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ORAL HISTORY EDUCATION

Dialogue with the Past

Edited by Danijela Trškan

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Slovenian National Commission for UNESCO

Ljubljana

2016

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FOREWORD

In the Republic of Slovenia, the primary aim of history lessons is to transmit to students the knowledge of important events and achievements from the past. The subject is far less concerned with memory, which reveals how and to what extent people recall the past. Oral history resources remind us that history is created by individuals with unique experiences, and that is why the Slovenian National Commission for UNESCO supported the project "Oral History Sources as Part of the Cultural Heritage in History Lessons" (2015–2018), as it brings together three areas of UNESCO's activities in Slovenia and abroad – education, science, and cultural heritage.

One of the most significant contributions to UNESCO's project is also the following publication, which is the result of a combined effort of eighteen authors, who on the one hand provide accounts of the role and use of oral history resources and oral history, and on the other describe and explain how oral history is integrated with the school curriculum in different countries. The publication employs two pedagogical approaches: passive and active oral history. In the framework of the former, students examine oral history resources found in textbooks, books, on television, and online, where in the framework of the latter, students assume the role of researchers and collectors of oral narratives through interviews.[1] In both cases, a dialogue is established with the past.[2] The publication is a model of its kind, affording a multi-perspective approach to oral history education, and constitutes a singular international contribution to the development of history teaching.

The articles are written by professors, lecturers and researchers of history education who were invited to participate in the project from September 2015 to September 2016: Eleni Apostolidou from University of Ioannina (Greece), Isabel Barca from University of Minho (Portugal), Carol Căpiță and Laura Elena Căpiță from University of Bucharest (Romania), Meenakshi Chhabra from Lesley University (USA), Brenda Gouws and Johan Wassermann from University of KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa), Paul Holthuis and Tim Huijgen from University of Groningen (Netherlands), Darius Jackson from University College London (United Kingdom), Josephine May from University of Newcastle (Australia), Sergiu Musteață from "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical State University (Moldova), Helena Pinto from University of Oporto (Portugal), Maria Rițiu from "Emil Racoviță" National College (Romania),

1 LANMAN, B. A. & WENDLING, L. M. (2006) *Preparing the Next Generation of Oral Historians. An Anthology of Oral History Education*. Lanham, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Altamira Press, p. XIX.

2 More in: WHITMAN, G. (2004). *Dialogue with the Past: Engaging Students and Meeting Standards through Oral History.* Walnut, Lanham, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Altamira Press.

Lavinia S. Stan from Babeș-Bolyai University (Romania), Benediktas Šetkus from Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences (Lithuania), Barbara Winslow from Brooklyn College of the City University of New York (USA), and Danijela Trškan from University of Ljubljana (Slovenia).

The fifteen articles are divided into four parts: Introduction to Oral History Education; Oral History Projects and Stories, Oral History in Schools, and Guidelines for History Teachers in Primary and Secondary Schools. They demonstrate ways in which oral sources, testimonies and life narratives can be incorporated into the education of youth in the 21st century at all school levels. The following publication is therefore intended primarily to encourage using oral history resources and doing oral history as vital part of projects in history and other school subjects, particularly in countries where oral history is seldom used.

As the editor of this publication, I am deeply grateful to all the authors for their contribution to the UNESCO project. For their encouragement and support I would like to thank Marjutka Hafner, Secretary-General of the Slovenian National Commission for UNESCO, Gašper Hrastelj, Barbara Urbanija, and Drago Balent from the Office of the Slovenian National Commission for UNESCO.

Ljubljana, June 2016 *Danijela Trškan, Ph.D.*

PART 1

INTRODUCTION TO ORAL HISTORY EDUCATION

ORAL HISTORY: BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT, BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COLLECTIVE
(Eleni Apostolidou)

HISTORY-IN-THE-ROUND: ORAL HISTORY, MEMORY AND PRAXIS FOR SMALL SCALE ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS
(Josephine May)

DUTCH VOICES: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ORAL HISTORY IN DUTCH SECONDARY HISTORY TEACHING
(Tim Huijgen, Paul Holthuis)

USING ORAL HISTORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN HISTORY EDUCATION
(Helena Pinto)

RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE: SURVIVOR TESTIMONY AND HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND THE WORK OF THE UCL CENTRE FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION
(Darius Jackson)

Eleni Apostolidou

ORAL HISTORY: BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT, BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COLLECTIVE

Abstract

This paper examines the development of Oral History since the 1940s, from Paul Thompson and his work *The Voice of the Past,* to Luisa Passerini and her work on "subjectivity" and the "cultural' and "affective" turn in historiography in the 1990s. It argues that there are two periods in the development of Oral History; the first is characterized by a defensive stance of oral historians against their colleagues of traditional historiography in relation to methodology. The second is described as a period of confidence in which oral historians define oral history as an "analytical practice as opposed to a method of recovery" as it was in the past (Abrams, 2010). The paper also discusses the consequences of the fact that digital sources are today accessible to the public along with the digital means to create and disseminate ones' life-history.

KEY WORDS: ORAL HISTORY, REPRESENTATIVENESS, VALIDITY, SUBJECTIVITY, CULTURAL AND AFFECTIVE TURN IN HISTORIOGRAPHY.

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ORAL HISTORY: BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE PRESENT, BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COLLECTIVE

Introduction: A Definition

According to the Popular Memory Group (PMG) "oral history is the evocation and recording of individuals memories of the past" (2003, p. 81). Alternative terms could be "personal-testimony research" and "life-story research" (Abrams, 2010, p. 2). Oral history first aims to retrieve evidence about the past, and thus perform a complementary role to history based on written sources, and functions as "recovery history" (ibid, p. 5). Second, it aims to provide information about the past through people's personal experience of events. In addition, since oral history interviews are "retrospective" (Frisch, 2003, p. 37), they also save the interviewees' present experience and consciousness, raising the same validity and interpretation questions as written sources do. This is the reason why, theorists and oral historians tend to see the products of oral history, recordings and transcripts, not only as raw data but also as first interpretations of the events included in people's narratives; in Grele's[3] words, they are "symptomatic" of the culture that informs them (2003, p. 45).

Abrams further mentions that oral history is a research practice used not only by historians, but also by practitioners of other disciplines such us ethnology, anthropology, sociology, health-care studies and psychology (2003, p. 2). Actually, it has developed into an international movement involving not only members of academia, but also practitioners such us community activists and health workers (ibid, p. 9). It relates to the political culture of the left since the diachronic aim or oral history has been to recover the voices of the unknown, of the silenced, of those without access to the public: "I am seeking to *rescue* the poor stockinger … [who] lived through these times" explains Thompson (1980, p. 12). This is the reason why there is a focus in everyday life, practices and routines, as well as on private time, in other words, on aspects of people's lives previously excluded from the dominant representations of the past.

Initially, oral history started as "recovery history", "documentary in intent" (Shopes, 2014, p. 260), focusing on collecting evidence, and connected to archival practice, while it sought to "record and preserve interviews for use by future researchers" (ibid). As Abrams mentions, the first oral history projects in history were the New Deal Federal Writer's Project (in the 1930s) and the post-war Columbia

3 Grele nevertheless cites Althusser.

University Oral History Project with the intention of documenting the lives of ordinary Americans and leaders respectively (2010, p. 4). Since the 1980s, oral history has changed its focus from the factual information about the past to the meanings implied and especially to the construction of meanings by collective subjects and individuals; subjects were given back their capacity to define themselves, and also to make decisions about their lives despite socioeconomic obstacles (Passerini in Passerini, 1998, p. 17). The shift of focus within the practice of oral history described above actually signalled the analytical transition from impersonal structures to "subjectivities" (Liakos in Passerini, 1998, p. 11) and from a "documentary" approach to the data, filled with concerns about validity and representative issues, to a "textual" approach. According to Shopes, the "textual" approach focuses more on the authority in relation to the narrative and the interpretations articulated by both interviewer and interviewee throughout the interview; "the narrative, subjective, retrospective and co-constructed qualities" of the data produced through an oral history interview contribute to new interpretations (Shopes, 2014, p. 267).

The following sections provide an outline first of the origins of oral history and second of the two main methodological tendencies in relation to the oral history data, approaches that are considered to exemplify the character of the practice of oral history in different periods of time.

The Origins

The development of oral history marked at least two shifts in historiography: first the shift from the history of facts, in 'Rankian' terms, to social history as expressed by the "Annales" historiographical movement in the mid-war period and to the history of "experience". History of experience is considered to be initiated after Thompson published his emblematic work *The Making of the English Working Class*, in 1963.[4] The second shift was the enlargement of the thematics of historiography to include everyday life and emotions.

Tosh notes that "first World War dealt a fatal blow to the ideal of the nation-state whose rise had been the great theme of the 19th century historiography" (2010, p. 78); the "Annales" historiographical movement, named after the journal "Annales d' Histoire Ēconomique et Sociale", realized the transition from a history focused on nation-states to one focused on society. Various groups of people in certain places and time periods, their everyday lives, thoughts, values, beliefs, and mind-sets constituted the focus of historical studies.

4 E. P. Thompson.

Furthermore, as society replaced the nation-state, memory – the first material to be used by the historian – multiplied; it was no longer the common memory of the nation state but it referred to specific groups, in Nora's words "the memory – nation was thus the last incarnation of the unification memory and history" (Nora, 1989, p. 11). It was in the mid-war period that psychologists, sociologists and historians attempted to register the ways in which individual and collective memory works. Bartlett[5] and Vygotsky[6] from psychology, Halbwachs[7] from sociology, the historians of the Annales and later Le Goff[8] and Lowenthal[9] emphasized the selective, provisional, dynamic and constructed character of memory. Halbwachs, especially in his works *Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire* (1925)[10] and *La Mémoire Collective* (1950)[11] focused on memory as a social construction dependent on political affairs and interests: "language, time, place, experience are provided by society and they are essential for the recognition and placement of memories", (Benveniste in Halbwachs, 2013, p. 13). In *La Mémoire Collective*, Halbwachs was one of the first in a series of theorists culminating to Le Goff, who drew a sharp contrast between (collective) memory and the discipline of history; whereas history emphasizes "differences and contrasts, and highlights the diverse features of a group," collective memory establishes the continuity of a group, and whereas history records changes in time, collective memory "reties the thread of continuity" between past and present (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 82). In his work *Memory and History*, Le Goff also stresses that "history – the discipline – ought to enlighten memory and aid it to correct its mistakes", (Le Goff, 1998, p. 160).

Another consequence of the dissociation between [national] historiography and [national] memory and of the critique historians exercised on the conditions in which memories are constructed was also the inclusion of memories as the 'object' of historiography; from being the means or the 'raw' material for historians to work with, memories became, along with commemoration practices, part of the history subject, one of the history themes. Memories as "experienced time" (Rüsen, 2005, p. 11) are considered to be types of facts. The distortions of memories and the transitions in commemoration practices offer historians insights into people's historical consciousness in the present; the latter development takes us to oral history. Early in 1989, in his well known article in *Representations,*[12] Nora comments on the proliferation of oral histories (1989, p. 14) and connects this proliferation to the imperative of "our époque to preserve every indicator of memory ... but also to produce archives" (ibid, p. 14).

5 Frederic Bartlett (1886-1969).
6 Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934).
7 Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945).
8 Jacques Le Goff (1924-2014), "History and Memory" was published in 1992.
9 David Lowenthal was born in 1923, "The Past is a Foreign Country" was published in 1985.
10 The "Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire" was translated in English as "On Collective Memory", 1992, University of Chicago Press.
11 "La Mémoire Collective" (1950) in English as "The Collective Memory", Harper Colophon Books.
12 Nora, 1989, "Between Memory and History, Les Lieux de Memoire", in *Representations,* (26).

