a consequence pupils were encouraged to focus on activities involving listening to the teacher and, if deemed necessary, silent reading and writing relating to the task. As an activity 'drawing' occurred hardly at all in history classes which might be interpreted as an indication that the teachers did not set this activity in map works. Although 'recitation' as an activity was set by the teachers in most of the observed classrooms and was undertaken by a number of pupils, only two target pupils engaged in this activity and then only for one and half minutes.

A note should be made that most of the above average and average pupils tended to be silent in observed lessons (i.e. 'listening/looking', 'silent reading', 'writing'). Girls engaged in 'listening/looking' (77.8 per cent) more than boys (68.5 per cent).

Table: 5.6 shows the frequency and percentage of generic activities in three schools. There was a general tendency for the pupils in School A, to spend less time in ‘listening/looking’ activity compared with the pupils of other schools . Because the teachers in School A wanted their pupils to take notes when the teachers were ‘lecturing’ or when other pupils were reciting topics. Therefore, pupils were noticeably more engaged in ‘writing’ than were the pupils of other schools.

Table: 5.6 Percentage of time spent on generic activities by pupils in each school
based on the pupil record.

		Name of school					
		A		B		C	
Generic Activities	min.			min.		min.	
Listening/looking	174.0	65.7		235.0	78.9	102.0	76.1
Silent reading	18.5	7.0		21.5	7.2	15.5	13.1
Writing	43.5	16.4		13.5	4.5		
Recitation	1.0	0.4				0.5	0.4
Talking to the class	4.0	1.5		10.5	3.5	6.0	4.5
Talking to the teacher	7.0	2.6		5.5	1.8	5.5	4.1
Collaboration	2.0	0.8		3.5	1.2	0.5	0.4
Movement	13.0	4.9		5.5	1.8	0.5	0.4
Drawing				1.5	0.5		
Repeating teacher's speech	2.0	0.8		1.5	0.5	1.5	1.1
Total	265.0	100.0		298.5	100.0	134.0	100.0

It should be stressed that pupils’ mobility, in School A, was higher than in other schools. In general, mostly below average pupils engaged in ‘movement’ activity during the observations.

Table: 5.6 shows that pupils, in School C, did more ‘silent reading’ than the pupils in other schools. Analysis of the videotape data indicated that the teachers in School C asked a large number of closed (recall) questions and that pupils had not prepared themselves for the topic. When the teachers asked questions the pupils in School C preferred to read their textbooks to find the answers. The findings relating to ‘talking’ activities among the schools showed that the pupils in School C talked to their classmates and teachers more than the pupils of other schools. This can be simply explained by teacher-pupil ratio. Teacher-pupil ratio was between 1:36 and 1:35 in School C, while it was between 1: 43 and 1:44 in School A, and 1:50 and 1:59 in School B. Therefore, it can be suggested that a reduction in the number of pupils on roll facilitates pupil-teacher interaction.

c. Generic activities and task-related behaviour

Before leaving the issue of time spent on different kinds of generic activities it is necessary to seek a relationship between generic activities and task-related behaviour. This relationship is presented in Table: 5.7 and the activities are listed in descending order of frequency, from ‘listening/looking’ down to ‘repeating teacher’s speech’.

Table: 5.7 Percentage of task-related behaviour in different generic activities by pupils

Generic Activities	min.	Working	Routine	Awaiting attention	Distracted	Total
Listening/looking	513	83.5	2.7	10.3	3.5	73.3
Silent reading	57	96.5	0	1.7	1.8	8.2
Writing	57	98.2	0	0.0	1.8	8.2
Recitation	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.2
Talking to the class	20	46.3	0	9.8	43.9	2.9
Talking to the teacher	18	83.3	0	13.9	2.8	2.6
Collaboration	6	75.0	16.7	8.3	0	0.9
Movement	18	15.8	15.7	5.3	63.2	2.7
Drawing	2	0	66.7	0	33.3	0.2
Repeating teacher's s.	5	90.0	0	10.0	0	0.7
All activities	698	82.7	2.7	8.6	6.0	100.0

One may suppose that when ‘lecturing’ was employed as the main teaching style, ‘listening/looking’ activity increased; however, it did not result in a high level of task related working behaviour. As Alexander (1995), in the PRINDEP project, found

...the most work and the least distraction occurred in the rarest activities. An attractively simple explanation for this is that familiarity breeds contempt and that the novelty value of comparatively infrequent activities is in itself enough to keep children involved in their work. However, ... [the results] contains enough explanations to make such an explanation less than entirely convincing: for example, one of the highest levels of work was in listening activities which were quite common, and one of the lowest was in movement activities which were much rarer (p.158).

Such as in the study’s observation ‘silent reading’, ‘writing’, ‘recitation’ and ‘repeating teacher’s speech’ resulted in more working behaviour than ‘listening/looking’. Although it was a rare activity and was not set purposefully by the teachers, when undertaking ‘collaboration’ activity the children spent 75 per cent of their time involved in working behaviour. The pupils were recorded as not being distracted when engaged in this activity.

Table: 5.7 shows a relationship between ‘awaiting attention’ and such activities as ‘listening/looking’, ‘talking to the teacher’, ‘talking to the class’, ‘repeating teacher’s speech’ and ‘movement’ as ways of attracting the teacher’s attention. In sum, pupils spent one-tenth of their time ‘awaiting attention’ and this mostly occurred in these activities. Table: 5.7 also indicates that distracted behaviour mostly appeared when pupils were moving around or talking to their classmates.

d. Using text materials

In a history class, teachers and pupils have certain text materials. Some of these materials are common in all curriculum areas but some of them are specifically related to one area. My previous expectations before the classroom observation was to predict what sort of text materials were to be used by pupils and teachers in history classes. By using the survey findings, I was able to identify the text materials in the pupil record which had been the most used in history lessons. Pictures and audio-visual materials (i.e. television, tape recorder, radio) were not used by the pupils, except for a ‘projector’ in a year four class. Therefore, the category of ‘pictures’ and audio-visual’ materials were left blank in all the pupil records. However, ‘projector’ was added when a class was observed in School A.

Table: 5.8 shows that pupils spent nearly 90 per cent of their time using textbooks and notebooks. Although maps and time lines were already present in all classes, the use of them was very limited.

*Table: 5.8 Time spent using text materials by all pupils
based on the pupil record.*

<i>Using text materials</i>	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>
Textbook	76.5	48.3
Blackboard	6.0	3.7
Map	7.5	4.6
Mapbook	4.0	2.5
Time line	0.5	0.3
Projector	4.5	2.8
Notebook	61.5	37.8
Total	325	100.0

The extensive use of activities dominated by textbooks and notebooks may be explained by the lack of the availability of other sources (e.g. films, pictures). One noticeable point revealed during the observations was that above average pupils tended to use their textbooks (61.5 per cent) more than other pupils. In contrast, below average pupils used their textbooks (32 per cent) less than other pupils. It can be argued that, as the examination of textbooks and the survey findings showed, because of the difficulties for below average pupils in reading and understanding the textbooks they did not tend to use them as much as other pupils did. Instead, they mostly used their notebooks (57 per cent) for taking notes on the teacher's dictation.

A note might be made that the 'projector' in School A was used more by girls (4.7 per cent) than by boys (0.6 per cent). On the other hand, the time spent using textbooks, notebooks and mapbooks was approximately the same in the case of both girls and boys.

Table: 5.9 shows that pupils in School A utilised their textbooks less than the pupils of School B and School C. The main reason behind this might be that teacher’s preparation for the task concentrated more upon the effective use of other text materials, such as maps, notebooks and the ‘projector’ . For instance, Teacher A employed ‘lecturing’ and let pupils take notes on his explanations. He also used maps to demonstrate places related to the task. On the other hand, while Teacher B, in the same school, used ‘lecturing’ and made statements, he also let his pupils recite and demonstrate the task through use of the ‘projector’.

Table: 5.9 Time spent using text materials by pupils in each school based on the pupil record.

	Name of school					
	A		B		C	
<i>Using text materials</i>	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>
Textbook	29.5	31.9	35.0	68.0	14.0	75.7
Blackboard	2.0	2.2			4.0	21.6
Map	7.0	7.6	0.5	1.0		
Mapbook	1.0	1.1	3.0	5.8		
Time line					0.5	2.7
Projector	4.5	4.9				
Notebook	48.5	52.4	13.0	25.2		
Total	92.5	100.0	51.5	100.0	18.5	100.0

The use of text materials across the schools were limited to the employment of only a few materials. As reported in the presentation of the interview data School A and School C had video tapes, computers and related films, and compact disks which were supposed to be used in history classes. Most of these materials were held by School A, however, the interview with Teacher A revealed that it was his preference

not to use films in history classes, simply because he did not find them useful (see 5.2.6. Teachers’ opinions on the issues of history teaching).

e. Using text materials and task-related behaviour

Before moving away from the question of the matter of time spent on text materials it is necessary to look at the relationship between these materials and task-related behaviour. This relationship is shown in Table: 5.10 and materials are listed in descending order of popularity from ‘textbook’ down to ‘time line’.

Table: 5.10 Task-related behaviour and pupils’ use of text materials

	<i>min.</i>	<i>Working</i>	<i>Routine</i>	<i>Awaiting attention</i>	<i>Distracted</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Materials</i>						
Textbook	79	88.5	4.5	5.7	1.3	48.3
Notebook	62	95.9	0.8	0.8	2.4	37.8
Map	7	86.7		13.3		4.6
Blackboard	6	100.0				3.7
Mapbook	4	75.0		25.0		2.5
Projector	4	100.0				2.8
Time line	1	100.0				0.3
All Materials	163	91.7	2.5	4.3	1.5	100.0

The least working behaviour and the most ‘awaiting attention’ behaviour appeared when the pupils used their ‘mapbook’, ‘map’ and ‘textbook’. Although most of the teachers did not purposefully set ‘map working’ activities, one may argue that map work is essential when topics are mostly related to political history (i.e. wars, border conflicts between countries, expansion or regression of an empire and so on) and historical places. Before the observation I assumed, as the content of the historical topics was dominated by political history, that ‘map work’ would be set by teachers. I expected, therefore, to be able to assess the extent to which these activities could

provide the basis for meaningful ‘working behaviour’ which facilitated the development of historical understanding on the part of pupils. However, the observation data provided no answers to the questions that I posed in relation to ‘map work’.

Generally the percentage of ‘working’ as a task-related behaviour was recorded to be at its highest level when such rare materials as the ‘projector’ and ‘time lines’ were employed. I also found the presence of a high level of ‘working behaviour’ during rare generic activities and task-related behaviour. Table: 5.8 also shows that social studies textbooks were not as effective as other materials in encouraging children to concentrate on the given task.

f. Pupils’ verbal interaction

In the study’s classroom observations, target pupils spent 7.3 per cent of their time in verbal interactions during their history lessons: less than half of what the ORACLE project (Galton *et. al.*, 1980a) found in British primary classrooms regardless of the curriculum areas. Most of the interaction was initiated by target pupils (75.5 per cent) and the direction of interaction varied between pupil-pupil (44.1 per cent), pupil-class (30.4 per cent), pupil-teacher (22.5 per cent) and pupil-group (2.9 per cent).

Table: 5.11 shows that most of the interaction-content was related to ‘working’. But approximately one-fifth of interaction-content appeared as ‘disciplinary’. In the

course of the frequency of interactions the findings proved to be very critical. As the table indicates target pupils were scarcely ever monitored by the teachers which appeared to be as a result of the weaknesses inherent in the ‘lecturing’ style. The target pupils simply did not receive any verbal help from the teacher.

Table: 5.11 Frequency of different type of interaction based on the pupil record.

	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>
No verbal interaction	645	92.7
Verbal interaction	51	7.3
<i>Interaction-type</i>		
Working	36.0	70.6
Monitoring	1.0	2.0
Routine	2.5	4.9
Disciplinary	12.5	22.5
Total	51.0	100.0

Data were gathered from the pupil record show that boys interacted with others more than girls. In terms of interaction type, girls of average ability and below had twice as much ‘disciplinary’ interaction as boys. However, in general I found, like Galton *et. al.* (1980a) and Alexander (1995, p.140) that ‘the girls spent more of their time than the boys working.’

Table: 5.12 shows that pupils in School A interacted with others only one minute in every twenty minutes, while pupils in School B and School C spent roughly two minutes in every twenty minutes interacting with others.

Table: 5.12 Frequency of each interaction, school by school based on the pupil record.

Name of school	A		B		C	
	min.	%	min.	%	min.	%
No verbal interaction	265	94.6	297	92.0	134	91.2
Verbal interaction	14.5	5.4	24.5	8.0	12	8.8
Interaction- type						
Working	10.5	72.4	14.5	59.2	11.0	91.7
Monitoring			1.0	4.1		
Routine	2.5	17.2				
Disciplinary	1.5	10.3	9.0	36.7	1.0	8.3
Total	14.5	100.0	24.5	100.0	12.0	100.0

Any attempt to generalise the findings of verbal interaction (overall, target pupils spent only 7.3 per cent of their time interacting with others) is inappropriate. However, one simple explanation of this might be that the teaching techniques employed. The more ‘lecturing’ was employed as a teaching style, the less the pupils interacted (i.e. the teachers in School A); where the teachers used ‘questioning’ as a teaching style pupils’ interaction increased (i.e. the teachers in School B and School C) and the less crowded the classrooms were, the greater the increase in the pupils’ interaction with others, as Galton *et. al.* (1980b) suggested:

A radical reduction in class size, of course, opens up various new strategies in terms of teacher-pupil interaction. It would certainly make class teaching easier, since a smaller class allows more individual pupil involvement in terms of direct interaction with the teacher (p.206).

5.3.2 Teacher observation

In contrast to the pupil record, which is based on six and half minutes of observation for each pupil in a lesson, teachers were observed for whole lessons. In other words, there are six hundred and seventy five minutes of coded data in the teacher record.

The study’s observations found an ‘asymmetry’ of teacher-pupil interaction confirming the evidence from the findings of the ORACLE project that:

...while the ‘typical’ teacher spends most of the lesson time interacting with pupils (either individually, as a member of a group, or of the class), each individual pupil, by contrast, interacts with the teacher for only a small proportion of his time. And most of the interaction is experienced by the pupil when the teacher is addressing the whole class’ (Galton, *et. al.*, 1980a, p.60).

Table: 5.13 indicates teachers’ interactions in listed activities. Teachers spent most of their time in ‘asking questions’, ‘listening’, ‘lecturing’ and ‘monitoring’. It might be noted that most of the interaction was whole class interaction (62.3 per cent), of this 82.2 per cent was initiated by the teachers. This matched the findings of the PRINDEP project (Alexander, 1995).

Table: 5.13 Frequency of different type of interaction based on the teacher record.

<i>Interaction-Content</i>	<i>min.</i>	<i>%</i>
Lecturing	126.5	18.7
Asking questions	199.0	29.4
Monitoring	96.5	14.2
Routine	29.5	4.4
Disciplinary	26.0	3.8
Introducing new topic	4.5	0.8
Listening	171.5	25.4
Talking	13.0	2.0
Working	8.5	1.8
Total	675.0	100.0

Noticeable differences appeared between male and female teachers in the occurrence of interaction type. While female teachers spent most of their time ‘listening’ (33.2 per cent) and ‘asking questions’ (30 per cent) male teachers spent most of their time

to ‘asking questions’(28.6 per cent) and ‘lecturing’ (25 per cent). Male teachers allocated 17.5 per cent of their time for monitoring the class and groups of individuals, while female teachers allocated 11.5 per cent of their time for this activity. Findings of classroom observations revealed that male teachers, who mostly employed ‘lecturing’ as a teaching style, had less ‘disciplinary’ problems in the class. In contrast, female teachers, who employed ‘questioning’ and ‘pupil’s recitation’ (most of the listening was allocated to the pupil’s recitation), had more ‘disciplinary’ problems (5.9 per cent). And for female teachers, direction of the interaction in terms of ‘teacher-pupil’ (40.8 per cent) was more than male’s (31.8 per cent) meaning that

...a high rate of teacher-pupil work interactions in a class is not in itself enough to make pupils spend a high proportion of the time working; if anything, a high work rate is more likely in a class where the overall number of work interactions is lower, and where there is consequently more time for individual interactions to be extended and developed (*ibid.*, p.138).

Table: 5.14 shows the teachers’ interaction among the schools. Based on the results of the classroom observations, the teachers in School A spent most of their time ‘lecturing’, ‘asking questions’ and ‘monitoring’, while the teachers in School B and School C spent their time mostly ‘listening’, ‘asking questions’ and ‘monitoring’.

Table: 5.14 Frequency of different type of interaction school by school based on the teacher record.

	Name of school					
	A		B		C	
Interaction-Content	min.	%	min.	%	min.	%
Lecturing	70.0	27.1	48.0	16.1	8.5	7.1
Asking questions	69.0	27.0	96.0	32.4	33.0	27.5
Monitoring	45.5	17.6	32.5	11.0	18.5	15.4
Routine	20.0	7.8	6.5	2.2	3.0	2.5
Disciplinary	4.0	1.5	16.5	5.5	5.5	4.5
Introducing new topic	2.0	0.8	1.5	0.5	1.0	0.8
Listening	43.0	16.6	92.5	31.1	36.0	29.0
Talking	2.5	1.0	0.5	0.3	10.0	8.3
Working	1.5	0.6	2.5	0.9	5.5	4.6
Total	257.5	100.0	296.5	100.0	121.0	100.0

As can be seen from the table, there is a gradual change in 'monitoring' in relation to teacher-pupil ratio. Where the classes were less crowded it increased and where the classes were more crowded it decreased. It might also be argued that a dramatic increase in 'talking' as an interaction-content in School C was dependent upon the teacher-pupil ratio as well as the other factors (i.e. the less use of 'lecturing').

a. Teacher activity and task-related behaviour

It was thought that a combination of the teacher and pupil records might indicate the relationship between the teacher activity and pupils' task-related behaviour. This relationship is shown in Table: 5.15.

Table: 5.15 Percentage of task-related behaviour of pupils in different teacher activities

Teacher activity	Minutes observed	Working	Routine	Awaiting attention	Distracted	Total
Asking quest.	199.0	88.0	3.0	6.8	2.2	29.4
Listening	171.5	82.2	3.5	9.5	4.8	25.4
Lecturing	126.5	84.5	2.8	7.2	5.6	18.7
Monitoring	96.5	80.7	3.3	5.0	11.0	14.2
Routine	29.5	76.8		1.8	21.4	4.4
Disciplinary	26.0	85.4	4.2	6.3	4.2	3.8
Talking	13.0	73.9		26.1		2.0
Working	8.5	80.0		5.7	14.3	1.8
Introducing new topic	4.5	88.9		11.1		0.8
Total	675	82.3	2.9	7.6	7.2	100.0

Table: 5.15 shows that target pupils were highly engaged in working when teachers performed ‘introducing new topic’ and ‘asking questions’. However, target pupils showed the least ‘working’ behaviour when the teachers’ talk took place. There was an increase in pupils’ ‘distracted’ behaviour when teachers performed ‘routine’, ‘working’ and ‘monitoring’ activities. The table also indicates that target pupils’ ‘awaiting attention’ behaviour increased when teachers talked to a pupil, group or class; introduced a new topic and listened to pupils. Conversely, when pupils were out of the teachers’ range their ‘working’ behaviour decreased.

As a result, ‘questioning’ was the most used activity which provided the most ‘working’ behaviour among the thirty-six target pupils, together with ‘introducing new topic’, which was the rarest activity used by teachers.

b. Question types

Questions asked by teachers were categorised as ‘pseudo’, ‘closed’ and ‘open’, and ticked as defined (examples are given from the video-tape data earlier in this section). This basic categorisation enabled me to subdivide the large number of questions into three groups.

Based on the study’s classroom observations, Table: 5.16 shows that ‘closed’ questions, used to check pupil’s comprehension of the knowledge or simply to them to recall given, were very commonly asked by teachers in elementary history classes of the three schools. Similar findings were recorded in the ORACLE and the PRINDEP projects in British primary schools (see Galton *et al.* 1980a, pp.87-93 and Alexander, 1995).

Table: 5.16 Frequency and percentage of question types asked by teachers based on the teacher record.

Question type	<i>f</i>	%
Pseudo	78	19.6
Closed	244	61.5
Open	75	18.9
Total	397	100.0

Recent research (Nuffield Primary History Project -NPHP-), in primary history teaching, showed that ‘questioning drives the enquiry process forward. Therefore, pupils must be faced with open, speculative questions, either their own or the teacher’s’ (Fines and Nichol, 1997, p.xi) and asking open and speculative questions,

in a sense, provides useful group or whole class discussions which are advocated by a number of researches in history teaching. As can be seen from the table, approximately one-fifth of questions asked by teachers were ‘open’. Overall this lack of asking open questions, it might be argued, provided for very limited classroom discussions (group discussions never occurred because of the classroom organisation) which in many occasion were unplanned, as the analysis of video-tape data showed.

In the study’s classroom observations, female teachers asked more ‘closed’ questions than their male colleagues. Therefore, as Table: 5.17 shows, there was a decrease in the asking of ‘pseudo’ and ‘open’ questions.

Table: 5.17 Question types asked by female and male teachers based on the teacher record.

	<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>	
<i>Question type</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Pseudo	29	13.2	49	27.5
Closed	159	72.6	85	47.8
Open	31	14.2	44	24.7
Total	219	100.0	178	100.0

Distribution of questions which were asked by the teachers of the three schools showed that where the teachers (in School A) used ‘lecturing’ as a teaching style ‘pseudo’ questions increased dramatically (more than 30 per cent) and where the teachers (in School B and School C) used ‘questioning’ as a teaching style the amount of ‘closed’ questions increased (more than 70 per cent).

Results showed that female teachers in the study mostly used ‘questioning’ as a teaching style, consequently they asked more questions than their male colleagues and these were mostly ‘closed’ questions. There might be two reasons for this. First, as mentioned earlier, female teachers’ allocation of the time for individual interactions (teacher-pupil) was more than that of male teachers’. So, it might be argued that a high rate of ‘closed’ questions was coupled with the amount of time spent on individual interactions in which female teachers were concerned with the transmission of factual information among the children. Second, I argue in the following chapter that female teachers in the study’s classroom observations and interviews might be classified as *utilitarian/instrumentalists* meaning that they saw the prescribed curriculum as a means to practical ends, in which subject-knowledge needs to be covered. By contrast male teachers in the study were what I call *national utopians* who mostly employed ‘lecturing’ as a teaching technique. Therefore, their aim was to teach history for its social purposes with their questions tending to fall into those categorised as ‘pseudo’ as the way by which as a means to justify their statements, or ‘open’ when they concerned themselves with progression of the task for its social ends.

5.3.3 A qualitative analysis of observation data

A complete qualitative analysis of the video-tape data was impossible because of the time and word limitations in a PhD thesis. Therefore, video-tapes of history lessons were not wholly transcribed and translated into English. However each lesson was

examined and related extracts were translated into English. In this sub-section these extracts are for illustrative purposes only.

As recognised by many others (i.e. Edwards and Mercer, 1987) a qualitative analysis of classroom observation is necessary because a quantitative analysis can never access, on its own, the full range of the classroom processes.

Before presenting related extracts it is necessary to give some information about the form of presentation. At the beginning of each interaction, extract and interaction numbers are shown in square brackets. Teachers and pupils are coded as in the interviews and observations. The use of italicised words for explanations are in round brackets while missing words without italics are in square brackets, the same as they were in the interviews. On the other hand, in the extracts italicised words were also used for stage directions in square brackets. When it is necessary pupil names are indicated by writing the first two letters of their first name. Otherwise, pupils are coded as: BP (boy pupil), GP (girl pupil), PP (more than one pupil). A note should be made that the coding system presented here was adapted from Alexander's (1995) study.

Extract 1, below, is given as an example of the teacher's 'lecturing' practice. It is taken from a fifth year history class in School A:

EXTRACT 1: (*Lasted 11 min. 11 sec.*)

- [1:1] Teacher A Before this unit, we learnt, first of all, the establishment of the Ottoman state, didn't we? If we summarise: we had treated the establishment of it, soon after the expansion of it, the disintegration of it and the collapse of it. [*At the same time, a group of children repeats the teacher's words: the establishment, the expansion, the disintegration, the collapse*]. Also today, in this social studies lesson, we will learn about the situation of the Ottoman State after the First World War [*Pupils open their textbooks: last 39 sec.*]
- [1:2] Teacher A Now, can we remember the date of the Mondros Cease Fire Agreement? Mondros Cease Fire? [*Hands raise.*] Yu... (*A boy student*).
- [1:3] Yu... 1914-1918.
- [1:4] Teacher A My son, I meant the War of (*Turkish*) Independence. Of the War of Independence... the War of Independence... 1914-1918 [*Teacher A writes this on the blackboard and a few pupils raise their hands saying my teacher! my teacher!*]
- [1:4] BP My teacher, 24 July 1918.
- [1:5] Teacher A You have said 24 July. It isn't 24 July. Please [*To pupils who permanently raise their hands saying my teacher.*], look not [those] who speak a lot... [those] who speak a little.
- [1:6] BP 30 October 1918.
- [1:7] Teacher A Yes, yes the Mondros Cease Fire [*Teacher A writes this on the blackboard.*]. Why do we call it cease fire? ... Agreement... 30 October 1918 [*He continues writing*]. Children Mondros, is not seen in this thing (*the map*), because the War of Independence... pardon, because our Allied group (*Entente Powers*) were beaten in the First World War ... who are they?... Germans, Austrians,
- [1:8] BP Hungarians
- [1:9] Teacher A ... there wasn't Hungary. There was Italy. They (*the Italians*) left after a time...because they were beaten. We... although we won our fight against the enemies on every front, on every frontline because they withdrew. What did we say that? What did we say?
- [1:10] GP We were counted as beaten.
- [1:11] Teacher A Well we said we were leaving the war. When we were leaving this war we had made a cease fire agreement. That agreement ... on the Isle of Lemnos
- [1:12] GP&A In the Mondros port.
- [1:13] Teacher A Yes, well children it is next to those places of the Strait of Canakkale (*Dardanelles*). There is [the] Isle of Lemnos in the Aegean sea. It is behind. We can't see it. Is it okay? What is (*the name of*) the island in those places?
- [1:14] Class &A The Isle of Lemnos.

- [1:15] Teacher A There is the Isle of Lemnos. Because the agreement was made in Mondros town on the Isle of Lemnos. What do we call ‘the agreement’?
- [1:16] Teacher A, Class & A It is called the Mondros Cease Fire Agreement.
- [1:17] Teacher A Together with this agreement... is there anybody who can remember any item of this agreement?...items of the agreement?
- [1:18] PP [*Whispering conversations.*]
- [1:19] B My teacher, can I say?
- [1:20] Teacher A Yes
- [1:21] B: The army would be demobilised.
- [1:22] Teacher A Yes the army...
- [1:23] Teacher A, Class & A would be demobilised. Yes?
- [1:24] B After that... the weapons held by the army would pass to the opposite states...to the Allied States.
- [1:24] Teacher A Right. What was the second?
- [1:25] Teacher A & Class The weapons in the army would be given to the Allied States.
- [1:26] Teacher A Yes.
- [1:27] B: The Straits of Canakkale and Istanbul (*Bosphorus*) would be opened to the Allied States.
- [1:28] Teacher A Yes, one of the biggest items of it... this Strait of Canakkale, in which 250,000 enemy soldiers and 250,000 Turks had been martyred and we didn’t give a way to the enemy, (*but*) together with the Mondros Agreement, what happened to it (*the Strait of Canakkale*) what was done with the enemy? ... opened. Yes (*he means B*)
- [1:29] B [*He has been doing silent reading from the textbook for a while.*] Railways of TCDD (*State Railways of the Republic of Turkey*) would be controlled by the Allied powers. The Allied Powers, if we resisted, could invade our country.
- [1:30] Teacher A Well, this shows that... hmm...Children. With regard to this too...look in your instruction years...in future years ...even in the university...this will always meet you. The most important item of the Mondros Agreement is the seventh item. What was it?
- [1:31] Class & Teacher A The seventh item.
- [1:32] Teacher A According to this seventh item, what is the item? If the Allied states met a situation which threatened their security they could invade important, strategic regions of the country. [*All pupils try to repeat.*] It means, even if there wasn’t (*a situation*), what you are giving someone, (*by saying*) that you can enter a place where and when you want to. The most important item is this

item. Yes, according to this, here! what did they do soon after the agreement? They started slowly to invade every place of the country. This...thing... the second important item is the twenty-fourth after the seventh item. In this twenty-fourth item... six districts from the east...which six districts are they? Erzurum, Van, yes [*He waits for the children to repeat.*] Erzurum, Van, Kars, Bitlis, Diyarbakir, Sivas, Artvin. [*He writes those on the blackboard.*] If there was an unrest the Allied Powers had the right to invade these districts. What were we giving to them in the east? We were giving them a trump in their hands saying that you can invade the east. And, children what is the importance ...of this thing...of the Mondros Cease Fire Agreement? We are creating by accepting this thing (*agreement*). Its importance can be put under three sub-titles. First, the Ottoman Empire, in actuality, ended. Don't let us call it the Ottoman Empire. Let's say the Ottoman State. Because, well, historians [distinguish] 'the empire' from 'the state'. It is said that 'the empire' means the invader [country]. For that reason, it is said that the Ottoman State. Well.. What happened to the Ottoman State? [*A pupil says: it was being invaded.*] [It] ends together with this agreement. The second thing is, just, let's remember..., we had not given in, in any way, to the enemy there in the Strait of Canakkale. What did we do? Well...