The historiographical transition from nation state to society brought to the fore the need for polyvocality and especially for those groups of 'ordinary' people – in contrast to leaders – who traditionally lacked a forum to articulate their life experiences. Starting with Thomson's focus on the making of the working class in England, other groups, previously thought of as "subalterns", women for example, constituted the focus of social history and in several cases contributed to oral history projects. It was expected that their articulation of their own memories would contribute to their emancipation, since a conscientious formation of one's historical consciousness is also expected to lead to control of one's life. Moreover, the historians engaged in a specific period of time benefited from oral history projects as they had the opportunity to listen to 'non – official' voices from the past, voices often separate from the dominant collective memory in a society, heretical ones, or "anti-memories" (Gazi, 2013, p. 32), thus they would gain unexpected insights into the themes they studied. Another historiographical transition that facilitated the development of oral history was the "affective turn" in historiography that took place in the 1990s (Athanasiou et al, 2008, p. 5) connected with the "New Cultural History" (Burke, 1997, p. 192). Burkes relates "new cultural history" to anthropology and studies themes like "inherited artefacts,[13] goods, technical processes, ideas, habits and values", or the "symbolic dimensions of social action",[14] and especially with "everyday life" or "everyday culture". Cultural history as described above also embraces oral sources and attitudes of ordinary people. The latter extensions of oral history take us to Thomson's and other social historians' histories "from below" as described previously.

According to Passerini, emotions can also constitute the object of history not directly but as "discourses". She refers to her own research project "Love and the Idea of Europe", in which she studied the role of love in the construction of European self-representations (Passerini, 2008, p. 118). In a presentation of the historian Passerini and her work, Laliotou comments on the enlargement of the historiographic themes in the sense of not so much new groups, "subjectivities" that were included in the historical narratives, but also of all the "unfinished business"[15] or "unconscious aspects[16] of history", meaning its repressed themes (2016, p. 11).

The later enlargement of historiography's thematic sphere and the relationship of this enlargement with oral history is reflected upon by both Passerini in her article about the intellectual repercussions of 1968 and historiography (2009) and Liakos in his own article about the "Long Sixties" (2008, p. 63). They both acknowledge the atmosphere of "defeat and victory" (Passerini, 2008, p. 26) that prevailed after 1968; despite the political defeat that all the movements of the 1960s experienced,

13 Bronislaw Malinowski, 1884-1942.
14 Clifford Geertz, 1926-2006.
15 Laliotou's wording here.
16 Passerini's own words from her book "Europe in Love".

their influences in theory and historiography were large and continue till today. The movements of 1968 formed the new agenda for both theory and politics, raising new political issues, such us ecology, and post-material values and needs (Liakos, 2008, p. 63). The above developments are considered to connect to both the history from below and oral history as an international movement (Passerini, 2008, p. 26).

To conclude this section, the development of oral history as a research practice in historiography has been the result of several shifts in the discipline of history, shifts closely connected to the politics and the historical consciousness after the mid-war period.

People's Voices, the First Period of Oral History

In the two previous sections a brief attempt was made to define oral history as a research practice and an international movement. Reference was also made to its theoretical-historiographical origins: first the abandonment or the curtailment of national histories in favour of the social ones, and second, history's development into cultural history and its connection with anthropology along with the enlargement of its thematic to include everyday life and emotion. The above developments orientated historians to focus on the 'anonymous', those people that as Tosh put it "would never +otherwise have dreamed of dignifying [their] reminiscences in that way" (Tosh, 2010, p. 316).

This section of the paper, named "People's Voices" focuses on the first period of oral history, a period which, according to oral history researchers and theorists, is mostly identified with Thompson's work: "... oral historians working predominantly within a social-science framework were also concerned about the representative nature of their data ... an aura of pseudo-science pervaded much of what oral historians did", (Abrams, 2010, p. 5). Abrams within the same comment cited Thompson's well-known work about the Edwardians, where rich details are given on sampling and data-collection methods.[17] Thompson's work is considered as typical of that phase of oral history when historians expressed immense concerns in relation to representativeness and validity issues in the relevant projects. Working on the defence oral historians struggled to establish that the interviews realized could be thought of as "typical of specific social groups or situations", (Tsiolis, 2010, p. 352).

In his work *The Voice of the Past,* a classic textbook about oral history research combining theoretical insights into the repercussions of one's methodological choices for the results of one's study, and practical recommendations referring to all stages of oral history research, sampling, interviewing, analysis, ethics (Bada and

17 Also in the 'methodology' Thompson wrote *The Voice of the Past.*

Bouschoten, 2002, p. 21), in the relevant chapter about "Evidence", Thompson discusses both issues of representativeness and validity.

Initially he makes it clear that one cannot have a random sample in oral history since interviews conducted within oral history projects are always retrospective (Thompson, 1988, p. 125): we would need to interview those old people alive today so they would constitute a balanced cross-section sample of their generation in the past, the latter strategy, technically being very difficult. He instead suggests a "quota sample", a list of categories of various proportions into which people would have to fit in order to be counted and he offers as an example of the latter strategy the sample of his own project "The Edwardians" (ibid, p.126).

In the end, he 'dismisses' the problem of representativeness as he uses Blumer's words to conclude that, "a half dozen individuals with such knowledge constitute a far better representative sample than a thousand individuals … involved in the action … but not knowledgeable …", (ibid, p. 130). He also calls our attention to alternative strategies adopted by qualitative research where "representativeness of concepts not of persons is crucial", (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 9). Finally, along with other researchers he contends that sampling in qualitative research ought to be restricted to 'rich' cases related more closely to the phenomenon under study (Cresswell and Plano, 2011). On the whole, Thompson assesses the factor of the informant's knowledge and willingness to speak to the oral historian as very important.

On the other hand the willingness parameter could be double-sided: most willing informants tend to be people belonging to the middle class and educated; as Thompson puts it: "… the wholly unskilled, the 'rough' and 'unrespectable', for example, were again and again almost to the last moment socially invisible" (ibid, p. 128). Among the most willing and least reliable informants, Thompson includes politicians as they are used to presenting themselves for professional reasons, and the historians or the teachers because they have already formed views of the past that thus inform the researcher on a second-hand basis.

The latter is a problem raised by other researchers as well: "It might be surmised that the more aware of history and politics an informant is, the more likely is the danger of his rationalising an account of the past to harmonize with a present viewpoint", (Lummis, 2003, p. 276). Portelli also draws our attention to the fact that much of the emotive information born by a narrative, is lost because of the transcription; in this way folk informants are treated in an unfair way, because "they may be poor in vocabulary but are often richer in range of tone, volume and intonation than middle-class speakers who have learned to imitate in speech the monotone of writing" (Portelli, 2003, p. 66).

In relation to validity, two main issues are considered to be relevant: the first has to do with the nature of memory itself and the fact that the latter is mediated by culture, interests and politics. The second has to do with the nature of the oral history interview and the fact that today the narrative articulated by the interviewee is considered as a joined 'product' produced both by the researcher that poses the questions and the respondent and narrator.

The fact that memory is considered more as a product of people's present concerns, and thus bearing a provisional content, and less as a repository of definite information about the past, is usually accepted as a common place by researchers.

Thompson, for example, differentiates between what the informant recalls when asked a general question and what he recalls when asked a more detailed one: "subjective and collective myths and impressions" in the first case, particular facts of everyday life in the second case, (Thompson,1988, p. 135). Interest plays its own role in the whole process of remembering: people remember best what they are interested in. Bartlett was the first to comment on this: *"In perceiving, in imagining, in remembering proper, [my emphasis] and in constructive work, i.e. thinking, the passing fashion of the group, the social catch-word, the prevailing approved general interest, the persistent social custom and institution set the stage and direct the action*" (Bartlett in Saito, 2000, p. 158).

People often also narrate incidents that they haven't attended and that they know second-hand (Thompson, 1988, p. 137). Another indication of memories' inaccurateness is the very common phenomenon of "telescoping of two separate events into one in the memory" (ibid, p. 137). To support the latter assumption, Thompson recites an incident referred to by Portelli about the death of a worker by the police which was placed by his colleagues in the year 1953 rather in 1949, (ibid, p. 138). Portelli himself explained the 'mistake', as the workers' desire to see the death of their colleague connected to their protests for the firing of 2.700 men from the steelworks in 1953. Portelli reminds us that "wrong statements are psychologically true and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts" (Portelli, 2003, p. 68).

In his review of the well-known work by Studs Terkel, *Hard Times,* a collection of 150 self-portraits of American lives centred on the experience of the 1930s, Frisch comments on how the interviews expose "the selective, synthetic, and generalizing nature of historical memory itself" (Frisch, 2003, p. 37). His point is that the interviews are more indicative of the 1970s era that they were realized than of the 1930s. He is also surprised of the fact that other reviewers of Terkel's work did not notice their contemporary focus and spoke of the revelation of the American spirit of the 1930s as contrasted with the disappointing situation of the 1970s and the contemporary youth's mentality. In the end, Frisch notices how disappointing it is that the

interviewees, informants, being demanded to recite their experience, did not historicize it at all despite the general and at the same time systemic character of the Great Depression.

Along the same lines, Lummis focuses on Grele's[18] analysis of two interviews of ex-activists who while reciting their radicalization in the 1930s, adopted the 1970s values, and interpreted their involvement only in terms of "economic reformism and common-sense fair play" (Lummis, 2003, p. 276), thus maintaining a distance from their former radicalism. Lummis attributes the latter ex-radicals' stance to the political culture of the 1970s, which was a Cold War political culture. Thomson, on the other hand, locates a shift in the mnemonic stance of an Anzac veteran in relation to the war he experienced and especially the shell shock: in an early period after the war when public opinion idealized the specific war, Fred stopped talking about it. Only many years after the war Fred did manage to draw upon languages and meanings available in his culture, "socialist politics, social politics and medical explanation", to articulate his narrative about the war in which he spoke about the shell shock having provoked his nerves and nightmares (Thomson, 2015, pp. 21-22).

Speaking of silences it has been a common place among historians that traumatic events provoke memory disorders. Passerini actually refers to traumas as relevant equally to history and psychology, disciplines traditionally thought of as being parallel (Passerini, 1998, p. 38). In order to get over one's trauma, one needs to historize it, like Fred in the previous oral history case. In this case the articulation of one's life-story is thought of as having a therapeutic dimension (Thomson, 2015, p. 23). On the contrary, when subjects cannot include the crisis of their life in a scenario, they are either immersed into the past 'repeating' it (La Capra 2001, p. 21) or silence about it. Passerini referred to silences of the 1930s period located in oral history's interviews conducted after the II World War in Italy and Germany. The latter silences were thought of by Passerini as "[real] holes in the autobiography" (ibid, p. 272) and were interpreted as guilt or inability to compromise between subjects' identities and what constituted a negation of those identities, especially of the more political subjects during those years. Another interesting case is that of the people that lived in the U.S.S.R.: when interviewed they said that for them silence was identified with cooperation with the totalitarian regime, while the preservation of memories with resistance to it (ibid, p. 282).

Finally, there seem to be validity problems stemming from the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. Most theorists or oral history practitioners actually accept that there is an inevitable dialogue between the historian and the informant and that the interview is a joined activity and a product in which the historian's

18 Grele, R. (1979) Listen to Their Voices: Two Case Studies in the Interpretation of Oral History Interviews. *Oral History*, 7 (1), pp. 33-42.

questions and the informant's narration imbricate. Passerini has theorized the latter relationship talking of two subjectivities, the researcher and the interviewee, or the relationship between the researcher and the theory or theorists that inform his analysis (Laliotou, 2016, p. 9). Oral history seems to be an area where former dualisms are overcome. According to Passerini, in order to conduct oral history research, we would need to create a distance from our historians' culture, identify with and try to understand the 'other' and then 'return' to the discipline being renovated (Passerini, 1998, p. 33).