[1:33] B

Because 'the pen is sharper than the sword' (*A proverb, it means that diplomacy is more powerful than military power*)

[1:34] Teacher A

It is understood that 'the pen is sharper than the sword' [*Some pupils repeat.*] What could the enemy powers easily do to the straits of Canakkale and Istanbul? [*A child says: they could pass.*] They could use. ...The third thing is also... ..well when trying to implement the twenty- fourth item, the Armenians started to revolt in the east in order to establish an independent state. Even today, they claim that the east belongs to them. In that (*this*) region, in that region [*He shows the regions in the map.*] Armenians are in the east. At that time, we had given them those things, their revolts had started. Well, children, we saw during the War of Independence...we saw during the War of Independence. What did Armenians do in the east? They massacred a lot. They buried alive thousands of our citizens. They killed. Even today, previously unknown mass graves have been found in certain places. Yes, these were important items of that Mondros' thing. Once more we didn't count on these things then... in the conditions [of Mondros], the *Donanma* (*Donanma is an old Ottoman word for the naval forces*) ...what do we understand when we say the *Donanma*? [*He rephrases the question.*] What do we understand when we say the *Donanma* in the Ottoman State? Keep your hands raised while I will ask

- another question. What do we understand when we say the navy (*in Turkish 'the sea'*) in today's Turkey? Al... [*Teacher A lets him speak.*]
- [1:35] Al... The navy, I mean, (*are*) soldier...soldier (*military*) aids which come from the sea.
- [1:36] Teacher A You said. Yes. [*He lets another child speak.*]
- [1:37] B P: The *Donanma* is the navy in the Ottomans.
- [1:38] Teacher A ...[they] are the same. Right children. The navy, as you know we've got the army, the air force, the navy. Well...it means a soldier who fights with the enemy at sea, doesn't it? What are (*the things*) in the navy? In order to act (*sail*) in the sea: warships, speed-boats, submarine-boats – just like them there are lots of war vessels. Well, children... The name of the navy was the *Donanma* in the Ottoman period. I said this before. Let us not forget it. To whom was the *Donanma* being left? It was being given the Allied States. Look, as in the case of the *Donanma*, together with every thing...Yes, well, after this agreement... after this agreement... Children, let us examine things ... the parts of our country.

The teacher in extract one planned his history lesson based upon the method of lecturing. It was a rather difficult political history topic and contained some specifically Ottoman terms. In this case Teacher A preferred to explain to the children and to give them a lead in order to encourage them to find out more. He related institutions and events of the present time to events and institutions in the Ottoman time (i.e. 1:34 and 1:38). He encouraged pupils to repeat what he had seen as being important (i.e. 1:1, 1:23 and 1:25). It might be argued that he wanted pupils, in this way, to be able to remember the important points in the historical information through repetition. For him, it was also a way of gaining the pupils' approval in order to go a step further.

He used 'questioning' to check pupils' current historical knowledge and as a device in order to develop the topic (i.e.1:32-1:34). When he asked questions pupils preferred to check their textbooks in order to find answers (a very common activity that was observed in every classroom). He also attempted to answer his own questions. On those occasions, pupils seemed confused and did not attempt to answer (i.e. 1:1, 1:32,1:34 and 1:38)

Teacher A employed 'lecturing' as a teaching style during the four lessons observed. Pupils talked relatively little and when they did it tended to be in response to direction from the teacher. They also responded to the teacher's talk by consulting their textbooks. Having to teach the topic by himself using 'lecturing', Teacher A had no time to check whether the pupils understood the topic.

He was in a rush to transmit all the information and on some occasions he left his statements incomplete (i.e. 1:34). Teacher A was also confused (1:4) when he responded to a pupil's error (1:3). He dated the War of Independence between 1914 and 1918 which were the years of the First World War (He corrected his statement later on in [1:7]). He was not clear what he meant in [1:4]. Probably he, rightly, understood the Mondros Agreement as an important factor for the initiation of the War of Independence but he did not attempt to make a connection between those two events. Instead most pupils probably saw the 1918 Mondros Agreement as part of the Turkish War of Independence which was initiated in 1919.

The second and third extracts are from a fourth year class in School A. These are also long extracts from a history lesson and are chosen to reflect another common approach in Turkish elementary history teaching.

EXTRACT 2: (*Lasted 4 minutes 15 seconds*)

- [2:1] Teacher B By the end of the Umayyads so that... Friends, who did terminate the Umayyads was it those who started the Abbasids movement ?
- [2:2] BP When Abul Abbas Abdullah was appointed as the caliph
- [2:3] Teacher B Okay, he was appointed as the caliph but Abu Muslim Hassan was the person who started the first movement, wasn't he?
- [2:4] Teacher B After this movement the Umayyads ended and the period of the Abbasids began. By the election of Abul Abbas Abdullah...Actually, by giving the caliphate to him...because there was no election, was there? When was the election of caliphate abolished and by the killing of whom?
- [2:5] Teacher B After the killing of Hazret-i (*the blessed*) Ali the election for the caliphate was abolished. Muaviyye became the president of the state from the Umayyads. What happened then children?
- [2:6] Teacher B& Class the caliphate passed from father to son.
- [2:7] Teacher B In the period of the Abbasids, the Turks were given importance.
- [2:8] Teacher B& Class The Turks were given importance.
- [2:9] Teacher B In the past, there were wars between the Umayyads and the Turks...they were fighting each other in minor wars. The Umayyads thought that, because they were Arabs, they didn't have to give such importance to other Muslims who were not Arabs. However, at the period of Abbasids the Turks started to become Muslims and what did the Abbasids do? They did give importance to Muslims who were not Arabs. For example, they appointed Turks as territory commanders. At the period of Abbasids, Arab Muslims, in order to extend their religion, and the Chinese, in order to extend their territories, had made a war. And they had made a war. The two armies met on the side of the Talas river... the Chinese met with the army of Abbasids. The Turkish states in that region had to support one side or the other. Either they would choose the Chinese or the Abbasids who were Arabs, Muslims. The Turks supported the Muslims' side and in the war of Talas, they defeated the Chinese. So that the Turks also knew Islam and they had welcomed Islam. At the end of which war?
- [2:10] Teacher B&

- Class At the end of the War of Talas. The Turks did not directly make the War of Talas with the Chinese, did they children? They did it to help the Abbasids and they defeated the state of China by making war on the side of the Talas river.
- [2:11] Teacher B Well, the religion of Islam started to extend among the Turks. Children, there is an important issue here! Islam was welcomed by the Turks with their will. It means that there was no pressure for the Turks to accept Islam.

EXTRACT 3: (*Lasted 4 minutes and 10 seconds*)

- [3:1] Teacher B Now, our friend will recite to us, from the work which she did individually, about the establishment, improvement and collapse of the state of Karakhanids. That was the first Muslim-Turk state. Let us listen to her carefully. After she finishes her recitation, let us comprehend our topic with a method of respectively (*reciprocally*) asking and answering questions. Yes El., we are listening to you.
- [3:2] GP(*Reciter*) THE KARAKHANIDS...the Karakhanids was the first Muslim-Turk state, established in 840 in the region of Kashgar. Their first rulers [*Teacher interrupts and takes the map which was prepared for the projector.*]
- [3:3] Teacher B Come along to there if you want. It will be better for you [*pointing the projector*], you show us where the Karakhanids were established on the projector.
- [3:4] GP(*Reciter*) [*She shows Kashgar on the map which was put on the projector.*] The Karakhanids which was the first Muslim-Turk state, established in 840, in the region of Kashgar. Their first ruler is Bilge Kul Kadir Khan. Kadir Khan and his sons... Kadir Khan and his sons started to attack the Persians, they started to make attacks. As a result of their contact with Persians they learnt about Islam. They accepted Islam in the period of Satuk Bugra Khan. The Karakhanids accepted Islam the Karakhanids, after demolishing the Persian State, entered (*invaded*) Khurasan. This situation spoiled their relationship with the Ghaznevids . In the war between two states, the Karakhanids were defeated by the Ghaznevids and as a result of this, there was unrest in the country. The throne [*She repeats the 'throne' two times until she finds the correct pronunciation.*] struggles started between brothers. The state was divided into two parts as the East Karakhanids and the West Karakhanids. The East Karakhanids were defeated by the Kara-Khitais in 1211. On the other hand, the West Karakhanids were defeated by the Khwarismshahs in 1212. The head of state

was *hukumdar (khan)* named as *hakan*. Top officials were advising the *hakan* in the palace. The members of the Karakhanids' army were Turkish. Because of the nomad-life of this army it was not losing its warrior ability. The official language was Turkish in the Karakhanids. *Hakans* of the Karakhanids attached importance to art and science. They protected scientists and artists. *Yusuf Has Hacip* who was the author of *Kutadgu Bilig* -knowledge that gives happiness- and *Kaskarli Mahmud* who was the author of *Divan-i Lugati't Turk* were the most important (*social*) scientists. After accepting Islam the Karakhanids started to build a lot of mosques and madrasahs (*universities*)... QUESTIONS...

When and where was the Karakhanids established? [*Some pupils look for the information in their textbooks and some raise their hands.*] Se.. [*She asks a pupil who doesn't raise his hand.*]

- [3:5] BP The Karakhanids' state [*He turns pages in his textbook to find out the answer, but he cannot find it.*]
- [3:6] GP(*Reciter*) Se..
- [3:7] BP The Karakhanids' state was established in 840 in the region of Kashgar.
- [3:8] GP(*Reciter*) Thank you Se.
- [3:9] Teacher B Se.. come on show us the region of Kashgar on the map...where was it established?
- [3:10] BP Here it is [*The pupil goes next to the screen which is reflected by the projector.*]
- [3:11] Teacher B Yes, it was established in the region of Kashgar. Children, at this point [*Teacher B goes next to the projector.*] in terms of geography, those were also Tanri mountains. The Karakhanids who lived in northern and southern parts of the Tanri mountains established the Karakhanids state.

Teacher B differed from Teacher A. He recalled the previous topic in the form of questions (i.e. 2:1 and 2:3) in order to make a connection between it and the present topic. However, he also allocated part of his time for 'lecturing' during the lesson. Believing that he made the connection and set the conditions for presenting the topic, he let a pupil who was previously prepared for the topic present it. After the 'pupil's recitation' the lesson continued in the form of questions. It was observed

that Teacher B preferred teaching by proxy (pupil's recitation) and he saw his role as an explainer and helper in the pupil's historical learning.

The quantitative analysis indicates that the questions which were asked by the teachers in the three schools were mostly closed. These two extracts show that Teacher B did not attempt to prompt such speculative and open questions. Historically speaking the topic was related to the first Turk-Muslim state in history in which the Turks provided the first two important writings on the history of Turk-Islam civilisation. He left the issue as to why and how the Turks accepted Islam open (2:9 and 2:11).

In extract four and during the observation of her class Teacher D used questioning, 'lecturing' and 'pupil's recitation'. Her class, in general, was one of the best according to the Ministry's achievement level examinations in the district.

EXTRACT 4: (*Lasted twelve minutes*)

- [4:1] Teacher D Who did the Turks believe in Central Asia? You tell us Bi..
[4:2] GP in the Tengri (*God*)
[4:3] Teacher D What were the religious beliefs in Anatolia? Because we came
 from Central Asia to Anatolia.
[4:4] BP In Central Asia people believed in many gods. .. pardon in
 Anatolia.
[4:5] Teacher D For instance, what did the Urartus believe in? In the nature god
 (*Deism*), didn't they? Because they were dependent on
 agriculture. Then, the star god. All people have believed in
 something since the Ancient Ages. They believed in the things
 that they made such as idols. Some others believed in the moon,
 sun and stars or, well in stones [*Pupils repeat*], or in things such
 as the date, they believed the things like those. Even in Arabia
 when people were hungry they had eaten their idols like dates
 and when they were angry they had broken their idols. I don't

teach you religious education but Teacher Al. taught you that first God gave to the blessed David the Psalms, then to the blessed Moses the Old Testament, then to the blessed Jesus the Bible, then to the blessed Muhammad -peace be upon him- the Koran. [*Pupils repeat.*] Well children when the people were trying to find more truth about the belief there needed to be some limitations and leaders. Well children if you look at the map the Arabs live in deserts. Then, they didn't have many things to grow. Therefore, what they did was to trade. Mecca was a trade centre in Arabia. Each year the Arabs arranged some kind of trade exhibitions. They also represented their idols in the Kaba in Mecca. This means that they mixed trade and the religious festival with one another. Children, because there was a shortage of goods and food, crime was very common between the Arabs. They often killed each other. There was bloody strife and people were not honest with each other. Now, who will recite to us the life of the blessed Muhammad? [*Pupils raise their hands.*] You Es..

[4:6] GP(*Reciter*) THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED MUHAMMAD... he was born in Mecca in 570. His father's name was Abdullah and his mother's name was Amine. He lost his father before he was born and he lost his mother when he was six. His grandfather Abdulmuttalib raised him. When he died his uncle looked after him. He helped his uncle in his trade business. He was reliable and had good character. Therefore everybody loved him and called him *Reliable* Muhammad. When he was young he administrated the blessed Hatice's trade transports. When he was twenty-five he married her. She was forty. He was bored with his work in the trade. He wanted to live a quiet life. He was also upset to see the life of the Arabs and he thought that there should be one god. He thought a lot and he frequently went to the Cave of Hira. One day Gabriel appeared before him and said 'read by the name of God' He was terrified. He went home. Then Gabriel told him that he was God's prophet. He was appointed to call the people to the religion of God. [*She carries on to recite, looking her textbook occasionally.*]

[4:7] Teacher D Yes, questions.

[4:8] PP [*Pupils ask recall questions to Reciter, lasting four minutes.*]

[4:9] GP Why did the blessed Muhammad go to the Cave of Hira for days? What made him think?

[4:10] Teacher D Just a second children! this is a very good question. Tell me why did he go there and think? [*Pupils raise their hands to answer the question. Teacher D wants the Reciter to answer.*]

[4:11] GP(*Reciter*) Because he didn't like the life of the Arabs.

[4:12] Teacher D What else? [*She looks at other pupils who raise their hands.*] You Ay.. (*Target pupil S.*)

- [4:13] S Because he didn't like the life of the Arabs and he also believed in one god. [*Pupils call my teacher!*]
 [4:14] BP Because he didn't like the life of the Arabs and he also believed in Abraham's religion which says that there is only one god.

Teacher D was clear when she made connections between the people's beliefs and the revelation of religions. To do this she both used 'questioning' (4:1 and 4:4) and explanations (4:5). She was very much in control when she wanted to motivate pupils when she thought this to be important and she usually did this in the form of questions (i.e. 4:9).

During the observation, she made it clear that every pupil had something to say about the topic. She had no difficulty in doing this. She often encouraged pupils to give answers by prompting them with questions (i.e. 4:12).

Extracts five and six were taken from a fifth year class in School B. Teacher C was the only teacher who used the method of questioning consistently and effectively throughout each of her teaching sessions. And yet, while her class was the most crowded among the six in the study's observation, she was able to keep her class busy by 'asking questions'.

EXTRACT 5: (*Lasts one minute fifty seconds*)

- [5:1] Teacher C Where did Atatürk land in order to start the War of Independence?
 [5:2] PP My teacher! My teacher! [*Few pupils raise their hands.*]

- [5:3] Teacher C I want more hands to be raised. Well, you are from Bafra and Bafra is a district of Samsun. So that all of you should know this, because you are from Samsun. Where did Mustafa Kemal (*Atatürk*) land in order to start the War of Independence? All hands! [*More hands raise.*]
- [5:4] BP Atatürk went to Samsun.
- [5:5] Teacher C Who else?
- [5:6] BP Atatürk landed at Samsun
- [5:7] PP My teacher! My teacher!
- [5:8] Teacher C Yes, Atatürk landed at Samsun Port in order to start the War of Independence.

EXTRACT 6: (*Lasts eight minutes ten seconds*)

- [6:1] Teacher C Children, when Atatürk was in Erzurum the Sultan called him to Istanbul because he was making preparations for the war. But he didn't go to Istanbul. Now let us talk about the story of the event. Atatürk found a way out of going to Istanbul. How did he do that children?
- [6:2] GP in order not to go to Istanbul?
- [6:3] Teacher C Yes in order not to go to Istanbul. He didn't follow the Sultan's order. How did he get out of following the order?
- [6:4] BP from the military...
- [6:5] Teacher C Meaning he would do something to get out of obeying the Sultan.
- [6:6] BP He would resign from the military.
- [6:7] Teacher C Yes, what could Mustafa Kemal do? He could either follow the order of the Sultan or not. If he followed the order he would come back to Istanbul. But, he would leave incomplete the preparations which he initiated. But even if he didn't go he was still a commanding officer. Was it possible for him not to go?
- [6:8] BP No.
- [6:9] Teacher C Well, children what he did was to resign from the military which he had always loved so much.
- [6:10] BP Yes, he became a student at the military academy without informing his mother.
- [6:11] Teacher C Yes, how do we know that he loved the military? After this something happened.
- [6:12] PP My teacher! My teacher! [*Half of the pupils raise their hands.*]
- [6:13] Teacher C Yes, you tell.
- [6:14] GP Mustafa Kemal went to school. When he was going to school there was a captain, one of his neighbours. This captain had worn bright clothes and Mustafa Kemal liked his uniform. So he loved the military service. Secretly he took his exams to go

- to the military academy. He passed them and he started to attend that school without informing his mother.
- [6:15] Teacher C Then he told his mother, didn't he?
- [6:15] GP Yes, then he told his mother. After that when he worked as a military officer, as you said, when he should have gone he didn't go. He resigned from the military service.
- [6:16] Teacher C How could he leave the military service that he loved and that he had joined without listening to his mother? He couldn't leave, but he had to leave. Why did he leave? Yes.
- [6:17] GP Because he loved his nation and his country also.
- [6:18] Teacher C Children, well, this is a characteristic of Mustafa Kemal. We can say that Mustafa Kemal loved his country and his nation more than anything.

As the extracts show, pupils in her class were aware of the purposes of her questions. Her statements were clearer than Teacher A's statements and she did not attempt to use her 'questioning' rhetorically, as a device to create an opportunity to return 'lecturing'. Rather, she used daily language in order to make the topic comprehensible to the pupils, thus creating a more genuine interaction. She also attempted to promote pupils' responses by rephrasing, repeating and correcting their responses (6:3, 6:11 and 6:15).

Her attempt to make connections between Atatürk's decision to resign from military service and his childhood, through a story, motivated pupils to speculate on possible answers in extract six and pupils rather enjoyed making this connection, between this political event and Atatürk's childhood. This also showed that pupils had no difficulty to recall previously learnt historical knowledge if it was in a story form, applying it to new situations.

Extracts seven and eight, below, were taken from a fifth grade class in School C. During the observation Teacher E's speech, whilst in the form of questions, differed from others previously observed in the sense that he attached a greater level of importance to his own explanations. He only occasionally let pupils recite and often rephrased the pupils' responses.

EXTRACT 7: (*Lasted two minutes and fifty seconds*)

- [7:1] Teacher E Children, another item of the Lausanne Peace Treaty?
- [7:2] BP Management of the Straits (*Bosphorus and Dardanelles*) would be left to an international commission. Turkey would militarise the Straits if there was a war.
- [7:2] Teacher E Children, well, we are still embracing the problems arising as a consequence of this item. This international commission had a right to interfere in our Straits, according to the Lausanne Treaty. For example, if a tanker sails from the straits, as you know, we don't have any right to stop it. In the past accidents happened and some tankers burnt and created awful environmental damage to our Istanbul. We are trying to stop it but we haven't got enough power to do this. Well, I ask you a question: How should our country take an effective role in the international arena? What do we need to do in order not to listen this treaty? Yes.. is it only one person my children? Look what I say, for example the United States of America manages the world and makes other countries listen what it wants. How can they do this? Yes my child?
- [7:3] BP It is an independent country, it respects human rights, and does not have slavery.
- [7:4] Teacher E Yes you are right but what is the most important thing? It is to be a strong country in order that other countries listen to us....

EXTRACT 8

- [8:1] Teacher E Children, imagine if you lived in the War of Independence years at the same age as you are now, what would you do to help your country and the nation survive, and in order not to be under captivity? You tell El..
- [8:2] GP I would carry the things that soldiers needed such as water, food, weapons, bullets.
- [8:3] Teacher E You mean you could this. Could you do this?

- [8:4] BP in order for our country to survive we would have to sacrifice our lives.
- [8:5] Teacher E You mean in order for our country to survive, you say, you could give your lives. Well, what would you do? [*He asks another pupil.*]
- [8:5] BP in order to meet all the needs of our soldiers... food, weapons, water, bullets...
- [8:6] Teacher E What would you do, tell me from your point of view?
- [8:7] BP I mean I would try to help them.
- [8:9] Teacher E Give me an example of the help that you would
- [8:10] BP ... I would carry a rifle..
- [8:11] Teacher E To where? You would go to frontline? I mean it is not easy to go to the frontline from here. You tell me
- [8:12] GP I would join the army in order to fight.
- [8:13] Teacher E You! [*Class laughs.*] I mean what kind of help could you have given if you were at your ages in the war?
- [8:14] Teacher E I don't mean what could adults do. I mean you.
- [8:15] GP My teacher.. the thing at home...
- [8:16] Teacher E Yes.
- [8:17] GP The things at home which are needed at the frontline such as pickaxes and shovels, ammunition...
- [8:18] Teacher E You! Where? At the frontline!
- [8:19] GP I could carry them to soldiers.
- [8:20] Teacher E You would be trying to do very important things then. Children, if I were at your age I could have looked after the children who were younger than me, in my village, in my city because there would be no one at home. The mother had gone to the frontline, the father had gone to the frontline, older brothers had gone to the frontline. If there were younger siblings at home what I could do is to look after them. Well this is the kind of help that you could do. Well, you could think in this way.

On some occasions, Teacher E derived speculative questions from the topic. However, he tended to seek one possible answer as in the case of extracts seven and eight. His question in extract seven (7:2) was rather difficult but a pupil's answer (7:3) was, in a sense, an example of 'exposition of the aspects of the adult world' (Fines and Nichol, 1997, p.12). In extract eight, pupils enjoyed themselves by imagining the past but they failed to find logical answers as to what their roles might be. Teacher E attempted to discipline their imaginative thinking (8:20). However, he

did not make any further attempt to encourage the pupils to think in a more imaginative way. He concluded the topic by, himself, giving an example of what pupils could do. Therefore one might say that this teacher's method showed traits of a more didactic approach, leaving little scope for the pupils to come to their *own* conclusions, developed in the process of interaction with the teacher.

Extract nine was taken from a fourth grade history lesson in School C. Teacher F's teaching style was similar to those of Teacher B and Teacher D. Her entire lessons were based on 'questioning' and 'pupil's recitation'.

EXTRACT 9

- [9:1] Teacher F What is our topic?
[9:2] Class History.
[9:3] BP My teacher can I give you a definition of history? My teacher
can I tell?
[9:4] Teacher F Okay, you tell my child.
[9:5] BP History. History is a department of the sciences that examines
the events and societies in the past indicating place and time
that examines causes and effects.
[9:6] Teacher F Wider, better and simple?
[9:7] PP History examines human societies indicating place and time.
[9:8] Teacher F What are place and time?
[9:9] BP My teacher! It's date, it's time ...
[9:10] Teacher F It means when it happened, which events happened. What we
say that we learn our history. We have got our families history
haven't we?
[9:11] Class Yes.
[9:12] Teacher F Do you know your fathers' grandfathers?
[9:13] Class [*Simultaneously.*] Yes. No.
[9:14] Teacher F But you saw their photographs didn't you? Well who will recite
the first topic?
[9:15] BP My teacher! History is my topic.
[9:16] Teacher F [*She looks at him and does not give him a permission to recite.*]
Yes you recite my daughter.

- [9:17] GP People want to derive lessons from the past and the power of taking lessons from this is the power of history. [*She swings when she recites.*]
- [9:18] Teacher F Don't swing my daughter. [*She stops swinging.*]
- [9:19] GP The important events that we live through will be written in history. If we want to explain history shortly; history is a department of the sciences that examines the events, which societies existed, indicating place, time, cause and effect.

In her classroom, the use of textbooks by pupils for recitation and answering practices was a common activity during this observation. Unlike other teachers, she sought a balance of participation of both girls and boys in the topic (i.e. 9:16). (Throughout the extracts and classroom observations, it is clear that boys were verbally more active than girls).

She did not attempt to provide explanations. Rather she made an effort to encourage pupils to speak more about the topic in the form of questions. However, her questions were too brief and she shifted her 'questioning' very quickly from one issue to another (i.e. 9:12 and 9:13). Therefore there was little time for pupils to think and make connections between the purposes behind the different questions she posed.

In sum, teachers' practices showed many similarities. Moreover, some noticeable differences were also revealed between the teachers. Individual teachers and also schools can be differentiated, more or less, on the basis of their teaching styles. It might be useful to group teachers according to the teaching styles by which they performed in the observed classrooms. Therefore, the next item is devoted to

similarities and differences in the teaching styles, in an attempt to classify teaching practices.

a. Some reflections

In the ORACLE project, Galton *et. al.* (1980a) found that most of the teachers differed from what they described of as the ‘typical’ profile of the junior school teacher. They reported six teaching styles and specified their characteristics. In this study, the findings on teachers’ roles both from the teacher record and video-tape analysis suggest that there were three teaching styles:

- *Lecturers*
- *Questioners*
- *Listeners (Controllers of proxy teaching)*

As was seen in the extracts, each teacher might use all these three styles interchangeably in the same lesson. However, this classification is made according to the use of teacher’s time in terms of the frequency of the application of each style. Basically, the teachers’ activities could be gathered into three broad categories. These were ‘lecturing’, ‘asking questions’ and ‘listening’ (see Table: 5.18).

Table: 5.18 Percentage of teacher activities based on the teacher record

Teachers	Lecturing	Asking Questions				Listening	Other
		Pseudo	Closed	Open	Total		
A	33	11.4	12.7	7.8	31.9	9.0	26.1
B	22.7	5.6	10.3	3.8	19.7	26.0	31.6
C	28.1	6.9	13.2	5.6	24.7	24.0	23.2
D	4.7	2.8	30.2	5.5	39.8	38.5	17.0
E	15.0	2.9	21.9	12.0	36.8	14.2	34.0
F	0.7	3.7	16.4	1.4	21.5	40.0	37.8

Table: 5.18 shows that Teacher A used ‘lecturing’ more than other teachers. He did not set ‘pupil’s recitation’. As the videotape data indicated, his teaching styles were limited to ‘lecturing’ and ‘asking questions’ therefore I classified him as *lecturer*. Teacher E differed from others in that although he used ‘lecturing’ more than Teacher D and Teacher F, this manifested itself in the form of questions. Therefore, I classified him as *questioner*. The proportion of Teacher B’s ‘listening’ activity, in which he employed ‘pupil’s recitation’, is higher than Teacher A and Teacher E. This was also the case regarding Teacher D and Teacher F who also spent most of their time ‘listening’. As the qualitative analysis of the video tape data showed, the occurrence of teachers’ ‘listening’ activity was mostly related to ‘pupil’s recitation’, indeed both Teacher D and Teacher F set ‘pupil’s recitation’ as their main teaching technique. I classified them as *listeners* or *controllers of proxy teaching* in which the pupil assumed the teacher’s role by reciting the task or topic to the class. Having classified these teachers in such a way, one should also recognise that their

interchangeable usage of different styles shows, in that sense, a similarity to the ORACLE's concept of 'style changers' (see *ibid.*). Both quantitative data and the videotape data showed that Teacher B and Teacher C employed 'lecturing', 'asking questions' and 'pupil recitation'. Hence they might be classified as belonging to any one of the three teaching styles, I have, however, classified their respective styles based upon the regularity of occurrence of teaching style, rather than the mere presence of any one style.

Lecturers

Except Teacher F, every observed teacher used 'lecturing' as a teaching style, in doing so they employed 'making statements' and 'demonstrations', coupled with questions in whole class teaching. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis showed that the teachers in School A employed this style more than did other colleagues in other schools. As well as inter-school differentiation according to teaching styles, one might also observe the presence of intra-school differentiation. This is seen to be the case regarding Teacher A and Teacher B who differed in style whilst teaching in the same school. Teacher A's entire lessons were based on 'lecturing' and as extract one indicated his questions fell into the 'pseudo' type. I argue that his greatest difficulty, in employing this method, was the inability to exercise control over pupils' historical learning. The more apparent this became to him, the more the usage of pseudo questions increased in an attempt to validate the teacher's own statements and/or practices. Inevitably this increase resulted in a corresponding

decrease in the teacher's allocation of time to listening to pupils ideas, thus the pupils' active participation was restricted.