Another expression used to describe the relationship above is Frisch's "shared authority" meaning that "it is in the nature of oral and public history [that] we are not the sole interpreters. Rather, the interpretive and meaning-making process is in fact shared by definition – it is inherent in the dialogic nature of an interview …" (Shopes,[19] 2014, p. 265). Along the same lines Grele presents the oral history interview as a "joint activity" of the historian and the informant or as a "conversational narrative" (Grele, 2003, p. 44). Oral history interviews are not created alone but in interaction, thus they should be analysed in the circumstances under which they are created (ibid).

On the whole, oral history interviews are authentic but not valid if they are read at face value way, as factual data or information. On the contrary, they need to be analysed within the context in which they are created: they are a product of the dialogue between the informant and the historian, they are not 'end products' but beginnings of interpretations attempted equally by the historian and the interviewee. The interviewee speaks in his own voice but he may reproduce a "shared imagination" (Portelli, 2003, p. 66). Coupland speaks of "broader cultural narratives" and "popular myths" to indicate the interaction between the interviewee and the community he belongs too (Coupland, p. 278). Also interviewees' ideas develop in time so that they interpret their past through their experience of the present. Nevertheless, oral history interviews disclose personal and collective areas of historical significance related both to the past as remembered in the present and the present itself, thus facilitating our historical understanding on the whole.

"Subjectivities", the Second Period of Oral History

The second period of oral history is situated by Abrams in the 1980s (Abrams, 2010, p. 6). It is described by Shopes as the period in which oral interviews start being analyzed as narrative constructions and not as archival information, in a way that historians focus on interpretation and not only on assessment of the sources' accuracy (Shopes, 2014, p. 258). Passerini distinguishes between a research process

19 Actually Shopes cites Frisch.

confined to "piling up facts" and an interpretative process that perceives of peoples' interviews as expressions of culture (Passerini, 2003, p. 55). Thompson, despite his eagerness to defend oral history methodologically in the first chapters of his book, gives his last chapter the title "Interpretation: The Making of History". In this chapter he argues for an analysis that, while starting from individual interviews will end in describing social frameworks in change. He also presents the analytical work within oral history as a movement between "big theories, small intuitions ... and field work" (Thompson, 2002, pp. 345-349). Finally he presents the advantages of small-scale research that allows the researcher flexibility, thus the continuing movement between theories and data (field work) citing[20] Faraday and Plummer: "life-histories interviews contribute to the formation of concepts, intuitions and ideas ... in [different] levels", (ibid, p. 350).

A concept that summarizes in the best way the new oral history approach is "subjectivity". Passerini defines the concept both in terms as "spontaneous subjective being contained and represented by attitude, behaviour and language and as other forms of awareness, such as the sense of identity, consciousness of oneself, and more considered forms of intellectual activity" (Passerini, 2003, p. 54). Subjectivity is differentiated from identity because historiography usually refers to cultural identities as being fixed in place and time but it excludes the subjective perception of them by individuals (Passerini, 1998, pp. 32-33). Passerini attributes the need for a new concept and analytical tool to the post-war political reality and especially to the youth and other social movements of the 1960s. She speaks about a sense of political defeat on the part of the Italian workers under the fascist regime and of the youth after May 1968. The common denominator in these two cases seems to be the lack of "subjective liberation", of liberation in the "mental and personal sphere" of the subjects involved in the political processes (Passerini, 2003, pp. 54-55). A question about violence also arises: if is it always exercised on a material basis, what about coercion in psychological and cultural terms? (ibid).

On the whole, oral history in its first phase developed a defensive attitude against traditional historiography in relation to methodology, attempting at best to locate patterns in the social sphere. In the second phase oral historians seem to be conscious of their subjectivity as researchers, and of the aims and the questions their research serves: new subjects, collective and individual, new themes, neglected by the previous phases of historiography, new approaches focusing on the "internal" (Passerini, 1998, p. 32), the "psychological" (Passerini, 2003, p. 55), and the differentiated perception of social reality by individuals.

The assumption about differentiation takes us to the contribution of oral history to historical knowledge. While historians are supposed to locate general patterns

20 Faraday, A. & Plummer, K. (1979): Doing Life Histories, *Sociological Review,* 27.

about societies in different periods of time, the general sense, collective memory and historical consciousness of people in different past periods, and while oral history interviews reflect the social and cultural framework of the interviewees, many times they bring to the surface not the culture of the respondents but the respondents' differentiation from collective memory i.e. what we could describe as breaches in the collective memory. The latter could be invaluable as knowledge, while being difficult to recover from other types of sources. Thus, oral history interviews express an ongoing play between the collective and the individual, between the past being narrated, and the present that usually sets the framework for the narration of the past. This framework is also formed by limitations set by society, like collective memory and myths. On top of all those factors contributing to the articulation of the individual retrospective narrations, there exists another one: the dynamics of the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, a relationship built on unequal terms, and on terms of likes and dislikes between the subjects involved. Within this interpersonal context one is tempted to compare two oral history studies that constitute at the same time stories of like and dislike between interviewer and interviewee. Thomson admits that he liked the respondent as a personality and that they shared common ideas, and states: "*Fred had worked me in the same way in our interviews ... looking back now on my relationship with Fred Farrall, it is clear that he wanted to convey a moral and political story ... from my research diary of the time I can see that I was moved and inspired by Fred and his story, which appealed to my own socialist and antiwar politics of that time.*" (Thomson, 2015).

Unlike Thomson, Boyed admits that in order to analyse her subject's interview she had to become conscious of her own internal state and locate elements in the interview that were disrupting of her own subjective identity, calling the whole process the "total situation", (Boyed, 2015, p. 68). Thomson brings our attention to "intersubjectivity" and the fact that oral history after the 1980s has accepted that inevitably the interviewer's questions and character affect the stories that are shared, (Thomson, 2015, p. 27). In 2000, Paul Thompson, many years before Alistair Thomson and Boyed, makes similar remarks referring to issues of race and colour: black informants are supposed to express themselves more spontaneously when the interviewer is also black (Thompson, 2002, p. 180). Thompson, not using the "intersubjectivity" vocabulary, asks himself to what extent the interview as a "social relationship" has consequences for the data collected (ibid, p. 178).

On the other hand, oral historians many times comment on the interplay between the collective and the individual that oral history interviews bring to the surface. Thus, Thompson speaks both of personal memories being alternative in relation to collective memory and about world myths that intrude personal experiences (Thompson, 2002, p. 173). Elsewhere he notices that it is very common for the historian to locate discrepancies between "general past values" and accurate details about everyday life in the past, despite the fact that general schemas are supposed

to absorb specificities (ibid, p. 330). He notes that in those cases one may find traces of a forthcoming social change. Portelli calls our attention to the fact that narratives produced by the oral history process are divided between personal 'truth' and shared 'imagination' (Portelli, 2003, p. 66). The Popular Memory Group distinguishes between the "field of public representations of memory" and the knowledge of past produced in everyday life (Popular Memory Group, 2003, p. 77). Finally Coupland uses group interviews to uncover exactly the ways in which personal memory develops in interaction with broader cultural narratives (Coupland, 2015). Coupland's findings indicate that even within the group interview context and despite the dynamics of the group, there was co-construction of the memories by the participants and also cases where individuals adopted different stances from the group (ibid, p. 298).

To sum up on the conceptual transitions realized from the first to the second period of oral history one could attest a continuing demand for emancipation through the oral history process especially on an individual basis, (rather than on a collective basis). Tsiolis contends that in the 1980s post-modern societies there is a higher degree of independence on the part of individuals since traditions have stopped playing the roles they used to play, and individuals can select among many options in relation to their lives (Tsiolis, pp. 357-358).

Another factor that we ought to take under consideration is that individuals today have more technical means to express themselves. Cohen draws our attention to the fact that today most oral history archives are digitized and accessible to the public. He is nevertheless concerned with the fact that most digital archives do not offer aids for the lay public to make sense of the interviews archived (Cohen, 2013, p. 161). Additionally Kaufman in his article about *Oral History in the Video Age* paraphrases Becker's "everyman his own historian" to "his own *oral* historian", [a historian] also equipped with the technology to record his interviews almost at all times (Kaufmann, 2013, p. 2). He adds that nowadays we are also provided with the means to publish, post and disseminate the products of our research through modern platforms and social media like facebook (ibid, p. 5). Actually facebook posts may constitute a new type of oral history: Zestanakis in his research about the 1980's youth in Athens uses apart from oral interviews also facebook posts or posts from blogs that relate to the 1980's (Zestanakis, 2014). Similarly in their work on museums Gazi and Nakou refer to the "share a memory" feature on museums' websites "where visitors can add personal memories inspired by the museum objects or as part of wider research projects" (Gazi and Nakou, 2015, p. 18).

Conclusion

Oral history developed with the aim to include in the historical narratives produced those with no access to public and to contribute to their emancipation; today there is access both to the digital culture and to the digitized products of oral history in a way that people may 'produce' their own histories of their lives in many forms. In the first period of oral history practitioners focused on issues of accuracy and validity. Today there is concern in relation to authority since our analytical tools are more sophisticated and we realize how complex the process of oral interviewing can be. The increasing accessibility to oral history's products raises concerns about the capacity of not historically literate people, to make sense of the digital material. On the whole the overabundance of the oral history material might make it less accessible, which is the problem of our époque in general: the proper use of the 'accessible' information.

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Josephine May

HISTORY-IN-THE-ROUND: ORAL HISTORY, MEMORY AND PRAXIS FOR SMALL SCALE ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS

Abstract

This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological aspects for a style of oral history that places the voices of the tellers at the centre of the method, privileging the performative aspects of oral history research. This approach is called 'history-in-the-round' and it likens oral history research to theatre production. History-in-the-round is a term adapted from a theatrical approach called theatre-in-the-round, which, although ancient in style, became popular in Western drama in the 1950s. The characteristics of theatre-in-the-round provide a way to conceptualise the qualities of small scale oral history projects. Before turning to a fuller explanation of this approach as a four phase practice, the chapter outlines some background theoretical and methodological considerations including an overview of the strengths of oral history methodology and some of the key understandings about memory harnessed by the history-in-the-round approach.

KEY WORDS: ORAL HISTORY, HISTORY-IN-THE-ROUND, APPROACHES, MEMORY AND MEANING, PHASES OF PRACTICE.

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HISTORY-IN-THE-ROUND: ORAL HISTORY, MEMORY AND PRAXIS FOR SMALL SCALE ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS

Introduction

Oral history can be utilised in a diversity of ways and degrees of incorporation in historical research: its use can range from an interesting but not strictly necessary way to collect the views of living persons about a particular documentary-based project to add colour and immediacy to the work, to fully realised oral history projects where the main body of evidence entails individual memories collected by personal interview/s. This chapter outlines the theoretical and methodological aspects for the latter style of oral history that places the voices of the tellers at the centre of the method, privileging the performative aspects of oral history research. This approach is called 'history-in-the-round' and it likens oral history research to theatre production. History-in-the-round is a term adapted from a theatrical approach called theatre-in-the-round, which, although ancient in style, became popular in Western drama in the 1950s. This type of theatre dispensed with the proscenium stage and placed actors in a central lighted area, surrounded on all sides by spectators (Jones, 1951, p. 5). The characteristics of theatre-in-the-round provides a way to conceptualise the qualities of small scale oral history projects.[21]

To begin with, the concept of history-in-the-round, like theatre-in-the-round itself, underscores the antiquity of oral history as a methodology. The first histories were oral histories (Sharpless in Charlton et al., 2007, p. 7) just as the first theatres were in-the-round (Joseph, 1967, pp. 16-17). Next, the concept emphasises the centrality of speech and performance in history-in-the-round. Just as theatre-in-the-round had few props and relied on the performance of the actors, oral histories are performances (Pollock, 2005) which are often undertaken because few documents, or 'props', exist about the group or subject matter to be studied. This is particularly relevant to the study of the historically disenfranchised, that is, those people 'hidden from history' (Layman, 2010, p. 130) especially with regard to their experiences (Graph, 1996, p. 87). Furthermore, as the producers of theatre-in-the-round must 'feel their way into a fresh relationship with the actors' (Joseph, 1967, p. 124), historians utilising oral history, must do so with their informants (Portelli, 1981, p. 105). This is because oral history is dialogic (Frisch, 1990, p. 71), profoundly social (Tonkin, 1992, p. 12), and jointly produced (Mishler, 2006, p. 43; Hydén, 2012). As

21 This chapter is based on a chapter from the author's unpublished doctoral thesis Josephine R. May. Gender, memory and the experience of selective secondary schooling in Newcastle New South Wales, from the 1930s to the 1950s. University of Newcastle, NSW Australia.