Questioners

Most of the teachers in this study used 'questioning' as a teaching style, with Teacher E, especially, using many questions. Teacher D can also be classified in this group. Based on the results of qualitative analysis of the video-tape data, her teaching sessions provided a rich, whole class interaction. Findings of the qualitative analysis suggest that the use of teachers' 'questioning' practice allowed more reasoning and speculative questions than the use of 'lecturing' and proxy teaching. In line with this Teacher E asked more 'open' questions than most others. These positive outcomes of the 'questioning' style were also recorded by the ORACLE project. Galton *et. al.* (1980a, p.123) say that 'although the level of cognitive discourse in junior school classrooms appears to be concerned with the transmission of factual information, class enquirers use a higher proportion of both closed and open questions'.

Listeners (Controllers of proxy teaching)

Except Teacher A, Teacher C and Teacher E, the teachers of these three schools employed 'pupil's recitation'. In Teacher B's class 'pupil's recitation' was planned beforehand and a few pupils had undertaken this as homework. On the other hand, all pupils in Teacher D's and Teacher F's classes were expected to be ready for recitation. Therefore, Teacher D and Teacher F made instant decisions about which

pupils would recite the topics, chosen from those who had volunteered. Two important features appeared during the observations. First, the teachers in this group often needed to explain and make corrections to pupils' statements. 'Lecturing' was used as a detailed introduction before the 'pupil's recitation' (see extracts three and four) and teachers' 'questioning' practices were mostly those of 'closed' type. While acknowledging that Teacher D did ask some 'open' questions, more than others in this group, it is clear that most predominant was 'pupil recitation'. I found that the 'questioning' employed by Teacher B, Teacher D and Teacher F's (see Table: 5.18) was 'mainly factual rather than probing or open-ended' (Galton *et. al.*, 1980b quoted in Alexander, 1995, p.248). This was also found to be the case in the ORACLE's 'individual monitors' similar to the PRINDEP findings (*ibid.*).

5.3.4 A summary of the classroom observation

Benefits of the classroom observation were two fold. First, analysis of the classroom observation provided useful insights to test most of the questionnaire items and teachers' responses to the interview questions. Second, it also enabled an exploration of the relationships between teaching practices and pupils' historical learning which were inaccessible through the other techniques used in this study.

The study's classroom observations showed that pupils spent over 80 per cent of their time 'working' on tasks, with girls spending more time 'working' as a task-related behaviour than boys. Because the teachers, in general, tended to exploit direct teaching styles, pupils' historical learning was dominated by social studies

textbooks. In addition to this, the use of only but a few instructional materials resulted in a situation where pupils' 'routine' behaviour tended to be very low. The study's observations found that the above average pupils' 'awaiting attention' behaviour was more than below average pupils'. However, amongst below average pupils' 'distracted' behaviour occurred more than amongst average pupils and above average pupils. Observations also showed that where the teachers used 'lecturing' as a teaching style, pupils' 'working' showed an increase (i.e. School A) and where the teachers used 'questioning', pupils' 'awaiting attention' (i.e. School B) showed an increase.

Based on the classroom observations, target pupils spent a very high proportion of their time in 'listening/looking', 'silent reading' and 'writing' as generic activities. In contrast, they spent little time in 'talking', 'collaboration' and 'movement'. The relative lack of the occurrence of all of these three activities might be explained by the fact that the teachers used only limited direct instruction techniques and that they may have been perceived them as disciplinary activities in crowded classrooms. On the other hand, target pupils' 'recitation' activity occurred only on a few occasions while being employed by half of the teachers of the three schools, as qualitative analysis of the observation data showed. The data indicated that pupils' 'silent reading' behaviour increased when the teachers asked 'closed' questions. A relationship was also found between the occurrence of pupils' 'talking' behaviour and the teacher-pupil ratio. This suggested that a reduction in the number of pupils on roll provided more rich interactions between the pupils and their teacher.

The study's observations found that some of the least frequent activities were associated most with 'working' as a task related behaviour, confirming the evidence from the PRINDEP project (Alexander, 1995). These generic activities, in the study's observations, were recorded as 'silent reading', 'writing', 'recitation' and 'repeating teacher's speech'. Pupils' 'talking', 'repeating teacher's speech' and 'movement' activities were also ways of attracting teachers' attention. It should be noted that pupils were distracted from the task when they were engaged in 'talking' and 'movement' activities.

Confirming the evidence from the survey findings and interview results, pupils spent nearly 90 per cent of their time in using textbooks and notebooks. On the other hand, the study's observations indicated that above average pupils used their textbooks more than average pupils and that there was an increase in their usage when the teachers employed 'questioning' as a teaching style. The study found that the use of textbooks was very limited amongst below average pupils. This could be explained by the presence of reading difficulties and an inability to comprehend the textbooks as a result of the inappropriate level at which they were written. Excluding notebooks, the use of other text materials rarely occurred (in sum, 14.5 per cent). This might be explained by the perception of history teaching as a textbook dominated practice or by teachers' low regard for the quality of other materials (i.e. films).

Findings of the classroom observations suggested that pupils' working behaviour increased when they used rare materials, such as a projector and time lines. This, it

might be recalled, had been the case in the relationship between infrequent generic activities and 'working' as a task-related behaviour. Although activities were dominated by social studies textbooks in historical topics, the textbooks did not provide as much 'working' behaviour, in the study's observations, as did other materials. It might be stressed that because the teachers did not purposefully set 'map working' activities, then the study could hardly find how the teachers organised map work activities and a possible relationship between these and 'working' behaviour.

The study's observations investigated pupils' verbal interaction with others in relation to the content and the direction of the interaction. The study found that target pupils, overall, spent less than one-tenth of their time in verbally interacting with others. Most of the interaction initiated by target pupils and the content of the interaction was related to pupils' 'working' behaviour. However, target pupils were almost never monitored by the teachers. I concluded this to be one of the weaknesses of the 'lecturing' style. As analysis of interaction data showed, where the teacher used 'lecturing' and proxy teaching via 'pupil's recitation', time-spent on verbal interaction was reduced to 50 per cent, and where the teacher used 'questioning', time-spent on verbal interaction was doubled. It has been argued that a radical reduction in class size provided for a richer teacher-pupil interaction.

In contrast to pupil's verbal interaction, teacher's interaction was observed in relation to his or her activities in the class. Based on the results of the teacher record,

teachers spent most of their time ‘asking questions’, ‘listening’, ‘lecturing’ and ‘monitoring’. It is revealed that most of the interaction was whole class interaction and initiated by the teachers themselves. In the study’s observations female teachers spent most of their time ‘listening’ followed by ‘asking questions’. Their male colleagues spent most of their time ‘asking questions’ and followed by ‘lecturing’. The study’s observations revealed that female teachers, who mostly employed ‘questioning’, dealt with ‘disciplinary’ problems more than did male teachers. It is also found that there were gradual increases in time-spent on teachers’ ‘monitoring’ and ‘talking’ practices in relation to the teacher-pupil ratio, where the classes were less crowded.

Based on the results of the teacher and pupil records, target pupils’ ‘working’ behaviour increased when the teachers performed ‘introducing new topic’ and ‘asking questions’. On the other hand, there was an increase in pupils’ ‘distracted’ behaviour when the teachers engaged in ‘routine’, ‘working’ and ‘monitoring’. Pupils’ ‘awaiting attention’ also increased when the teachers’ talk took place.

An analysis of the content of the task- related questions which were asked by the teachers of the three schools revealed that teachers asked approximately three ‘closed’, one ‘pseudo’ and one ‘open’ question in every five. The amount of ‘pseudo’ questions increased when the teachers performed ‘lecturing’ as a teaching style.

A qualitative analysis of observation data and the quantitative account of the teacher record suggested that the Turkish teachers observed could be classified, in three categories: *lecturers*, *questioners* and *listeners (controllers of proxy teaching)*. Although five out of six teachers more or less employed 'lecturing' in the observed history lessons, one teacher devoted his entire lessons to 'lecturing'. It was argued that most of the weaknesses of this style lay in the insufficiency of time dedicated to controlling the pupils' historical learning.

All the teachers used 'questioning' as a teaching style, but two of them recorded by the study's observations, planned their lessons actually in the form of questions. The study's observations also found that although there was an increase in 'closed' questions, with the use of teachers' 'questioning' practice resulted in an increase of reasoning and speculative questions.

The teachers, in the last category, used both 'lecturing' and 'questioning'. However, on most occasions, they let pupils recite and ask questions about the topic. They required to make explanations and corrections of the pupils' statements. The teachers in this category used 'lecturing' for the purpose of introductions and asked mostly 'closed' questions, as a way of checking pupils' historical knowledge.

NOTES

¹ In the summer of 1997, these examinations were abolished by the Turkish government (questionnaires were distributed in the winter of 1997 and there was no clue for the abolishment of secondary examinations). This abolition came through eight years compulsory education, which is

called 'basic education', for the pupils aged between seven and fifteen. Previous one was providing five years elementary education.

² Research has been focused on teaching and there is little research has been done on 'social studies syllabus' in Turkey. Therefore, social studies syllabus is still far from academic criticism. Recent guide books, prepared by J. L. Barth and A. Demirtas (1996) and published by the National Education Development, focused, again, on social studies teaching and there were no concern about the syllabus which remains as it was in 1968.

³ Cooper (1995, p.22) says that 'Piaget's work on time (1956) is not the most useful to apply to history. He investigated the development of concepts of time in relation to concepts of space, movement and velocity, through scientific experiments...Piaget suggested that it was not until [the third] stage had been reached that children could understand 'lived time' and 'age' internal subjective time'.

⁴ However, I do not agree with her for the last question, which she asks, for the following reason: as it is stated in the Turkish primary curriculum history education is for social purposes. Therefore, in the light of those social ideas, it is rational to present 'the motherland and the nation' under the title of 'settlement of the Turks in Anatolia'. Since Anatolia became a motherland of the Turkish people after Seljuk settlement.

⁵ Her class was one of the most successful in the area according to achievement test results' conducted by Samsun Directorate of the Ministry of Education. She was perceived as 'a very good teacher' by her colleagues. During the inspection time of her maths class, as she told, most of her pupils solved a maths problem as she taught them. But, the inspector did not agree the way pupils solved the problem and he had a different answer and so a different way to solve this problem. One pupil, she told, solved the problem as the inspector did. Her attempts to convince the inspector failed. The talk between her and the inspector was not a friendly one. Eventually, she got 'four' (good/satisfactory). She thought that she should have got 'five' (excellent) as she used to get in previous years. The report that she received from the inspector, as she told, could affect her promotion in a negative way.

⁶ It might perhaps be noted that this activity first defined as 'reading' in order to include 'reading aloud' as used in the PRINDEP study (see Alexander, 1995, p.154). It was observed that pupils did not engage in 'reading aloud'. Therefore, it was modified as 'silent reading'.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In the previous chapter, I have presented findings of the three research methods used in this study. This chapter returns to the research questions in an attempt to discuss the most important issues which have emerged from the study.

The methods used in this study, were developed as complementary elements, as well as to test the findings of the each research method through triangulation. Therefore, the questionnaire and the interviews addressed a wide range of issues in Turkish elementary education and history teaching, while the classroom observations examined teachers' classroom practices and pupils' activities.

Triangulation of the three research methods used in this study would validate and exemplify findings of the study in a way which would never have been possible by the use of a single approach because of the limitations inherent in each respective method. Although questionnaires were mostly used in the educational research and were regarded as one of the most efficient ways to collect a wide range of quantifiable data from respondents, I argue that it was the interviews and classroom observations which provided more valuable data in describing the research phenomena than did the survey findings. As analysis of the data showed, some

discrepancies occurred between the teachers' responses to the questionnaire items and their responses to the interview questions, especially in relation to teachers' teaching practice and the use of text materials in history lessons. This can be accounted for by the different structures that formed both research methods. As is generally known, questionnaires are effective for collecting quantitative data. To be effective, therefore, the researcher should avoid leading and open-ended questions (see Cohen and Manion, 1994). This led me to think that a quantifiable structure was necessary in the study's questionnaire. However, the questionnaire showed that exemplification of the issues was limited to the ranked items which were defined by myself. In contrast, the interview process indicated that the teachers had very much to say, in an open-ended way, about the issues of the curriculum and their teaching practices.

Finally, the classroom observations provided both quantitative and qualitative data to test and verify the findings of both methods, this supported Jonathan's (1981, p.167) argument that one way to gather information for the classroom research 'might simply be to ask teachers to report on their teaching aims and methods and their pupils' responses to them'. Moreover, '[t]his approach is open to the objection that teachers' perceptions of their own performances are highly subjective, that people may not always be doing what they claim to be doing, or even what they believe they are doing' (*ibid.*).

Having summarised the inherent limitations of the research methods used and specified in this study, next, I aim to discuss the most important findings which are emerging from the data presented in the previous chapter.

6.1 Teachers' theories and classroom practice

The study's questionnaires and interviews aimed to explore teachers' perceptions of curriculum policy in relation to their classroom practices (research question one, p. 131). Broadly speaking, the teachers held similar opinions about the technical applicability of the primary curriculum. Most of them believed that the curriculum was too centralised. There was no concern for local peculiarities and optional units. The only flexibility was that the teacher could change the order of units if he or she thought that this was seen necessary. Because of the centralised curriculum, schools have to follow the same programme regardless of their limited facilities, such as: class sizes, text materials, teaching time compositions, locations and so on.

The data showed that there were gaps between the theories underlying the primary curriculum and teachers' classroom practices. The curriculum, as a whole, was felt to be too broad and the teachers used this to try to justify advocating and using only a few direct teaching techniques. There were inconsistencies in the curriculum surrounding the contrast between child-centred approaches and the content of the subjects in the syllabus. This contradiction was generally seen as an important

factor by teachers in deciding to adapt the curriculum policy rather than adopt it as it was specified. The interviews showed that the lack of a logical relationship between the ideas (e.g. child centred approaches, subject-based syllabus and utopic ends) in the curriculum allowed teachers to implement it in two different ways. Most of the teachers in the questionnaire saw themselves as facilitators of pupils' literacy and numeracy skills. Some of the teachers in the interview process considered themselves as social engineers of the school community (*national utopians*- see chapters two and five) who thought that the purpose of elementary education was to meet the needs of a desired Turkish society. Others – (*utilitarian/instrumentalists*, see chapter five) advocated concentration on the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills and believed that content knowledge should be covered in order to meet the specific requirements of the curriculum.

These different perceptions held by teachers, of their role, were reflected in their classroom practises. Although most of the teachers who might be called *national utopians* were administrators, two male teachers of the study believed that socialisation of the elementary child was very important and their practices showed that they preferred a didactic way of history teaching, mostly employing 'lecturing' as a teaching style and teaching history as factual information. The rest of the teachers, who might be described as *utilitarian/ instrumentalists*, attempted to establish a balance in their teaching techniques and required pupils to actively participate in the learning process by the use of 'questioning' and 'pupil's recitation'.

6.2. The social studies curriculum

It can be argued that although the teachers differed from one another, there was a strong pattern which affected teachers' beliefs in implementing the theories of focusing on national values in the social studies curriculum. This was apparent in the interviews and classroom observations. For instance, the teachers in the questionnaire argued that social studies should be taught as a whole, because elementary children would not be able to understand the basics of each discipline if social studies were taught separately as geography, history and citizenship. Such an integration is questioned by Alexander (1984):

‘the way children naturally look at the world’ and ‘the way the world naturally is’ [Blenkin and Kelly, 1981] ‘seamless’ undifferentiated, common-sense, everyday and above all ‘natural’ rather than ‘artificial’ ...ignores the fact that the concepts and constructs for making sense of the world which the child builds up from the earliest stages and socialisation are rooted in the cultural history of his species. The very language with which he structures and communicates his thoughts is ‘artificial’ –i.e. man made. A topic using an undifferentiated, common-sense mode of inquiry is no more ‘natural’ no less ‘artificial’ than a history lesson. And the tacitly materialist view of the world in primary ideology, as existing independently of man’s thoughts and actions, is no more ‘natural’...than the idealist view that the world is the product of human thinking (p.71).

Nevertheless, most of the teachers in the study’s case schools thought that the purpose of social studies was to serve the need for citizenship education in order to meet needs of Turkish society. Therefore, each subject was regarded in the light of national ideas both in the social studies curriculum and in elementary education.

One of the problems of the curriculum (research questions two and three, p.131) was its broad specifications of the content of each subject. Teachers felt that this left little time to practise child-centred approaches, as was also required by the curriculum. Teachers justified their failure to apply child-centred approaches by citing the requirement to address the content of subjects with regard to the secondary examinations, pupils' socio-economic background, crowded classrooms and the insufficiency of teaching materials. Therefore such techniques as thematic teaching, discovery, discussion, collaborative learning, group teaching and so on were little practised. Believing that content knowledge needed to be covered (see research question three, p.131), the teachers focused on the more able and able pupils in order that they might reach the specific requirements of the curriculum and prepare pupils for secondary examinations.

The survey findings revealed that teachers attached little importance to social studies. As it was argued in the previous chapter, this low priority was explained with reference to the pressure of secondary examinations and the content of the social studies syllabus. On the other hand, interviews confirmed that the teachers saw themselves as experts in the teaching of literacy and numeracy. In contrast, none of the teachers saw themselves as good at teaching social studies. While the interviews with the teachers of the three case schools suggested that subjects in Stage 2 should be taught by subject specialists, the study's observations also supported the idea of having subject specialists in the teaching of social studies as not only pupils but also teachers were dependent upon textbooks.

At this point one may argue that whatever the approaches underlying teaching theories a 'high priority' is given to the 'basic skills' as a result of the class teacher system. The Turkish primary curriculum is divided into two parts at the 'operational' level. This dichotomy in prioritisation has a striking similarity to the English experience. Alexander (*ibid.*) pointed to the situation where:

...the high priority areas of 'basic skills' which are defined as reading, writing and mathematics, and the lower priority areas of creative and expressive arts, social and environmental studies, scientific understanding, moral and religious education, physical education, and so on (1984, pp.61-2).

My findings concur with Alexander's (*ibid.*) argument that

...a substantial deficiency in curriculum/professional knowledge effectively negates the primary teacher's claim to be in a position to make valid judgements about priorities in the 'whole curriculum' for which, as a class teacher, he is responsible. Someone who knows little of, say, music, art, or moral education, hardly has the right, let alone the competence, to decide what proportion of the child's total curriculum shall be devoted these areas (p.73).

6.3 The teaching of elementary history

It became clear that depending on the aims of social studies teaching, historical topics served the ideas of citizenship education and that the curriculum presented the content of social studies as complex information based on the political events of national history in Turkey. Confirming the evidence from the survey findings and interview results (see research questions two and three, p.131), the study's observations showed that pupils had major difficulties in mastering given historical information. In particular, analysis of video-tape data suggested that a strategy of memorising historical events had little impact on the development of pupil's

historical understanding. I would argue that the philosophy underlying the curriculum, of seeking to teach the respective subjects that make up the components of social studies without regard to the basic specifics of each of the disciplines, was very much confused. This lack of clarity about the nature of each of the subjects created a situation in which it was possible to teach them with a corresponding scant regard to the special skills needed to comprehend the particularities of the discipline concerned.

The study's observations in Teacher D's class partly confirmed what teachers thought that pupils better understood socio-cultural and local histories than they did the political events of national history. Therefore, both the literature review and the findings of the study suggested that the content of the historical topics and the aims of social studies teaching, which were set by the curriculum, were far away from the level of pupils' historical understanding.

Results of the questionnaires, in general, the findings of the interviews and the classroom observations (research questions four and five, p.132) in the study's case schools showed that the teachers preferred whole class teaching and to exploit only a few direct instruction methods. In sum, one teacher believed that the methods which he used were culturally specific to the Turkish context and some believed that teacher and question led whole class interaction was the most efficient way to teach the curriculum subjects in the crowded elementary classrooms. However, contradicting the evidence from the survey findings and interview results the

teachers used discussion techniques on a few occasions when teaching history. Although most of the classrooms were suitable for the grouping of pupils for discussions and collaborative learning, the teachers mostly preferred to use 'questioning', 'lecturing' and 'pupil's recitation' setting the classrooms for whole class teaching with pupils being seated in rows.

I think that one of the advantages of the interview method was that it revealed confusion in teachers' opinions about the 'child-centred approaches' as the teachers interpretation of those approaches varied. On the other hand it was clear, in the study's classroom observations of history lessons, that most of the teachers preferred pupils as listeners. The teachers justified these discrepancies between their practice and teaching theories by citing factors which were beyond their control (e.g. crowded classrooms and the content of the curriculum). Moreover, the study's observation showed that teachers could practise 'questioning', story telling and whole class discussions with active participation of the pupils as teaching techniques. This could be seen in the case of Teacher C's class, in which she taught political history to 58 pupils.

The results of the three methods used in this study showed that most of the teachers employed 'lecturing' as a teaching style in their history lessons. As argued in the previous chapter, the classroom observations made it evident that 'lecturing' was not the activity that produced the most working behaviour amongst pupils and also that it lessened pupil's interaction with others. I also argue that the use of 'lecturing' in

the teaching of history topics would little help the checking and controlling of pupils' historical learning nor provide scaffolding for a meaningful historical understanding. This is because of the limitations of this style as explained in the study's literature review. The study's observations also showed that most of the teachers felt that it was necessary to use 'lecturing' in order to teach complex historical information in the limited time allocated for the teaching of history. However, Teacher A's case was an extreme example of the application of 'lecturing' practice. This showed how the teacher's speech could easily become excessively complex from the point of view of the pupils' ability to comprehend the lesson. The teachers also employed 'lecturing' in order to give summaries of previous topics in order to connect them to new topics, to make explanations, statements and introductions. Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the study's observations and from supporting evidence outlined in the literature review, it is suggested that teacher's 'lecturing' practice might be most useful if it was concentrated in the form of short explanations as a means of motivating pupils in history lessons.

According to the findings of this research almost every teacher used 'questioning' as a teaching style in history lessons. Quantification and exemplification of the teacher's 'questioning' practice were only possible by using the classroom observations. The study's observations revealed that when the teacher purposefully set 'questioning' the amount of 'pseudo' questions decreased and there was an increase in the degree of pupils' understanding of the purposes of the questions

posed. As quantitative analysis showed, the amount of 'open' questions which were asked by the teachers tended to be low and the teachers rarely prompted pupils in order to encourage them to give speculative answers. Although it is difficult to pose such reasoning and speculative questions in elementary political history classes, -as the study's literature review showed- organising history lessons around discussion might help to increase teacher's 'open' questioning practice. Therefore, it emerges that 'questioning', through whole class and group discussions, would provide a rich interaction between pupils and the teacher and would prompt a richer thought process amongst pupils in order that they might further develop their historical learning.

I suggested that using video-tapes for collecting qualitative data from classroom observations was useful to provide a fuller basis for analysis of qualitative data. For instance, it was possible for me to examine pupils and teachers non-verbal behaviours (i.e. their facial expression, movements and demonstrations). The quantitative data, from the classroom observations, would have helped little in explaining such behaviours. In particular, if the study's observations were limited by the use of pupil and teacher records, 'pupil's recitation' as a generic activity was observed only for one and half minutes amongst the target pupils. This meant that it was not easy to present findings on what was a very common activity, set by half of the teachers in the classroom observations, without the use of video-taped evidence.

Qualitative analysis of the classroom observations showed that ‘pupil’s recitation’ practice was based on social studies textbooks and was limited to memorisation of the historical facts. Pupils were very confused when dealing with dates and events based on political history. The study’s observations showed that when the teacher planned ‘pupil’s recitation’ beforehand the following structure was applied: the teacher introduced the topic, connecting with the previous topic; a pupil presented the topic using maps (and in one school a projector) and he or she asked the other pupils questions. In contrast, when the teacher used ‘pupil’s recitation’ activity in history lessons, but did not set it beforehand, other pupils seemed to read their textbooks in order to prepare themselves for the possibility of being called to recite next and also to find out possible answers to the questions asked by the reciter and other pupils, or by the teacher after the activity. Almost every teacher needed to make explanations and corrections during and after the ‘pupil’s recitation’. However it might be argued that, if ‘pupil’s recitation’ is carefully planned by the teacher, it can be used for the presentation of individual or group work in historical topics supported by a range of text materials and followed by whole class discussion.

The research methods used in this study sought possible relationships between the use of text materials, activities and pupil’s historical learning (research question six, p.132) (i.e. visiting museums and historical places and inviting old people). Although the questionnaire findings showed that the teachers used more or less those text materials and activities, interview results and classroom observations revealed that the teacher mostly used social studies textbooks in the teaching of

historical topics and a few applied time-lines and maps in the teaching of history and never arranged out of school activities for historical topics.

It should be noted that the study's literature review indicated that one of the most effective ways of history teaching is evidence processing using different kinds of historical evidence in order to encourage pupils to work like historians in order that they might arrive at some level of genuine historical understanding, through the use of discussions and carefully planned questions. The teachers who responded to the questionnaire said that they used historical evidence in their history lessons. This contradicted evidence from the interviews and classroom observations. Therefore, it became difficult for me to develop an argument about the use of historical evidence, as was the case in relation to other text materials and activities.

In conclusion, the empirical part of this study yielded four broad findings. First, that the teachers believed that the curriculum was too broad and the content of the subjects did not reflect the needs of elementary pupils. Moreover, the teachers felt that content knowledge needed to be covered in order that pupils might be successful in secondary examinations. There was a disparity between the methods which the teachers used and the methods which the curriculum advocated. Inconsistencies between the social aims of the primary curriculum and those methods let the teachers use a didactic way of teaching history in an attempt to deliver the social studies curriculum in the time allocated. This also revealed that teachers gave a low

priority to the teaching of social studies. This can be explained by examination of a number of factors that were present.

As argued, the primary curriculum was divided into two parts at the operational level in which Turkish and mathematics were regarded as ‘basics’ and ‘the rest’ was integrated as social studies, and science and nature studies. The research methods used in this study showed that there was an artificial integration in social studies which put the class teacher in a position where they were compelled to integrate geography, citizenship and history. Teachers neither employed such topic based approaches nor believed in the supremacy of those approaches, over their own existing pedagogical assumptions, in assisting in the integration of these subjects. Concretely, this discrepancy was a reflection of the curriculum policy which was meant to be progressive in definitive terms, but was associated with subject based approaches.

Similarly, teachers’ lack of subject expertise limited the teaching techniques that they used in history and social studies, which ‘cumulatively provoke[d] three related hypotheses’ (Alexander, *ibid.*, p.73):

1. What teachers do not adequately understand they are unlikely to teach well.
2. What teachers do not value they are unlikely to teach well.
3. What teachers do not understand they are unlikely to value.

Second, social studies teaching was seen as a vehicle to contribute to citizenship education and depending on this historical topics were based on the political events

of national history. Therefore, it became clear that the transmission of factually based historical information helped little pupil's historical understanding and the idea of helping pupils to meet the very basics of history, as a discipline in its own right, was never considered by those who drew up the curriculum and by the teachers who had the responsibility to implement it.

One may argue because of the concern for the traditional function of history (i.e. history as a socialising element), coupled with the *national utopia* myth, the subject was subordinated to the requirements of a "story" in which the real function of history was eliminated in favour of deriving lessons for a democratic society. One can never underestimate the value of such a dictum as 'there are no absolute right and wrong answers in history' in the child's personal development. On the contrary, when dealing with the rather sensitive issues arising from Turkish political history, as part of a strategy of transmitting factual information, it was evident that pupils can easily accept one true answer which is extrinsic to history. It is also the case that '[o]ne of the most difficult elements of school history remains its relationship to the social and moral purposes of history' (Husbands, 1996, p.65).

We have seen that there are many ways to develop pupils historical skills (see 3.2 Psychological perspectives) and that the history syllabus that we choose might help to construct such skills which are intrinsic to history. Supporting the evidence from the survey findings, I found that local and socio-cultural histories were better understood by the pupils of elementary schools as Alexander (1984) pointed out:

We can as teachers both convey a sense of excitement about the past and genuinely ‘historical’ awareness of how the past is not so much story or textbook fact as a process of re-creation. We can encourage children not only to receive or enjoy other people’s versions of history but also to experience at first hand how history is ‘made’ through, for example, family and local studies using immediately accessible sources like school log- books, family trees, parental and grandparental photographs and other artefacts, parish registers and the like (p.72).

Third, the teachers mostly used ‘lecturing’, ‘questioning’ and ‘pupil’s recitation’ as teaching styles and they little employed discussion, thematic teaching, discovery learning, role playing, collaborative group work and so on in their history lessons which were advocated by the curriculum.

A failure to comprehend such teaching approaches, advocated by the curriculum, was partly related to the discrepancies in the curriculum and the teachers’ lack of subject expertise, it was partly associated with the teachers’ beliefs and habits which encouraged a simple process of rote learning. ‘On the basis of various studies of teachers over many years, [Hargreaves] reasonably suggested that “Teachers, it seems, are present-oriented, conservative and individualistic” ’ (quoted in Cooper and McIntyre, 1996, p.159).