Della Pollock has written: "That insofar as oral history is a process of *making history in dialogue*, it is performative. It is cocreative, co-embodied, specially framed, contextually and intersubjectively contingent, sensuous, vital, artful in its achievement of narrative form, meaning and ethics, and insistent on *doing through saying*" (Pollock, 2005, p. 2).

The analogy between history-in-the-round and theatre-in-the-round is thus descriptive of a particular type of oral history. As theatre-in-the-round is small theatre, history-in-the-round is small history: it is confined in terms of the number of people it concerns, as well as in place, time and field of action. History-in-the-round, like theatre-in-the-round, is intimate (M. Jones, 1951) and simple (S. Joseph, 1967). This type of history is democratic in thrust: 'it has no raised stage', that is, the 'actors' emerge from the audience and speak. History-in-the-round features the words of ordinary people. It is a history from *within* the experience being researched (May and Proctor, 2013), not 'from below' (Thompson, 1965; Sharpe in Burke, 1991), a hierarchical term often used to describe histories about those for whom few written records survive. History-in-the-round is about a 'sharing of insights and experiences' (Joseph, 1967, p. 122); it provides 'a new vocabulary of subtle gestures' (Joseph, 1967, p. 125); and it must be able to withstand 'close inspection' (Joseph, 1967, p. 147).

Because of its human scale, history-in-the-round emphasises interconnectedness and continuities through time. While historians mainly study change, 'in some circumstances [...] continuity is much more interesting, and more difficult to explain, than change' (Prins, 1992, p. 120). Sometimes the actors speak together as a Greek Chorus in theatre-in-the-round. History-in-the-round searches out these choral notes in oral histories as mythologies which are expressive of the life of the larger group. Furthermore, just because history-in-the-round is small-scale, lacking in props, intimate and seemingly simple, does not mean that it is without sophistication. History-in-the-round must be 'rounded' in two related senses: it should contextualise the individual oral history narratives and it must be based on a wide range of sources. Before turning to a fuller explanation of this approach as practice, however, the chapter provides some background theoretical and methodological considerations including an overview of the strengths of oral history methodology and some of the key understandings about memory harnessed by the history-in-the-round approach.

The Strengths of Oral History

The strength of oral history research is that it can reveal the experiences and the effects of history on the people who lived it. By recording and analysing memory narratives of informants, oral historians are able to explore the nature of people's

social experience in the past. Oral history provides an 'interpretive methodology' with which to explore the 'everyday life' in the past (Delamont, 1996). Not only can social experiences be explored, but oral histories can be analysed to explain the ways in which individuals and groups experience gender, race, age and class, how they construct meaning, how memory operates and how consciousness is formed.

The uneasiness about oral evidence displayed by some historians rests in the complex power of the written word to externalise, accumulate and fix knowledge as well as to freeze time. Historians are 'literate people *par excellence*' (Prins, 1992, p. 118), they value highly the power of the written word. Oral history, on the other hand, is not fixed in form or time. Further, memory, the very stuff of oral history study fixed in words, is 'a complex, fluid and contingent thing' (Abrams in Berger and Niven, 2014, p. 89).

Oral historians contend that the so-called 'weaknesses' of oral evidence are those encountered in all types of sources and can be dealt with in the same way, that is, by the use of 'multiple, converging and independent sources' (Prins, 1992, p. 130). The strength of oral history is: "the strength of any methodologically competent history. It comes from the range and intelligence with which many types of sources are harnessed. Nor is this an obligation which lies asymmetrically upon oral historians as practitioners of a lesser art. ... [T]he move to a post-literate, newly, globally, electronically oral and visual culture deflates the professional self-esteem of traditional document-driven historiography. All historians are equal before this challenge" (Prins, 1992, p. 135).

Further the selectivity of memory 'gives oral history its power' (Nelmes, 1992, p. 374). Abrams observed: "In contrast to the written document – a text fixed in time and space – memory is a far more intriguing source for the historian interested in how the past is remembered as well as what is remembered." (Abrams, 2014, p. 91).

In this way oral history has many strengths including that: it acts as a restraint against reductionism and methodological narrow-mindedness; it produces new information and new research directions; it allows the historian to explore the motivations, feelings and values of informants; and it gives voice to otherwise marginalised groups (Nelmes, 1992, pp. 368-369). This last point is particularly relevant to history from the informants' point of view in history-in-the-round method.

As oral historians themselves have become more critical of their own practice, they have uncovered compelling reasons why oral history cannot be discounted and they make special claims for the oral history evidence and analysis (Thomson et al., 1994). Weidman stated that oral history is interesting and valuable in itself and 'is expressive of the life of the larger community' (Weidman, 1987, p. 51). Frisch claimed that: 'By studying how experience, memory and history become combined

[historians can] track the elusive beasts of consciousness and culture' (Frisch, 1990, p. 13). Holbrook has shown how the problematic nature of oral history can be turned into a strength, or, at the very least, have its worst effects mitigated. She advocates the holistic treatment of the interview by 'not only cross validation between documentation and oral testimony, but between transcripts, data collection strategies and theoretical schemes' (Holbrook, 1992, p. 11). Many oral historians, including foundational scholars such as Luisa Passerini (1990), Alessandro Portelli (1988), Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (1990), suggest that a multi layered analysis of oral data can open up for scrutiny new research pathways which mine the deep structures, the mythical formations, in consciousness. By adopting this type of analysis, historians can expose the mythologies that are built up about their area of study in the popular consciousness, which shape attitudes today and which play a vital role in its future. When Patrick O'Farrell, in a much-quoted essay from 1979, wrote that oral history leads 'not into our history, but into myth' (8), he was anticipating a trend in the research as well as firing off what he thought was a telling criticism. This leads to a consideration of the nature of memory upon which history-in-the-round approach is grounded.

Memory and Meaning as Method

The theoretical grounding of oral history research centres on the nature of memory, for in oral history: 'memory becomes not only the method, but the object of oral history analysis' (Faris, 1980, p. 172). In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the study of memory across the disciplines**.** Researchers from the fields of neurobiology, philosophy, psychology and sociology all stress the centrality of *meaning* in the creation of human memory.

Steven Rose, neurobiologist and long-time memory researcher, has cautioned against technological metaphors, in particular those popular ones relating to the computer such as 'hardware and software', to describe the operation of memory. He says they are inadequate. This is due to the fact that memories: 'are dynamic and dispersed, located in different ways in different parts of the brain' and that memory is an 'emergent property of the brain as a dynamic system, rather than a fixed and localised engram' (Rose, 2003, p. 373). He asserts that memory: 'is the property of the brain as a system, rather than those of individual components within that system' (Rose, 2003, p. 100). Furthermore, the process of making memory is profoundly interactive: it is both biological and individual, social and collective. For Rose the key to memory is meaning because meaning is paramount in memory's construction (2003, p. 104).

Second, memory is studied as an aspect of individual reality. One such study is that of the philosopher Casey. In his rigorous phenomenological study of memory,

Casey provides a description of memory. Like Rose, Casey (2000) found that mechanistic analogies of memory involving computers or photography are unsatisfactory. He says that such comparisons: 'undermine the authority, scope and value of human memory in its own domain – in its ongoing performances in everyday life' (Casey, 2000, p. 5). Memory, he says, has a 'thick autonomy': it remains autonomous in the thick of things and allows us to find out 'what truly happened in what actually happened' (Casey, 2000, p. 283). Humans recall the significant event. According to Casey, memory is fundamental property of human life and meaning is the most important factor in memory.

Most studies of individual memory are conducted by psychologists. They have come to a number of important conclusions. The first is that memory can be understood as developmental. Children rarely remember much before the age of three and their memory is poor before the age of seven (Sandberg and Spritz, 2011, p. 129). This phenomenon is referred to as Childhood or Infantile Amnesia. With age, humans move from encoding memory in image format to more abstract forms. The change occurs at about the age of seven.

According to psychological theory, memory can be understood as a process. There are two types of memory: semantic and episodic. Semantic memory consists of general knowledge about the world; episodic consists of personal experience. Autobiographical memory is episodic (Cohen et al., 1993, pp. 50-51). According to schema theory, information in memory arises from two sources that operate interactively: 'bottom up' information from the sense organs and 'top down' from past experience. 'Top down' processing produces schemata which are packets of information. These also can be called scripts or frames. Schemata may have 'tags' in the form of an image. Young children have tags, or isolated fragments, without schemata. Schemata affect memory in five ways: selection, the generation of generality, integration and interpretation, normalization, and retrieval. Thus schemata in memory can lead to information being lost and/or enriched (Cohen et al., 1993, pp. 25-30). Once again, meaning is the important factor in memory. But meaning is constructed by the rememberer at a price: detail is lost through the other important factor in memory's operation: forgetting. Baddeley (1989) observed that human beings remember what is salient and forget the myriad of trivial details they encounter daily. Forgetting is a natural part of the memory process. It can be influenced by a number of factors: the saliency of the event; the emotional tone; rehearsal frequency; recollection; richness in cueing.

Other findings from the psychological research on individual memory are that: less pleasant incidents are forgotten more rapidly; rehearsal leads to less forgetting; and 'who', 'what' and 'where' are equally effective cues for remembering, but 'when' is a poor cue. Apparently there are gender differences in memory: females perform better than males in tasks involving verbal memory; males perform better in spatial

memory tasks; females are better at remembering faces (Loftus et al., 1987). Finally, images are inherently more memorable than words (Mintzer and Snodgrass, 1999, p. 113).

All of these factors have a bearing on this oral history research. For example, little recall can be expected from informants before the age of seven. Such memories will tend to be isolated, lacking in detail and imagistic. Further, greater credibility could be given to memories of people, things, and places (the who, what and where of memory) but less can be expected regarding times and dates (when). Visual memory, especially representations of faces, could be regarded as particularly strong memories. Further pleasant memories will prevail in testimonies and that rehearsed memories will be well fixed. Gender differences in memory need to be understood. Most importantly, memories are stored as 'chunks' in that they are 'packaged' in meaning segments, or schemata.

Fentress and Wickham (1992), echoing the work in other disciplines, state that memory is an active search for meaning that is not only individual and 'simply subjective' (p. 13), but also social, since 'it is structured by language, by teaching and observing, by collectively held ideas, and by experiences shared with others (p. 6).' Social memory is held in common by groups; it tells members who they are (p. 25). Just as the psychologists found, they say that memory tends to be schematised and simplified (p. 74). They confirm the importance of forgetting, alerting oral historians to the significance of silences in testimonies. Memories have specific grammars and functions (p. 88) and the dominant form of memories is narrative (p. 47). In the conceptualization of narratives, however, memory becomes 'selective, distorted, inaccurate' (p. xi). Furthermore, narratives become 'internal contexts', which buttress memory long after the external context for the memory has disappeared (p. 74). Visual imagery is one aspect of narrative memory and that: 'a story is one way of sequencing a set of images, through logical and semantic connections, into a shape which is, itself, easy to retain' (p. 50). They suggest that there may be narratives forms, for example, specific to localities, called oikotypes by folklorists. Peter Burke (1989, p. 105) has even suggested that there may be 'memory communities', rather than 'speech communities' and that there may also be a form of 'social amnesia' occurring within social groups.

Anthropologist Elizabeth Tonkin is another researcher who has written about the social nature of memory with particular regard to oral history. According to Tonkin (1995) our identities are both personal and social and memory is: 'the site of social practices that make us, together with the cognitive practices through which we understand society' (p. 12). She claims that 'we are our memories' and that the past 'enters memory in different ways and helps to structure it' (p. 1). Each individual is thus 'a bearer and a maker of history' (p. 97). Oral testimonies are social actions, narratives which involve repetition and patterning (p. 3). Other oral historians have

affirmed that the basic structure of memory is narrative (see, for example, Faris, 1980; Schrager, 1983; Hamilton, 1990; Featherstone, 1991). Through a selective process, individuals construct stories about the past, which arise not only from personal experience, but from the social world as well.

Memory is a fertile field for myth. According to Barthes (1973, p. 137), 'myth prefers to work with poor, incomplete images, where meaning is relieved of its fat, and ready for signification'. Myths are not lies, they are 'inflexions' (p. 140). Myths in oral history research correspond to what Murphy (1989, p. 173) has called 'symbolic structures' that exist 'below the surface of intended speech'. Portelli said that personal and collective memory is couched in mythological narratives. These mythologies are fundamental to the way that humans deal with the phenomenon of time. "In order for the teller to recover himself from time and to move ahead into time, a tale must be preserved. This applies to the individual as well as the collective tales – to the myths which shape the identity of the group, as well to the personal recollections which shape the individual" (Portelli, 1981, p. 162).

In oral history, the interview itself encourages mythological understanding because it provides a 'special time', which is: 'outside time, a time without time. It is the time of myth, the time of the fairy tale ("once upon a time")' (Portelli, 1981, p. 162). The historical study of memory and myth in oral history could be the study of how, for example, families or larger formal or informal groups selected and interpreted their memories to serve their needs. This would lead to the study of myths: 'not as disembodied values, but as creations of people with real needs' (Thelen, 1989, p. 1123). Chanfrault-Duchet (1991, p. 81) suggested that myths 'are organised around two central axes: one refers to collective myths, the other to the individual's history'. She has suggested a way to uncover these deep structures by employing techniques arising from narratology and textual analysis. Myths can be exposed, she maintained, by identifying key phrases and key patterns. The unveiling of educational mythologies across two groups will form an important layer in this research, but because history-in-the-round incorporates a multi layered analysis, it is not the only one.

On the basis of interdisciplinary research into the literature on human memory and oral history methodology, three basic propositions regarding memory are formulated. First, memory could be 'wrong' but never invalid. If inaccurate recall about 'facts' is established as a feature of one or more respondent's stories, this is noteworthy in itself and should be explored. If facts cannot be verified, they should be regarded as artifacts, saturated with meaning, but valid in themselves as remnants of the past in the present. As Portelli (1981, p. 100) stated: 'there are no "false" oral sources.' The second proposition follows on from this. Memories can yield new information. The third related proposition is that memory, by its very nature, is mythological. Mythologies are narrative frameworks which structure individual and group consciousness. At the level of the group, shared narratives exist within

'imagined communities'. Such mythologies have a rhizomic action, working to bind individual and group consciousness and to reinforce individual and group identity. Mythologies can thus be read within and across testimonies. Through mythologies, the past survives within the present.

History-in-the-round methodology, utilising oral history, can be employed to accommodate the subjective realm of experience in the past and move beyond the Newtonian-Cartesian dualisms, which even the so-called 'hard sciences' like physics have increasingly left behind. It allows informants to 'speak for themselves'. Below is a description of the method as it could be employed by student-researchers. History-in-the-round methodology consists of four phases.

The Praxis of History-in-the-Round in Four Phases

Phase 1: Selecting the Oral History Subject and Conducting Careful Background Reading

The first phase begins with deciding on the overarching aim of the history-in-the-round project and its central topic. The topic should be contained enough to be covered in a small number of interviews: the experience of institutions, such as workplaces, schools and public facilities, make ideal subjects. This phase continues with the researcher searching out documentary and other sources on the topic to be explored. This expertise will inform the researcher as they create the questions/topics to be asked in the interview. It will also give reassurance to the interviewees that the interviewers are respectful and have made efforts to know about the topic to be addressed. This phase stresses the idea that the researcher has developed some expertise in the area of the interview and in the literature about interviewing. This phase should never be minimised or glossed over for it forms the shape and type of the central 'stage' upon which the oral history actors will perform their memories.

Phase 2: Preparing for the Oral History Interview – Ethics and the Information Package

Oral history interviews lie at the heart of the history-in-the-round style of history. The process of interviewing seems easy, a conversation with someone about their past. But in reality this type of history is complex and requires careful thought and preparation for its practice. The first step in Phase 2 is the creation of thorough guidelines for ethical practice for the History-in-the-round project. These ethical guidelines to sound oral history practice are available through national oral history associations, usually via their websites. Each prospective interviewer should be

thoroughly educated in these guidelines about respectful and ethical oral history research. According to Layman (2010, p. 92) this 'involves acting in the right spirit, out of an abiding respect and concern for one's fellow creatures'.

Methods of recruitment of oral history volunteers should also be carefully thought out. Interviewees can be enlisted in the study in response to media appeals and through letters to associations such as senior citizens groups, alumni associations and so on. Other than settling on the group whose history is to be retrieved through history-in-the-round, no strict sampling method could be applied. All volunteers who respond usually are gratefully included.

After first contact, all interviewees should be issued with a package of information about the research, the interview and the topics of interest to be covered in the interviews. For example, these topics could include family background, school experiences and work histories. These topics are intended only as a guide and informants should be free to discuss any topic that they believed was significant in the context of the study. History-in-the-round interviews are always only semi-structured. General topics are thus standard for all interviews.

The package supplied to informants should include information about their rights with regard to the oral history material. This part of the package includes:

– **An interview consent form** saying that the interviewee can withdraw from the project at any time without any consequences whatsoever. This is important as it emphasises that the oral historian is the interviewee and that they have the right to tell or not tell their story.

– **A permission to archive form** where the interviewee will be asked after the interview is concluded, and after they have read their transcript and/or reviewed their recording, if they agree for all or some their memories to be kept in a safe place such as a public library collection for future researchers.

The main purpose of the package is to answer any questions the volunteer informant might have about the project. The package should also contain information about the interviewers with their picture/s. The package is designed to allay much of the nervousness associated with oral history performance and to address the power differential that exists in oral history encounters. Informants should know as far as it is possible what is going to happen, to whom they would be speaking, what they would be talking about during the interview itself, and as well they must be aware of their paramount rights in the interview situation and with regard to the interview material.

Phase 3: The Oral History Interview

Oral history interviews usually occur in a place nominated by the participants where they feel comfortable. This also applies to the interviewer who must also agree to the place for the meeting. The place should be quiet, have access to electricity for equipment if necessary and be public if possible. Libraries, schools and universities are ideal places to conduct history-in-the-round interviews. Before the taping begins, the interviewees sometimes display mementos, such as photographs. Each interview might take up to an hour or more. The interviewer, as far as possible, allows the respondents to range over their lives, recalling thoughts, feelings and experiences at their own pace. In this way they are empowered to become the historians of their own lives, collecting data, sifting it and exploring it for meaning. In actuality, the interviewees are the oral historians. The historian's task is a type of meta-history.

At the end of the interview, the informants are given the opportunity to place conditions upon the release of their interviews for use in the study (and perhaps in future studies by *bone fide* researchers). From experience, most informants choose to release their interviews unconditionally, although people may place conditions about the names of people and one about some potentially sensitive material. Further to this matter of disclosure, the researcher could decide that 'protective pseudonyms' would be used in final presentation of the research 'because individuals should be protected whether they like or not' (Delamont, 1996, pp. 8-9).

Phase 4: After the Interview

As soon as possible after the interview has taken place, the interviewer should make research field notes. After copies are made of the interview tapes and any memorabilia supplied by the informant, they are sent back, usually within six weeks of the interview. Then preparation of the tapes for oral history investigation should begin. Each interview should be transcribed. The interview tapes are listened at least twice in a holistic way to 'get the feel' of the material, the style and shape of the stories. The transcriptions are then read and re-read. Databases on the various themes that the research would cover are then constructed. The themes are those flagged in the pre-interview package supplied to the informants, and followed up by interviewer's questions during the interview. Often they also arise unprompted as informants recall their experiences. Each database then includes the relevant documentation from the first and second research phases. The databases are the crude forerunners of the history-in-the-round stories that will be generated by the research. The final layer of the analysis can then concern the investigation of mythic structures in the interview data. Key metaphors, patterns, words and phrases that occurred throughout individual interviews and across the testimonies indicate the operation of shared understandings about the past. This last level of analysis involves serious

ethical considerations. This is because the writing of history-in-the-round privileges the voices of the informants. The move to the interpretative realm that fixing the analysis in text entails, means that: 'historians shift, in part at least, from the insider realm [and] how an informant sees things – to an outsider, analytical perspective' (Layman, 2010, p. 141). Sending the products of history-in-the-round research back to informants for comment and discussion therefore is strongly recommended. Better still, history-in-the-round methodology could lead beyond the usual written form of knowledge transmission to an actual collaborative performance piece discussed by Pollock (2005) and her contributors, as history/theatre-in-the-round.

Conclusion

Recently international oral history authority, Professor Michael Frisch, wrote that 'oral history is a field of practice because it has always been about concrete practice and real relationships' (2016, p. 92). Frisch has likened oral history research to the process of cooking in the kitchen with oral history recordings as the 'raw' ingredients and the oral historian producing the cooked products in altered and reduced forms. Reflecting on the challenge of increasingly sophisticated digital technologies and platforms, he suggests that the large scale collections of oral history recordings becoming available in digital form require a new 'post-documentary' approach which he calls 'social curation' for exploring and generating meaning in these rich texts. This entails communities building their historical and memory archives in concert with professional historians. While this chapter has outlined an approach to small scale oral history practice called 'history-in-the-round' that likens oral history research not to 'cooking', but to theatre production, the approach is conducive to community and digital production. Nevertheless, the historian/researcher having considerable power as the producer of the history-in-the-round 'event', must ensure that participants hold centre-stage in all phases of the project in 'shared authority' (Frisch, 1990).

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Tim Huijgen, Paul Holthuis

DUTCH VOICES: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ORAL HISTORY IN DUTCH SECONDARY HISTORY TEACHING

Abstract

Oral history may enhance students' historical content knowledge, historical reasoning competencies, and motivation to learn history. However, little is known regarding the role of oral history in Dutch history education. This study therefore explores the role of oral history in Dutch history education. We developed student and teacher questionnaires to examine secondary school students' views (n= 280) and history teachers' views (n=40) on the role of oral history in Dutch history education. In addition, we conducted interviews with three educational experts on the role of oral history in Dutch history education. The results showed that most students, teachers and experts believe that working with oral history is interesting, motivating, and may contribute to significant insights into the past. However, our results indicate that oral history plays only a marginal role in the teaching and learning of history in the Netherlands. Our study may be used by history teachers to implement oral history in their curricula and help teachers develop meaningful oral history tasks.

KEY WORDS: HISTORY EDUCATION, ORAL HISTORY, HISTORY CURRICULA, SECONDARY EDUCATION, HISTORICAL REASONING.