On the other hand, disregarding the teachers’ resistance to the theories of the so-called child-centred approaches in the culture of their teaching (i.e. resistance to: the application of thematic teaching, educational plays and the integrated social studies) has little helped to develop a consistent curriculum policy which runs parallel to the teachers’ experience.

At various points, the findings of this study indicated that teachers had established an elementary tradition which is culturally specific and rooted back in 1923 with the rejection of 'learning by doing' (see 2.1.2/b1 The role of foreign advisors in the development of the Turkish educational system). The study's observation data, I argue, made it evident that the so-called child centredness, which was spelt out in the 1953 primary curriculum and the outcome of the integration of the subjects, presented in the 1968 curriculum, had little impact on teachers' classroom practice. Teachers' resistance to curriculum policy, as the findings of this study showed, allowed them to rely on long term practices through the use of a few direct teaching styles.

However, this does not mean that pedagogical assumptions held by teachers totally denied such universally accepted methods as discussion, collaborative group work, problem solving and so on. Indeed, the teachers' attempt to mediate their practices with a prescribed curriculum has brought with it the possibility of a resurgence of such methods. For instance, teachers' 'questioning' practice prompted the use of speculative questions on some occasions. This created a situation where pupils' time-spent on verbal interaction was doubled (see 5.3.1/f. Pupils' verbal interaction). This can be interpreted as evidence that pupils could be motivated to participate in class or group discussions in which the skills of problem solving and self expression could be greater enhanced, as well as encouraging the development of a deeper historical understanding.

Last, depending on the teaching styles used by teachers, activities in history lessons were dominated by textbooks. Yet as the study progressed it became evident that the textbooks used for historical topics were not appropriate to the understanding and reading levels of elementary pupils.

Previous research has concentrated on the content of the social studies textbooks in Turkey. I have argued that the design of textbooks was a reflection of the content of the social studies' syllabus. More importantly the classroom observations showed that low achievement pupils, as they were perceived by their teachers, did not use their textbooks as much as other pupils. I concluded that the children were faced with complex language which they failed to understand.

It became clear that the textbooks regulated both the teaching and the learning of history. I argue that the lack of teacher guides relating to the teaching of history impelled the teachers to depend upon textbooks, as the only sources of literature available to them.

On the other hand, effective use of other text materials and of activities were very limited in the teaching of elementary history in the study's case schools, therefore, exemplification of those items and their impact on pupil's historical learning could not be addressed by referring to the data.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this chapter is to make some final observations emerging from the literature review and analysis of the data and some suggestions for further research. The implications posed for curriculum innovations are also presented.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the place of history teaching in the Turkish elementary classroom. First, it approached the problem in a wider context examining the Turkish educational system as a whole at elementary level. One way of approaching this was to examine the Turkish and English educational systems from a historical perspective in an effort to come to a wider understanding of educational theories. Although the study is not strictly comparative because the aim of this research was to determine the issues with regard to Turkish elementary education, it was my concern to examine the pertinent issues, linking them with the research in England. These entail a deeper understanding of one's own problems which is only possible if these problems are examined relatively. In this case, this necessitated the application of an international perspective.

The 1924 Educational Reform brought legislative changes and left the schools under the control of the Ministry of Education in Turkey. From then on, the Turkish national curriculum has been developed around elements of uniformity, in contrast to what John Dewey had proposed. He had advocated that account should be taken of local conditions and needs, and of the respective interests of the different localities. This, he argued, could be achieved by differentiating between unity and uniformity (see 2.1.2: b.1 The role of foreign advisors in the development of the Turkish educational system). Based upon the need for national unity, education has been highly politicized since the introduction of the first National Curriculum in 1924. The idea of what I call *national utopianism* has gradually developed as a mixture of nationalist ideas and universal curriculum theories. In the light of this, the aims of history teaching in elementary education have been sacrificed to the aims of citizenship education. Reviewing the literature suggested, as the debate on aims of history teaching revealed, that history could, also, contribute to the cognitive and individual development of a child by introducing the very basics of the discipline. However, this provides little guarantee that history education will play an important role in the creation of a desired society through the use of history for practical purposes.

7.1. Implications for policy, practice and research in Turkey

A major outcome of this study is the empirical evidence of the Turkish elementary teachers' classroom practice in relation to the applicability of the current prescribed curriculum. Effective teaching is dependent upon a fuller understanding of the

practical implications of a curriculum policy at classroom level. The rationalization of curriculum policy necessitates that account must be taken of the actual teaching practices and the situation and conditions that are inherited from the past. This precludes any attempt at “a transformative approach” involving the imposition of others’ recipes, as ready-made solutions to curriculum development.

Comparability is something different to such an top-down approach; it takes into account the respective cultural and social components of society, using an analytical perspective before attempting to make concrete suggestions. One may argue that the comparison of empirical evidence is more valuable than the debate about the aptness of universal theories of epistemological transformation. Grounding the research in its cultural domain and linking it with the experience of others are the vital elements of curriculum innovation. This study has benefited from this and has come to the conclusion that the following issues must be taken into account in educational policy and practice in Turkish elementary education.

7.1.1. Implications for educational and curriculum policy, with particular reference to history and social studies

The Turkish educational system has a long tradition of centrally imposed curriculum. Until the 1997 Education Reform, entrance examinations tended to prevent the critical evaluation of curriculum content. I came to understand that these examinations inevitably made the Turkish schools ‘teaching shops’ in which ‘effective teaching’ has been mostly valued by the memorization of given

knowledge prioritized, in order that pupils might be successful in secondary examinations. Teachers have been seen as the conveyors of that knowledge rather than guides or facilitators of children's learning. More importantly, teachers' lack of conviction about implementing the prescribed curriculum, in the way it was imposed, highlighted the question of the subjective factor as the key concept for its successful implementation.

One has to take into account that the teachers 'are concerned to make more generally available good practices which are already widely accepted within the relevant body of teachers' (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996, p.162). Moreover, isolating the teachers in the decision-making process is to disunite the curriculum from their practice as well.

I would suggest that the starting point for a successful implementation of the Turkish primary curriculum is to put its content, text materials and the idea of subject specialization under scrutiny through the accounts of classroom based research.

a. Content of the social studies curriculum

It has emerged that using history for social purposes puts limitations on the content of history and the use of methods in its teaching. Namely, local and socio-cultural histories found little place in contrast to political history. Both the literature review and analysis of data suggested that there should be a balance between the teaching of political, and other, histories at elementary level. Teachers should have flexible choices between the units and these units should be prepared in connection with

local histories, which truly help the children to familiarize themselves to a given task.

The social studies syllabus was too broad and overloaded by encyclopedic information. This study revealed that discrepancies between the ideas (as the so-called child-centred approaches) and the content of the subjects in the curriculum encouraged teachers to adapt rather than to adopt the theories. It is clearly understood that the teachers in the main held two different views on implementing the curriculum. These influenced the ways in which they taught pupils. The first group is classified as *national utopians* who placed emphasis upon national and cultural values in their curriculum planning. The second is grouped as *utilitarian/instrumentalists* whose main concern was to teach the curriculum content. Therefore, it emerged that there must be clear objectives (attainment targets) in the teaching of social studies rather than wishes and utopic ends. It should be considered that without having any clear objectives the teachers will oscillate between the utopic ideas of the curriculum and classroom realities. I suggest that further research should address the aims of history teaching in relation to pupil's historical learning, in order to assist in developing the social studies curriculum.

In the Turkish context, the reason for grouping history, citizenship and geography into social studies was not because it is appropriate for thematic teaching or with regard to the child's cognitive development, it was rather to serve utopian ideas of the curriculum (one teacher said that the word *social* reminded him the importance

of socialization of the child). These three subjects were also unified under the same title in the upper phase of primary (middle) schools by the 1997 Education Reform. Pupils meet these subjects as disciplines at secondary level (lycée). As argued, the very basics of history as a discipline must be introduced to pupils. Therefore history, as well as geography and citizenship education, should be liberated from social studies having in mind Bruner's famous dictum which is that 'any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development' (Bruner, 1963, p.33).

b. Text materials

Although this study could not develop an argument about the use of historical evidence in the teaching of elementary history because it was not set by the teachers of elementary classrooms observed by the study, no one can deny that history is, in a sense, an evidence processing activity which develops critical thinking about the past. Related literature showed that pupils can arrive at a reasonable level of genuine historical understandings when they engage with historical evidence through discussion, observation and questions. I suggest that any innovation in the use of text materials should include replicas of historical sources, to be used as historical evidence, in the elementary history classroom and more use of different historical resources (e.g. documentaries and museums) rather than textbooks.

This study also indicated that the social studies textbooks are not appropriate to the understanding and reading levels of elementary pupils, although the teaching of

history is dominated by the use of textbooks. On the other hand, it became evident that below average pupils used their textbooks less than other average pupils and took some notes from the teacher's statements or read their notebooks in relation to topics because of the level difficulty. I would suggest that preparation of the textbooks and other text materials is a long process and it should, by necessity, be related to research projects before undertaking any slight adjustments due to the changes that have taken place in the curriculum. Studies in curriculum development, therefore, must go hand in hand with the developing of text materials.

c. Subject-specialism

While the policy-makers still think that the class teacher system is useful in elementary education in relation to pupils' age, it is a fact that many university graduates who have undertaken no formal teacher training are employed in elementary education, and that secondary subject teachers are used as elementary teachers due to lack of staffing. This study indicated that one of the possible reasons behind the presence of such problems may be that a high priority was given to Turkish and mathematics, and 'the rest' was artificially integrated with little importance attached to them. The idea of the class teacher system in modern Turkish elementary education has to be questioned. It is logically wrong to assume that a class teacher is able to teach the whole curriculum (see Alexander, 1984). As one teacher said 'subjects related to humanities should be taught by specialists': I, too, argue that having subject specialists will be useful and will increase the quality of

elementary education. In doing this, class teachers' special interests can be organized around social studies, and science and nature studies.

It seems to suggest that the model advocated by Alexander *et. al.* (1992, p.43), suits the nature of Turkish elementary education. In this, the teacher as a 'semi-specialist' 'teaches his/her subject, but ... also has a generalist and/or consultancy role'. The latter 'combines a generalist role in part of the curriculum with cross-school coordination, advice and support in one or more subject' (*ibid.*) which is also similar to the role of 'grade or age specialization' work groups undertaken by the Turkish class teachers. I believe that the new structure of primary education might help the process of specialization. Elementary departments of primary schools can be re-organized thus: establishing subject departments through annexation of each Stage 2 subject with the same in Stage 3; forming subject expertise groups covering both stages; determining the responsibility of elementary departments into Stage 1 in which music, art and painting and physical education might be given by subject specialists, according to staff availability.

7.1.2 Implications for classroom practices

The three methods used in this study made it evident that teachers used only a few direct teaching techniques (i.e. lecturing, questioning and recitation) and they claimed that these were efficient in the teaching of social studies when taking into consideration pupil-teacher ratios, time considerations, overloaded content of the subjects and the pressure of secondary examinations. However, the teachers of

smaller classes made no effort to arrange their classrooms in groups in order to encourage collaborative work and discussion, as recommended in the curriculum. So it must be assumed that direct teaching was a result of habit rather than circumstance.

Lecturing as a teaching style has many weaknesses at elementary level. From the analysis of the data it became clear that the amount of 'pseudo' questions increased and the information which the teacher gave tended to be factually based when the teacher applied this technique. I argue that lecturing would give little assistance to pupil's historical learning as it tended to become a teacher's monologue in the observed lessons. Therefore, as the literature review and the analysis of the data showed, I suggest that question-led whole class or group discussions and collaborative group works, under the teacher's guidance, will be appropriate in the teaching of history in such crowded classrooms. Whole class discussions/interactions are useful:

- to provide time for listening to the pupils' ideas and to check pupils' current historical understanding in order to scaffold a meaningful learning upon it;
- to increase active participation of pupils in whole class interactions, in order that 'pupils feel accepted, cared for and valued' (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996, p.158);
- to increase the effectiveness of teaching practice by incorporating pupils' ideas into the lesson plan.

Group discussions/interactions are useful to:

- enable pupils to internalize historical concepts by sharing their understandings with others (see Cooper, 1995 and Gall, 1987);
- provide opportunities for pupils who do not participate in such whole class interactions and to increase their engagement in a given task;

Collaborative group works are useful to:

- ‘enable pupils to ... engage in [critical,] creative and imaginative thinking’ (Alexander, *et. al.*, 1992, p.39) with the provision of historical text materials.
- provide peer tutoring in mixed ability group settings. Therefore, teachers have more time to observe and monitor pupils (see *ibid.*, p.39).
- ensure that the teacher will ‘provide [a] level of challenge which will move [the pupil’s current historical] understanding forward’ (*ibid.*) in ability group settings.

Pupil’s recitation is an old tradition in the teaching of many subjects in Turkish primary and secondary education. It is clear that, as the data showed, pupils’ recitation practice is directly based on memorization of information from textbooks. Overall, there is confusion in relation to dates and events when the pupil recites a historical topic. I argue that pupil’s recitation would only be useful when the teachers organize it; as individual or group projects undertaken by the pupils and presented through the use of a range of text materials. It would not, however, provide effective learning as homework, in the form of reading textbooks before entering the history classroom.

7.1.3 Implications for teacher training

Until the 1980s teacher education was undertaken by the teacher training colleges and education institutes under the administrative control of the Ministry of Education. Diversification of the teacher training bodies of the Ministry and university departments produced two type of teacher's profile. One was from the teaching profession, while the other was from the universities as subject teachers. This gradually caused a gap between the Ministry and the universities. The debate was reduced to the degree of classifying teachers within the profession, as 'good' or 'bad'. This situation has continued up to the present, despite the fact that teacher training was transformed, being completely under the auspices of the universities, by the early 1980's. Therefore, research undertaken on the curriculum policy by the university departments has not readily been welcomed by the Ministry. On the other hand, engagement of the universities in teacher education has reached a higher level of professionalism in the late 1990s via the structural changes (see chapter two). This being so, it will serve to reduce the disparities between theory and practice if the following issues are taken into account:

First, primary teacher education departments of the universities are given a key role in bringing 'experienced teachers' craft knowledge as a major resource in initial teacher education' (Cooper and McIntyre, 1996, p.162; see also Pendry *et. al.*, 1998). This might be provided by the use of video-tape and accounts of research into elementary teachers' classroom practices. One may argue that the gap might be reduced between the classroom practice and the training of teacher candidates, in

order that teacher trainers 'might diagnose problems during teaching practice and ... give appropriate remedial help to their students' (Galton, *et. al.*, 1980a, p.165).