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DUTCH VOICES: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF ORAL HISTORY IN DUTCH SECONDARY HISTORY TEACHING

Introduction

In my first year as a secondary school history teacher in the city of Groningen, I was teaching a group of 14-15-year-old pre-university students when I was approached by *Anno*, a Dutch organization with the central task of promoting history in society and education. This organization asked me to conduct a project in which my students would interview Dutch Holocaust survivors who were living in Groningen. I was immediately excited and designed a lesson plan in which my students researched the Holocaust and attended workshops on how formulate interview questions and conduct an interview. After my students had conducted the interviews with the Holocaust survivors, the interviews were collected, transcribed and published on a large walkable city map in a temporary exhibition called 'The Bunker', in which citizens of Groningen and other interested persons could read these interviews (Huijgen, 2010).

My students were fascinated and highly motivated during their involvement in this project. Immediately after the project ended, one of my students – a girl named Lisa – said to me, 'I got it now. History is the past and the present at once'. Because students' awareness of the past in the present is an important goal of my history teaching, I was delighted and happy. Many students remained in contact with the people those students had interviewed to learn more about their experiences during the Second World War. Furthermore, my students became more interested in other historical topics that I taught after the project ended.

The literature appears to confirm my experience that conducting interviews with historical persons and other forms of oral history may promote students' motivation to learn history (Lanman and Wendling, 2006; Whitman, 2004). Conducting interviews and other forms of oral history may also contribute to important insights into historical events and developments (Thompson, 2000). For example, oral history may contribute to developing insights into historical agents' decisions and historical meaning without ignoring the historian's duty to reconstruct the past as it was (Gardner and Cunningham, 1997). Oral history not only provides important insights into understanding and explaining historical events but may also function as a tool to develop insights in other fields, for example, to understand the views of different stakeholders when designing agricultural policy (Riley, 2004) or insights into the causes of and solutions for homelessness in an American city (Kerr, 2003).

However, despite the importance of oral history for historical understanding and student motivation, little is known regarding the role of oral history in Dutch secondary history education. The central goal of the present study is to explore this role. Therefore, we first outline the history curricula in the Dutch educational context and then present the conceptualization of oral history and how oral history can promote students' competence to perform historical reasoning. We present our research questions, the methodology of the study, and our results. We end with a discussion of our findings and provide practical implications for the use of oral history in education.

Theoretical Framework

The Dutch Educational Context

In the Netherlands, all children aged 4 to 12 years old receive elementary education in, for example, writing, reading, geography, history, and math. At approximately age 12, the children transition to secondary education. The determination of a student's level of education is based on the advice of the elementary school and supported by a mandatory standardized test that measures the student's attainment of certain standards (e.g., language, world orientation, mathematics) in elementary education. Secondary education in the Netherlands changed fundamentally in 1968 when the so-called 'Mammoth Act' was introduced. The old system of secondary educational tracks was replaced by a new system in which students aged 12 to 18 years old could choose among the educational tracks *mavo* (pre-vocational education, duration of four years), *havo* (general higher secondary education, duration of five years), and *vwo* (pre-university education, duration of six years). Only a pre-university degree allows access to Dutch universities. Currently, approximately 60% of secondary school students attend pre-vocational schools, 20% receive a general higher secondary education, and 20% receive a pre-university education (Statistics Netherlands, 2014). The educational quality of all elementary and secondary schools is monitored by the Dutch Inspection of Education.

After 1968, other educational changes were introduced into secondary education. The most important change was the introduction of the 'Second Phase' for mavo, havo, and vwo. The first phase covers the first three school years (students aged 12-15), and the second phase covers the highest classes (students aged 16-18). This second phase program is assessed in two manners: for each subject (e.g., history, math, English), there is a school exam developed by teachers that may differ from school to school and a formal national exam monitored by the government. Both exams (the school's and the central exam) account for 50% of the students' final exam grade. In this manner, every school can place its own emphasis but also be

assured that students have met the standard qualifications of the secondary education curriculum when they leave secondary education.

The Dutch Secondary School History Curriculum

History began as an independent discipline in Dutch secondary education in the late 19th century. In the beginning of the 20th century, history education focused on important (national) historical agents and events. In the 1960s and 1970s, history education focused on the development of the critical thinking skills that students required to address the changes occurring in modern society (Wilschut, 2010). However, in the 1990s, a public debate began regarding this focus on critical thinking: Do students learn enough about the past? Should history education not focus more on overview historical content knowledge? These questions were triggered by a Dutch magazine that tested Dutch politicians on their national historical knowledge. The result: most politicians answered only six of 15 questions correctly. A political commission was established to examine the goals of history education in Dutch elementary and secondary schools. In 2001, this commission advised combining historical reasoning skills with historical content overview knowledge (Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming, 2001).

Based on this advice, in 2007, a new history curriculum was implemented comprising historical reasoning skills (Domain A) and historical overview knowledge (Domain B). For Domain A, students must master competencies such as working with historical sources, distinguishing causes and consequences, contextualizing historical events, and constructing argumentation. Domain B is divided into ten chronological periods with 49 'characteristics'. For example: the second period, *The Time of the Greeks and the Romans,* contains five characteristics: 1) science and politics in the Greek polis, 2) the Roman empire, 3) the Greek-Roman culture, 4) the conflict between Romans and Germans, and 5) the origins of Judaism and Christianity. It is up to the teacher to flesh out these characteristics with concrete historical facts, concepts and developments, which resulted in a problem for the producers of the formal national history exam. Because the producers cannot assume that every teacher uses identical facts, concepts and developments for the openly formulated characteristics, in 2015, four historical 'contexts' were added to the ten chronological periods. These contexts are historical topics, described in detail, regarding the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, The Enlightenment, Germany between 1870 and 1945, and the Cold War (Dutch Ministry of Education, 2015).

Defining and Conceptualizing Oral History

Oral history is the recording of people's memories, experiences, and opinions (Oral History Society, 2015). The Oral History Association (2013) defines oral history as 'The recording in interview form of personal narratives from people with first-hand knowledge of historical events or current events.' Oral history is not gossip or rumour; however, oral historians attempt to verify their findings, analyse those findings, and place the findings in an accurate historical context. Furthermore, oral historians attempt to conserve their findings for use by other researchers (Moyer, 1999). A distinction can be made between *passive oral history* and *active oral history*. Passive oral history comprises students using existing oral historical sources to learn about the past. Active oral history comprises students' activities to construct oral historical sources, for example, by interviewing historical agents regarding a historical topic (Lanman and Wendling, 2006).

Oral history was the first type of history, and the use of oral sources was commonplace for centuries (Ritchie, 2014). Thucydides in the 5th century BC used the accounts of various eyewitnesses to examine the Peloponnesian Wars (Thompson, 2000). In later periods, such as the Middle Ages and the 18th century, scholars used oral history to describe historical events, beliefs, and values. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, written historical sources were the focus of historical investigation; however, in the 1960s and 1970s, oral history made a strong comeback, resulting in the foundation of organizations such as the *Oral History Association* in the United States in 1966 and the *Oral History Society* in the United Kingdom in 1973. Furthermore, during this period, various scholars, such as Terkel (1970), Haley (1965), and Lewis (1966), used oral history methods in their books.

To further conceptualize oral history, it is important to examine significant developments in the field of oral history in the late 20th century. Thomson (2007) distinguished four paradigm transformations in the theory and practice of oral history between 1950 and 2000: 1) the post-war renaissance of memory as a source for people's history, 2) the development of post-positivist approaches to memory and subjectivity, 3) a transformation in perceptions regarding the role of the oral historian as interviewer and analyst, and 4) the digital revolution of the late 1990s and early 2000s. The first paradigm shift occurred after the Second World War when there was more acceptance of the usefulness and validity of oral historical sources. Combined with the beginning availability of portable tape recorders and the work of social historians who focused on ordinary working class people, oral history achieved more attention and acceptance as a research method. The second paradigm shift was a response to the critics of the use of oral history for historical investigation. Many oral historians described their research methods in detail to examine the reliability of oral history methods. Moreover, oral historians developed guidelines for conducting oral history, resulting in increasing reliability. The third

paradigm shift regards the objectivity of the oral historian. Not only did oral historians become aware of how they were affected by their interviews, the historians also noted how this relation affected the data of oral history, the interpretative process, and the reporting. The fourth paradigm shift was the digital revolution beginning in the late 1990s. Internet and email promoted international debate on the topic of oral history, and, for example, webcams provided more opportunities to record interviews.

Oral History and Historical Reasoning Competencies

Currently, most scholars agree that historical reasoning plays an extremely important role in the teaching and learning of history (e.g., Erdmann and Hassberg, 2008; Seixas and Morton, 2013), and therefore historical reasoning competencies have been incorporated into the history curricula of several countries, including the Netherlands (Huijgen et al., 2014). To further explore how oral history can promote historical reasoning competencies in Dutch history education, we use the framework of Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008), which comprises six interrelated historical reasoning competencies: asking historical questions, using sources, contextualization, argumentation, using substantive concepts, and using meta-concepts. All of these components appear to appeal to human interaction – the essence of oral history –, some components in a more direct manner, such as 'asking historical questions', 'using sources', and 'argumentation', and other components in a more indirect manner. For example, the result of studying interviews or interviewing historical agents is that agents' experiences and insights are included, which may contribute to important insights into historical substantive concepts (e.g., the Second World War, decolonization) and meta-concepts (e.g., determining continuity and change, determining causes and consequences).

Oral interviews generate empathy because oral history renders the past tangible and visible in a way. However, historical reasoning is more than empathy because historical reasoning also requires a certain distance. Historical reasoning implies being engaged and remaining rational and critical simultaneously. Oral history can do both. Besides generating empathy, oral history can trigger historical reasoning; for example, when analysing a historical oral source, one must ask historical questions, reconstruct the historical context, argue, and use other sources to check the significance of the oral source. Furthermore, oral history is also a tool to support historical reasoning when, for example, oral history is used to reconstruct a historical context, formulate argumentations, and develop insights into substantive historical concepts and meta-concepts.

Research Questions

Despite the importance and contributions of oral history in developing historical reasoning skills, little is known regarding the role of oral history in Dutch secondary history teaching. The central question of this study is, therefore, what is the role of oral history in Dutch secondary history education? To answer this central question, we formulated three research questions:

1. How do secondary school students view the role of oral history in Dutch history education?
2. How do history teachers view the role of oral history in Dutch history education?
3. How do experts in the field of oral history view the role of oral history in Dutch history education?

Method

Student and Teacher Questionnaires

To explore students' and teachers' views on oral history, we developed two different digital questionnaires: a student questionnaire and a teacher questionnaire. For both questionnaires, we formulated items that provided information on how the participants view oral history. Items were scored on a Likert five-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. We used guidelines by Blair, Czaja, and Blair (2014) to construct our questionnaire. To ensure face and content validity, we asked experts (two history teacher educators, both with more than 12 years of working experience) to review the items on both questionnaires. The experts deleted four items and reformulated seven items for clarification. The final student questionnaire comprised 15 items, and the final teacher questionnaire comprised 13 items.

Student and Teacher Sample

The teacher questionnaire was completed by 40 history teachers from 21 secondary schools. The distribution in this sample between male and female teachers was 70% and 30%, respectively. All teachers in the sample were Dutch citizens. Of the teachers, 28 held a master's degree in education, five teachers had a bachelor's degree in education, and seven teachers did not have any educational qualification to teach history. The teachers' age distribution is presented in Table 1. In addition, 280 secondary school students from 18 secondary schools completed the student questionnaire. In this sample, the distribution between male and female students was 46%

and 54%, respectively. Most students (n=269) were Dutch nationals, and 11 students were a different nationality. The students' age distribution is presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Teachers' Ages (n=40)

Age category	n	%
< 20	0	0%
20 – 40	22	55%
41 – 60	15	37%
> 60	3	8%
Total	*40*	*100%*

Table 2. Students' Ages (n=280)

Age	n	%
11	2	1%
12	70	25%
13	86	31%
14	54	19%
15	43	15%
16	11	4%
17	6	2%
18	5	2%
19	3	1%
Total	*280*	*100%*

Interviewing Experts

To increase the validity of our research method, we combined the use of questionnaires with expert interviews (n=3) to triangulate our findings (Mathison, 1988). The first expert was a female researcher and teacher educator (age 37) at a university of applied sciences with oral history as her specialization. She has published on oral history in various national journals and held many workshops on oral history for history teachers and student history teachers. The second expert was also a female researcher (age 34) with oral history as her specialization. She works at a university and has published on oral history in various national and international journals. In addition, she has organized many workshops and training programs on oral history for researchers, history teachers and student history teachers. The third expert was female (age 50) and working at an educational institute focusing on promoting oral history in classrooms. This institute provides historical agents as guest speakers in elementary and secondary schools. For example, this institute organized Holocaust survivors relating their experiences in Nazi concentration camps in classrooms.