Second, student teachers' and teachers' observation skills have to be developed in respect to the methodological applicability of different observation techniques: a key issue for action research undertaken by the teacher himself or herself. This will encourage the teacher to extend his or her repertoire about teaching styles. At this stage, this study made as its starting point the concept that Turkish elementary teachers could be classified as *national utopians* and *utilitarian/instrumentalists*. This dichotomy was then further subdivided between *lecturers*, *questioners* and *controllers of proxy teaching*. It was concluded that there was a clear tendency for those teachers of the *national utopian* persuasion to fall into the category of being *lecturers* and *controllers of proxy teaching*.

I believe that this approach, of classifying teaching styles, will play an important role in enabling teachers to consciously develop their own teaching techniques. As Galton *et. al.* (1980b, p.184) say '[t]he value of observational research is that, having identified successful teachers, it can then go on to describe for the benefit of the less successful what it is that such teachers do in their classrooms, and the effect this has on pupils'.

Third, developing a framework through in-service training courses and teacher education in order to increase collaborative activities between the teachers and the

schools: coordination groups for subjects in stages 2 and 3; staff exchanges; and the creation of opportunities for teachers to observe each other's classroom practices (see Alexander, *et. al.*, 1992). I suggest that -by having the above criteria-departmentalization of the curriculum subjects might accelerate the process of semi-specialization/specialization of elementary/primary education.

7.1.4 Implications for pedagogical research

This study has particularly benefited from the classroom observation. It is hoped that it will encourage classroom observation, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, in any further research into the issues that are faced by Turkish elementary education. I hope now to have provided a starting point, by advancing a new perspective, for further research in the field.

The superiority of the classroom observations, over that of other research techniques, is their ability to access the cases in their 'natural settings'. Exemplification of the teachers' classroom practices and of pupils' behaviour have made useful contributions to this study. The absence of such a method would have forced me to rely on pre-existent definitions, which would not be drawn from the specific conditions prevailing in the course of the classroom research that was undertaken during this study. I believe that it is necessary to draw upon first-hand evidence if one is attempting to make his or her research on the issues of teaching and learning.

Bearing this in mind, one cannot deny that a research based on other techniques, rather than classroom observations, will always be limited by factors beyond the researcher's control. At this point, classroom observations play a powerful role in enabling the researcher to test his or her own assumptions and teachers' perceptions of their own classroom practices.

Undertaking classroom observations necessitates a greater collaboration between the researcher and the school professionals. During the observation process, the researcher's presence in schools is longer than the time-spent on interviews. This is a unique experience which has the effect of deepening his or her understanding of the teachers and their environment which, in turn, decreases the possibility of the occurrence of factors which are inexplicable and vague. Familiarity with a school's environment, brought about in the process of observational study, creates opportunities for a situation to arise in which collegial support is given by the teachers to the researcher (see also Cooper and McIntyre, 1996).

The findings of this study indicate that in order to strengthen the methodological applicability of classroom observations one might need to consider the use of both quantitative and qualitative techniques. The video-tape data, used in this study, provided detailed information about the use of pupil's recitation activity, as well as about the verbal and visual exemplification of the quantitative data on teachers' activities and pupils' behaviour. One of the practical uses of video-tapes is simply

that it enables the researcher to return over and over again to his or her own classroom observation in its natural settings.

Systematic observation of the classroom, one may argue, provides an immense amount of quantitative data which strengthens the generalizability of the data regarding any possible implications. At this point only relying on the qualitative data might mislead the researcher into analyzing the classroom discourse, exclusively. For instance, a qualitative analysis of the data might let us think that the use of questioning provides rich interactions between the teacher and pupils in whole class teaching. By contrast, the accountability of the target pupils' interactions and the type of interactions with their teachers might reveal that the pupils in fact as individuals receive little verbal help even in the most interactive classrooms.

Another way of strengthening the research findings, as accepted by many, is the use of triangulation. This study used the questionnaires, interviews and classroom observations as complementary research instruments alongside the use of comparability of each method to one another. I suggest that in developing observation instruments for categorizing the classroom activities, one might consider that the use of questionnaires and interviews beforehand might provide useful insights. Similarly, this study has also benefited from the questionnaires. An early analysis of questionnaire results enabled me to add new directions to the study's interview questions, in order that the findings of the study might be deepened.

Conclusion

The first part of the study was devoted to a review of the literature in the following areas:

- Identifying major issues in educational change by comparing the development of primary education in Turkey and England.
- Investigating the purposes of history teaching in schools.
- Examining theoretical and research perspectives relevant to history education including evidence on the development of pupils' historical understanding and on learning and teaching styles.

The issues from the literature review which I found particularly significant for my empirical study of history teaching in Turkish schools were as follows:

- The traditional aims of history often led to a didactic approach to history teaching.

This 'traditional approach' was coupled with the inculcation of an ideological interpretation of moral and cultural values and a style of teaching which heavily emphasised the acquisition of informational knowledge.

- The alternative approach (the 'process approach') was to emphasise the intrinsic processes of historical enquiry and to develop historical skills by placing emphasis upon discussion, problem solving, evidence processing.
- A variation on this, the 'democratic approach' used similar methods, but differed from the latter by focusing on democratic values and the civic role of history teaching and by highlighting reconstructionist ideas in curriculum policies.

Although this study looked at the issues in terms of one subject (history) in Turkish elementary education, both the literature and the data analysis indicated that the primary curriculum, as a whole, is in certain respects unrealistic. It is highly centralized and knowledge-based, though it contains theoretical definitions of progressive ideas. Perhaps the most important barrier to developing innovative ideas is the priority given to educating pupils as members of the desired future society. As was made evident, teacher's understanding of the current curriculum policy encouraged them to promote a simple process of rote learning. This manifested itself in the form of the presentation of historical facts which had been simply stored in pupils' minds. This study developed an argument on the aims of history teaching and concluded that in developing the social studies curriculum it would be better to take into account the intrinsic purposes of history which are essential in developing objective criteria on the subject matter.

The study explored a wide range of issues concerning elementary education and the place of history teaching. In this chapter, it has also identified implications for policy, practice and pedagogical research, especially the following:

- Change in curriculum involves taking into account a variety of factors (e.g. textbooks, examinations, inspections, teacher training and so on). We have seen that these 'political and administrative devices' often disregard 'teachers' own desires for change' as well as retarding any qualitative changes in educational policy. Therefore, the study argues that teachers must be included in the decision-making process in order to develop realistic and sound curriculum policies. This being the

case, opportunities must be created to involve teachers in research projects and to encourage them to undertake their own research.

- The empirical part of the study found that an effective way of history teaching could be associated with whole class teaching by the application of discussion methods and collaborative group works through the rigorous uses of higher order questions and appropriate text materials. This might make the study of history in Turkish elementary schools a more active subject, both physically and intellectually.
- The craft knowledge of experienced teachers is an important resource in teacher training which can help to reduce the disparities between theory and practice. The study advocated the use of video-tapes and accounts of classroom based research in diagnosing the problems and identifying the most appropriate teaching styles.
- This study identifies further directions for research in the teaching of elementary school history relating to the development of the social studies curriculum (e.g. aims, content and objectives) and of the standard of text-materials. These changes should draw upon the findings of classroom based research, focusing especially on teachers and pupils.

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APPENDIX 1

THE CURRICULUM AND HISTORY TEACHING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

The aim of this questionnaire is to provide information which will be assessed in a study investigating the place of the history teaching in the primary social studies curriculum. The information will be strictly confidential, and only used for research purposes.

The questionnaire is in four sections. Section 1 asks for factual information, while other sections ask for your opinions or perceptions.

SECTION1: Please tick the appropriate box.

1.1 Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

1.2 Age: 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ Over 60 ☐

1.3 How many years have you been teaching?

1-4 ☐ 5-10 ☐ 11-15 ☐ 16-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ More than 30 ☐

1.4 How many years' experience of teaching Y4 and Y5 children have you had?

1 ☐ 9-4 ☐ 5-8 ☐ 9-12 ☐ More than 12 ☐

1.5 What is your present position at your school?

Head ☐ Deputy Head ☐ Class Teacher ☐ Other (please specify) ☐

1.6 Did you take a course on social studies during your teacher training?

Yes ☐ No ☐

1.7 What kind of school do you teach in?

Elementary ☐

Primary ☐

1.8 What is the teaching time composition of your school?

Mornings and afternoons teaching ☐

Full day teaching ☐

1.9 How many pupils are registered in your school?

50-100 ☐ 101-200 ☐ 201-400 ☐ 401-600 ☐ 601-800 ☐

1.10 How many pupils are registered in your class?

SECTION 2: Please tick the appropriate box or write your opinion.

2.1 What is your most important aim as a teacher of primary children?

.....
.....

2.2 Please show below, in rank order, which concepts are most and least important for you when you are planning your curriculum?

Content ()	Pedagogy ()	Moral and cultural values ()
Other (please specify).....()		

2.3 Do you discuss curriculum matters with your colleagues? Yes () No ()

2.3a If YES, what issues do you discuss?

.....
.....

2.4 Please show the importance attached to these curriculum areas by parents and pupils.

	Very important		Not important
Social Studies	()	()	()
Turkish	()	()	()
Maths	()	()	()
Art	()	()	()
Music	()	()	()
Physical education	()	()	()
Other	()	()	()

2.5 Please show the interest which is attached to these curriculum areas by your pupils.

	Very interesting		Not interesting
Social Studies	()	()	()
Turkish	()	()	()
Maths	()	()	()
Art	()	()	()
Music	()	()	()
Physical education	()	()	()
Other	()	()	()

2.6 How often do you use the following methods in your lessons?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Discussion	()	()	()
Asking Questions	()	()	()
Direct teaching	()	()	()
Problem-solving	()	()	()
Other	()	()	()

2.7 Would you find it useful to have a free day to support children's understanding of a curriculum area? Yes () No ()

2.7a If YES, what should this day contain?

.....

.....

SECTION 3: Please write your opinion or tick the appropriate box.

3.1 Thinking especially about history, which topic do your pupils find most interesting?

.....

.....

3.2 Some people argue that primary social studies should be taught as separate history and geography. What is your view?

.....

.....

3.3 Do you discuss social studies curriculum with your colleagues? Yes () No ()

3.3a If YES, what issues do you discuss?

.....

.....

SECTION 4: Please tick the appropriate box, write your opinion.

4.1 Please show below, in rank order, which history topics are most and least easily understood by your pupils?

Political () Local () Socio-cultural () Other () (please specify)

4.2 Please show below, in rank order, which time spans are most and least easily understood by your pupils?

Ancient () Primeval () Medieval () Modern ()

4.3 How often do you use the following methods in history teaching?

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Discussion	()	()	()
Asking Questions	()	()	()
Direct teaching	()	()	()
Problem-solving	()	()	()
Other	()	()	()

4.4 Which of the following activities do you use in history teaching? (Please tick appropriate boxes)

- Using historical sources ()
- Role-playing ()
- Using and making maps ()
- Preparing history projects ()
- Visiting historical places and museums ()
- Inviting old people to the classroom ()

4.5 Do your pupils find social studies textbooks:

Very interesting () Interesting () Boring ()

4.6 How far are the social studies textbooks appropriate to the ability of your pupils?

.....
.....

4.7 Finally, are there any other comments you would like to add on teaching methods and resources in history teaching?

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire, and your co-operation.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEWS QUESTIONS FOR TEACHERS AND HEADS

1. Will you please tell me something about yourself? (T&H)
2. How many years have you been teaching? (T&H)
3. How many years experience of teaching Y4 and Y5 children have you had? (T&H)
4. What is your most important aim as a teacher of primary children? or as head of a primary school? (T&H)
5. What are the main problems in primary education? (T&H)
6. Do you discuss curriculum matters with your colleagues and what are the issues of discussion? (T&H)
7. What is your understanding of child-centred approaches? (T&H)
8. When you are planning your curriculum which concepts are most important for you, why? (T)
9. Will you please explain your role when the curriculum are being planned and what issues do you emphasize on? (H)
10. Do you believe that subject specialism should take place in primary stage? (H)
11. You teach subjects according to the curriculum. What are the main difficulties that you have to overcome during your teaching period?. (T)
12. If you had a change, do you prefer to teach single or mixed curriculum area in your lesson? (T)
13. Do you prefer class/group/individual teaching? (T)
14. Would you like to teach separated social studies, why/why not? (T&H)
15. What kind of teaching methods do you use? (T)
16. What kind of history topics can be easily understood by your pupils? Are they socio-cultural, local or political? (T)
17. Which historical time spans can be easily understood by your pupils? (T)
18. What kind of teaching materials do you need to use in history? (T)
19. Would you like to give some information about social studies textbooks? (T)

APPENDIX 3

PUPIL OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

School:

Class:

Date:

Time:

	TP	GA	UT	TB	IN	CN	DN
030							
1.00							
1.30							
2.00							
2.30							
3.00							
3.30							
4.00							
4.30							
5.00							
5.30							
6.00							
6.30							
0.30							
1.00							
1.30							
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6.30							

Generic activities (GA)

- 1. Listening/looking (L)
- 2. Silent reading (SR)
- 3. Writing (W)
- 4. Reciting (R)
- 5. Talking to the class (TC)
- 6. Talking to the teacher (TT)
- 7. Collaboration (C)
- 8. Movement (M)
- 9. Drawing (D)
- 10. Repeating teacher’s speech (RS)

Using text materials (UT)

- 1. Textbook (T)
- 2. Blackboard (B)
- 3. Map (M)
- 4. Mapbook (MB)
- 5. Time line (TM)
- 6. Projector (PR)
- 7. Notebook (N)

Task related behaviour (TB)

- 1. Working (W)
- 2. Routine (R)
- 3. Awaiting attention (AA)
- 4. Distracted (D)

Interaction

Initiation (IN)

- 1. Pupil initiated (PI)
- 2. Teacher initiated (TI)

Content (CN)

- 1. Working (W)
- 2. Monitoring (M)
- 3. Routine (R)
- 4. Disciplinary (D)

Direction (DN)

- 1. Pupil teacher (PT)
- 2. Pupil-pupil (PP)
- 3. Pupil-group (PG)
- 4. Pupil-class (PC)

TEACHER OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

School: Class: Date: Time:

	IN	CN	DN	QT
030				
1.00				
1.30				
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Interaction

Initiation (IN)

- 1. Pupil initiated (PI)
- 2. Teacher initiated (TI)

Content (CN)

- 1. Lecturing (L)
- 2. Asking questions (AQ)
- 3. Listening (LN)
- 3. Working (W)
- 4. Monitoring (M)
- 5. Routine (R)
- 6. Disciplinary (D)
- 7. Introducing new topic (IT)
- 8. Talking (T)

Direction (DN)

- 1. Teacher pupil (TP)
- 2. Teacher-group (TG)
- 3. Teacher-class (TC)

Question Type (QT)

- 1. Pseudo (P)
- 2. Recall (R)
- 3. Open (O)