Results

Students' Views on the Role of Oral History

The results of the students' questionnaire are presented in Table 3. Most students in the sample believed that working with oral history is interesting (Item 1). Most students also viewed oral history as a method to ensure that people do not forget about historical events (Item 2), that oral history provides insights into the lives of historical agents (Item 5), and that stories of eyewitnesses are reliable when examining the past (Item 3). Most students also have had to read eyewitness accounts of historical events for history lessons (Item 7) and thought that oral history is the best method to examine the lives of ordinary people (Item 6). Oral tradition (information passed down through the generations by word of mouth that is not written down) is not perceived as a reliable historical source by most students (Item 13). Furthermore, students did not frequently have to interview historical agents (Item 15) and had heard few personal stories by guest speakers.

Table 3. Students' Views on the Role of Oral History (n=280)

Items	Mean score
1. I find it interesting when people tell stories regarding their historical experiences.	3.65
2. Oral history can ensure that we do not forget historical events.	3.53
3. Stories of eyewitnesses are reliable when examining the past.	3.44
4. My family tells me stories about the past.	3.42
5. Oral history provides good insights into the lives of historical agents.	3.33
6. Oral history is the best method to examine the lives of ordinary people.	3.20
7. I have to read eyewitness accounts of historical events for my history lessons.	2.98
8. My history teacher tells personal stories about historical events.	2.83
9. I find it interesting to interview people about historical events.	2.79
10. Oral history is explained in my history textbook.	2.60
11. My history teacher displays interviews with historical agents.	2.58
12. My history teacher explained oral history.	2.50
13. Oral tradition is a reliable historical source.	2.15
14. Guest speakers tell about their experiences in my history lessons.	1.95
15. I have to interview people about their past for my history lessons.	1.73

Note: Items were presented in random order.

Teachers' Views on the Role of Oral History

The results of the teacher questionnaire are presented in Table 4. Overall, the teachers in the sample believed that oral history must be addressed in the history curriculum and that oral history may promote students' ability to empathize. The teachers viewed oral history as a good method with which to map a portion of the past that

might be forgotten and thought that working with oral history in classrooms could increase student motivation. Item 8 ('I use oral history in my lessons.') obtained a mean score of 2.89 on a five-point scale. Showing interviews (Item 7) occurred more often than using guest speakers who tell about their own experiences (Item 9). The lowest scored items (11, 12, and 13) regard the interviewing by students, the teaching of interview techniques, and noticing oral history in history textbooks.

Table 4. Teachers' Views on the Role of Oral History (n=40)

Items	Mean score
1. Oral history promotes students' empathy for other people.	4.00
2. Oral history must be addressed in the history curriculum.	3.61
3. Students are motivated when working with oral history.	3.57
4. Oral history maps portions of history that are forgotten.	3.54
5. I would like training on how oral history can be used in history education.	3.39
6. I am familiar with organizations that can help me implement oral history.	3.32
7. I show interviews as a component of my lessons.	3.14
8. I use oral history in my lessons.	2.89
9. I use guest speakers who relate personal experiences in my lessons.	2.71
10. My students know what oral history is.	2.68
11. My students have to interview people.	2.21
12. I teach my students about interview techniques.	1.98
13. Oral history is explained in the students' history textbook.	1.64

Note: Items were presented in random order.

Experts' Views on the Role of Oral History

We interviewed three experts in the field of oral history and asked them about the current role and possibilities of oral history in Dutch history education.

The first question, we asked was, 'How do you view the current role of oral history in Dutch history education?' All of the experts agreed that oral history plays a marginal role in history education in the Netherlands. One expert noted, 'In history education, there is little attention paid to oral history, compared with Anglo-Saxon countries; in particular, the United Kingdom and the United States have a great tradition in the field of oral history and oral history education.' Another expert noted, 'Students interviewing historical agents is uncommon in history education. Just a few teachers might sporadically do this.' The experts also noted that recently much has been invested in the construction of databases of digital interviews with eyewitnesses to the Second World War. However, as the experts noted, most history teachers are unfamiliar with these databases. Two experts explicitly mentioned the marginal role of oral history in teacher education programs, resulting in knowledge gaps among history teachers of how to teach and use oral history in their classrooms.

The second question was to describe the benefits of using oral history in history education. All of the experts agreed that oral history is quite important in developing historical content knowledge and the ability to perform historical reasoning competencies. One expert noted that 'Oral history is an important contribution to history education. For example, when Holocaust survivors relate their war experiences in the classroom, this results in indelible impressions on students. These stories provide opportunities for identification and are irreplaceable historical sources'. Another expert said in the interview, 'Although the search for suitable interviews is still labour-intensive, this is a wonderful source of historical knowledge and promoting students' ability to develop multi-perspectives. Interviews and personal stories are rich sources of knowledge about the past itself, for example, for an everyday perspective on major historical events. They are also sources of how the past was experienced, and this is something not available in ordinary archives. Furthermore, oral history could teach students how memory works: how do people describe the past'? All of the experts mentioned that oral history can promote students' ability to critically analyse historical sources. The experts all agreed on the importance of students' experiencing the power of personal studies to reconstruct historical context and explain historical events and decisions. Moreover, the experts opined that oral history can promote students' general research competencies, such as collecting literature, selecting and contacting potential respondents, conducting a structured interview, and analysing data. One expert noted, 'Oral history could contribute to the development of generic competencies, student motivation, and empathy with the historical agents'. Another expert noted, 'Important skills and goals that are to be learned by oral history include selecting and approaching participants, collecting biographical information, reconstructing a historical context, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, writing, and presenting'.

The third question asked the experts how oral history can successfully be implemented in history education. One expert explicitly mentioned focusing on oral history in teacher training programs because this component is currently missing from most training programs. Furthermore, the experts stressed the importance of using guidelines. One expert noted, 'The American Oral History Association and the British Oral History Society give many examples and guidelines for the use of oral history in history lessons. There is much information available ranging from guidelines, manuals and advice to good practices which teachers could use to implement oral history in their classrooms and projects'. Another expert remarked that watching documentaries and interviews with historical agents in history classrooms could be a good alternative to students' interviewing people.

The fourth question regarded the experts' experiences with the use of oral history in history lessons. One expert noted, 'My experience is that students are a little hesitant when they start working with oral history. They fear that oral sources are more subjective than written and do not know how to start an oral history investigation.

After instruction on oral history methods, the students are very excited to get started'. Another expert mentioned that comparing oral histories to actual events (such as refugees fleeing to Europe) could promote student understanding of both the past and contemporary issues.

Conclusions and Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of oral history in Dutch history education. Using the historical reasoning framework of Van Drie and Van Boxtel (2008), we showed that oral history can trigger and support different components of the framework, such as asking historical questions, using historical sources, and historical contextualization. We examined students' views on oral history using a student questionnaire. Most students in the sample thought that working with oral history is interesting and that it could contribute to important insights when examining the past. The most common form of oral history experienced by the students is reading eyewitness accounts of historical events. Most students do not have to interview people, nor do students experience historical agents as guest speakers who relate their history in classrooms. The teachers' views were examined by a teacher questionnaire. The teachers thought that oral history must be addressed in the history curriculum and that oral history can promote students' motivation and students' ability to empathize. Slightly more than half of the teachers in the sample used oral history in their lessons, particularly in the form of showing interviews in classrooms. Much more uncommon were teachers who created opportunities in which students could interview historical agents or teachers who used historical agents as guest speakers in their history lessons. The three interviewed experts also stressed that oral history can contribute to students' historical reasoning and generic research competencies. The experts noted that oral history plays a marginal role in history education in the Netherlands and that only a few history teachers promote students' interviewing historical agents.

Our findings appear to confirm research conducted by Lanman and Wendling (2006), who argued that oral history projects could contribute to developing (historical) content knowledge and promoting reasoning competencies, students' motivation, and students' appreciation of historical agents. The majority of the students, teachers and experts recognized the value of oral history in the questionnaires and interviews. Despite the importance of oral history, we observed scant attention paid to oral history in Dutch history education, particularly when compared with Anglo-Saxon countries (e.g., Whitman, 2004). Examining the distinction between passive and active oral history (e.g., Lanman and Wendling, 2006), we observed that passive oral history is more commonly used by students and teachers than active oral history, which only sporadically appears to occur in Dutch history education. A possible explanation mentioned by the experts may be the marginal attention paid to

(active) oral history in teacher education programs. Many teachers may not know how to conduct oral history projects in classrooms. Organizing teacher-training programs on oral history may help teachers work with oral history in their lessons.

Some limitations of our study must be acknowledged. We only included 280 students, 40 teachers, and three experts in our study. Future research should confirm identical opinions and views in a larger research sample. Furthermore, we only used short student and teacher questionnaires; a longer questionnaire combined with student and teacher interviews could result in important insights. Conducting intervention studies in a quasi-experimental design (e.g., Campbell and Stanley, 1963) and focusing on oral history to determine students' book progress in content knowledge, historical reasoning competencies, and motivation would be interesting.

Finally, we offer some practical implications of the use of oral history in history education. The literature and our consulted experts stress the importance of using guidelines when designing oral history tasks for students. These guidelines are available in the literature, such as Barber and Peniston-Bird (2009), Thompson (2000), Perks and Thomson (2016), and Ritchie (2014). Moreover, different organizations, such as the International Oral History Association, the Oral History Society, the Oral History Association, and various museums (e.g., the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, the National Second World War Museum in New Orleans), provide guidelines on how to conduct oral history. In the Netherlands, the Huizinga Institute provides interesting examples of oral history projects and a list of oral historians.

To begin using oral history in the classroom, one of our interviewed experts suggested beginning with students interviewing their grandparents and using family photographs. This could be quite an accessible and motivating manner in which to explore oral history with students. Furthermore, The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation provides various oral history projects appropriate for use in classrooms, such as digital interviews with survivors from Sobibor. Another extremely interesting project for teachers who want to further implement oral history in their classrooms is *IWitness,* an educational website developed by the USC Shoah Foundation that provides access to more than 1,500 testimonies of survivors and witnesses to the Holocaust and other genocides. Registration for teachers is free, the database is searchable by keywords, and a registered user can edit video clips. For example, it is possible to create a video displaying different historical agents talking about one specific topic.

Certainly, oral history can play an extremely valuable role in Dutch history education. Oral history triggers and supports students' historical reasoning competencies. Moreover, we think that oral history is a powerful tool with which to promote

students' curiosity regarding the past, and this curiosity is an excellent starting point from which to travel to that foreign country: the past.

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Helena Pinto

USING ORAL HISTORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN HISTORY EDUCATION

Abstract

Aiming to understanding how students, teachers and people in general 'use' the past in terms of temporal orientation is a core research problem in the history education field, as it shapes formal history teaching and learning practices, and might favour the development of historical competences such as handling oral narratives as historical sources and interpreting them as historical evidence. Along with heritage sites and objects, oral history can be used as primary source or as case study, which connect to core curricula or interdisciplinary subject areas. Students can make sense of heritage, by observing and analysing its remains, and connecting that with their previous knowledge or with some stories they have been told before, and recognize the dialogic relationship between past, present and future that characterizes historical consciousness. A descriptive and mainly qualitative approach was followed in order to understand how Portuguese secondary school students make sense of heritage remains as historical evidence, taking part in outside school history learning activities. Data analysis focused on students' written replies and their personal narratives retrieved from the follow-up interviews, not connected to first-hand knowledge of historical events, but to the received accounts that had been conveyed by elder family or community members.

KEYWORDS: CULTURAL HERITAGE, ORAL HISTORY, HISTORY EDUCATION, IDENTITY, HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

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USING ORAL HISTORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN HISTORY EDUCATION

Cultural Heritage and Oral History

Cultural heritage is widely recognised as a vehicle of cultural identity. The protection of common heritage and the promotion of cultural diversity are also very important instruments for bringing different communities closer and enhancing dialogue between different cultures.

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

In Portugal the support of public consciousness about the need of heritage protection and valorisation is stated in the Cultural Heritage Act, article 7: 'the fruition of cultural goods must meet criteria of functionality, security, preservation and conservation demands'.

All places, whether urban or rural, industrial or agricultural, hold evidence of some aspect of human activity in the past. In many places there is abundant, clear, evidence of the past in the buildings and structures; in other towns evidence about a given past might be hidden and techniques such as fieldwork, research, surveying and excavation will be needed to find them. On the other hand, in many places, some structures from the past are likely still to be in use, though not necessarily for their original purpose.

Lowenthal (1999) reminds us that nothing ever made has been left untouched, nothing ever known remains immutable, but this is not necessarily distressful.

"It is far better to realize the past has always been altered than to pretend it has always been the same. Advocates of preservation who adjure us to save things unchanged fight a losing battle, since even to appreciate the past is to transform it. Every relic is a testament not only to its initiators but to its inheritors, not only to the spirit of the past but to the perspectives of the present." (Lowenthal, 1999, p. 412).

Connecting this idea with history, Lowenthal (2003) states the need of an awareness that heritage is not fixed, but changes in response to our own needs. It is essential to 'our creative involvement' with history, because in realising 'how we variously affect these linked realms, we learn to relish, rather than resent, our own interventions and even to tolerate those of others' (p. 250).

Comprehension that the past no longer exists allows an awareness that no account can ever be checked against it, but only against other accounts of that past. Being so, historical narrative is not a portrait of what happened but 'a story about what happened', and the 'primary sources come no closer to the reality of the past than derivative chronicles do' (Lowenthal, 1999, p. 215). For that reason, it is not enough to accept or reject any account solely on the basis of its internal plausibility and its conformity with other trusted accounts.

As the feeling of direct access to information or events, may form the illusion that what we see or hear is what really happened, oral history can help, for example, visitors approaching museums' objects, but it cannot by itself guarantee the historical quality and depth of this approach (Nakou, 2005). Oral history neither offers a direct access to the 'real' past nor to the 'historical' past, but it may offer recorded memories to enable the processes of historical enquiry, understanding and interpretation.

By presenting different and contradictory oral narratives, and distinguishing different social and cultural groups or individuals' ideas, museums and other education sites may allow to understand that history constructs narratives about the past, which do not directly relate to what anyone ever experienced as the present (Lowenthal, 1999), and may promote inquiry essential to approaching the past in historical terms.

Though oral history in museums cannot make objects speak, we can assume that oral history facilitates our dialogue with objects, in general, and in historical terms, in particular, as Nakou (2005) pointed out. The advantages of this interface with oral history seems, among others, to rely on 'the materiality of oral history, i.e. on the materiality of human voice, of human bodies and human relations, on the interrelation of memory with the material world, within the three dimensional space' (Nakou, 2005, p. 2).

If oral history holds the notion of testimony as memory conservation and keeps distance from critical and historical inquiry, then it is similar to oral 'heritage' (Lowenthal, 1999) or 'collective memory' (Wertsch, 2002). On the other hand, if testimonies are questioned as sources of evidence it is possible to avoid misconceptions about history. Chapman and Edwards (2015) sustain that oral history cannot be organized in ways that can challenge testimonial misconceptions about historical knowing, but it seems to exist some tension between the 'recognition' or 'celebration'

of the 'voices of the past', and their interrogation and critical evaluation. It is only when it is put to the test that testimony can serve distinctly historical purposes and it is only thus that the 'voices of the past' can be transformed into 'voices of history' (Chapman and Edwards, 2015).

Historical memory and historical thinking have an important cultural function: they form and express identity in a temporal perspective. Therefore, a crucial dimension of the study of historical consciousness (Rüsen, 2004) involves how cultural practices and tools for understanding the past are handed down to the next generation. Recent research has analysed families, television, commemorative celebrations, which often operate interactively to build or challenge continuity in historical consciousness (Seixas and Clark, 2004).

Connecting Historical Consciousness and Oral History Education

The use of oral history in education, more specifically in history education, demands a deep understanding of both complex interactions between 'memory' and 'history', and the dynamic emotional parameters of memory in contrast to the rationalistic background of history.

The notion of memory became the common denominator for anchoring the past in collective experiences of specific groups, and especially traumatic memories became the privileged window on the past since the 1980s (Lorenz, 2010). Besides, the rise of memory in the beginning of the twenty-first century had implications for history as an academic discipline, so it is important to reflect both on its temporal and spatial frames, and on its political and ethical entanglements. Often, the relationship between the memory approach and the national framework remains an ambivalent one because sometimes 'memory' looks suspiciously much like an 'incarnation of national history' (Lorenz, 2010, p. 87).

Characteristic of the memory boom and the 'presentist' regime of historicity (Hartog, 2005; Nora, 1997) is the obsession with 'heritage' that marks the present age, attempting at once the complete conservation of the present as well as the total preservation of the past. This is indicative of the ambiguity of the borderlines between the past and the present and it is visible in the explosive development of archives – including recorded oral testimonies – museums and monuments. The craze for memory and heritage gains in the competition with academic history, as Hartog (2005) observes, 'the presence of the past, the evocation and the emotions win out over keeping a distance and mediation'.

Wertsch (2000) stresses that human action involves an irreducible tension between active agents and the 'cultural tools' they employ to carry out action; thus individuals

and groups always act in tandem with cultural tools. This implies the notions of mastery and appropriation: the mastery of a cultural tool involves knowing how to use it (for example, being able to reproduce a given identitarian narrative), rather than focussing on 'knowing that', which means something like the process of making something one´s own. Here Wertsch recalls Lowenthal's distinction between 'history' and 'heritage', and states that it is not unusual for 'history' to be mastered but not fully appropriated, whereas the opposite pattern often emerges for heritage (2000, p. 42).

Applying ideas of historical consciousness to history education, Lee (2002) suggests that we might ask questions about the cultural tools which are available to the students in relating themselves to the past, their content, the social action they inhibit or constrain and the ways these tools affect students' conceptions of the past and of history. The focus is still orientation for practical life, but the picture we get of students' ideas is aligned in a different dimension. Lee (2004) also states that the kind of past that students work with helps determine the kind of orientation available to them. There are several distinct modes of relationship to the past and some of these modes are more 'historical' than others (Chapman and Facey, 2004). Although, children and adolescents have ideas about the past that merit serious consideration, and they construct those ideas not just from what they learn at school but from the historical information they encounter in their families, their local and national communities, and the media. Research on these ideas and their social contexts can help us to better understand how students make sense of the nature and purpose of history (Barton and Levstik, 2004), and this can aid in developing meaningful history education approaches.

History education research has been highlighting students' prior understandings or particular second order concepts, heritage evidence included, in order to deepen the understanding of ideas at a metahistorical level, which structure history (Lee, 2005), and provide a metacognitive monitoring of learning to teachers. In this framework, approaching local community issues can involve the school class in weighing evidence, listening to different arguments, making and justifying decisions. As Ashby, Lee and Shemilt (2005) point out, students come to the classroom with preconceptions, but the relationship between the preconceptions to be checked out and the key conceptual understandings to be taught is crucial for ensuring that progression in students understanding takes place. History education in schools or museums needs to enable students to learn how to go beyond everyday assumptions and preconceptions by allowing them understand how history works, since history is counter-intuitive (Lee, 2005). So, it is the role of teachers and museum educators to question these stories commonly rooted in myths and to promote a more critical awareness of the past.

Therefore, it is necessary to provide a heritage education at a grounded and elaborate level to consistently fulfil such a purpose. By directly exploring 'monuments', landscapes or other historic sites and artefacts, and recognising the legacy of intangible heritage, namely through oral history or traditional practices, students increase their understandings and skills that enhance their ideas, particularly when involved in the history of their own areas and have to take decisions which affect the future. As Shemilt (1980) points out, 'if children approach history on the assumption that it is relevant to them personally', because it is about ordinary people like themselves, then 'there is a much better chance of them making sense of what they are taught in ways which render it relevant' (p. 23). Thus, systematic heritage approaches must be considered among educators to provide their students the opportunity to understand heritage evidence in multiple perspectives.

Focusing subjects locally can stimulate students to produce reflective and creative accounts, being involved in both practical and theoretical work, as getting them out of the classroom and into the community life. Within this framework, the use of oral history might connect with both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, for example by supporting the contextual explanation of ancient streets and their toponyms, or the display of objects at a museum, besides being a historical source as well.

Oral history is a well-established educational practice in traditional communities where stories about the past reveal younger generations how to understand the world. Acknowledging its educational value, schools and museums education departments have been embracing oral history to bring eyewitness accounts of life in the past for students and young public. More often, oral tradition has become part of educational activities in museums, particularly for public from elementary schools.

Current research on history education recognises oral history more than a procedure of handling oral narratives that enforce the dominant historical narrative, as a procedure of approaching the past in the present, on the basis of everyday people's remembrances (Gazi and Nakou, 2015) and students' historical inquiring to develop their historical understanding, and the use and interpretation of sources. Consequently, by accepting diverse interpretations and by recognising 'different and changing identities that are constructed through a lifelong dynamic process of self-knowing in relation to the "others", the concept of one, monolithic and static, national identity breaks to pieces' (Gazi and Nakou, 2015, p. 22). By offering an understanding of history as a diverse and extremely varied human experience, oral history may illuminate dimensions of human experience which are not expressed in material terms, and present the voices of people who might not be represented through objects, eliciting empathy towards them. Oral history aspires to give voice to everyday people, thus it stimulates students' to produce their own narratives.

Helping students to understand the past through oral history sources and research methods contributes to make history closer and more comprehensible. Recording and spreading life narratives make history more practical, inclusive and interesting for learners, though different social and cultural groups have their oral narratives and experiences of the past which demand specific approaches and interpretations.

There is a distinction between an oral testimony used in passing, and a structured oral history programme as part of a broader research project with specific goals and methodology (Gazi and Nakou, 2015). When oral history is undertaken to sort out a historical reconstruction of the nearby context, namely within local history, one of the primary sources most used in teaching is the testimony of elders who lived the historical period that we aim to reconstruct. Collecting, studying and analysing data through education projects based on oral history may be helpful to understand the interconnection between daily life in the past ant the system of values and beliefs of the speakers, and introduces a new methodology in the context of academic history (Ibañez-Etxeberria, Gillate and Madariaga, 2015). Educational use of oral history also fosters relations between generations and connects students to history, heritage and local identity, revealing to be a useful tool to interpret the past.

Oral history has the potential to bring real people stories into the classroom, providing a vision of the society and of the past complementary to historians and scholars' perspectives, and also a range of information that broadens students' historical views. Therefore, it affords value to nearby and lived events, adding content and interpretations, although taking into account the limitations of the study of local events and personal views of historical processes. Moreover, communication of oral history may result in a process of 'patrimonialisation' and valorisation of individual historical memory, valuing aspects of one's own social group and identity through history and local heritage.

Local oral history should be included in the context of school curriculum, even if there is risk of an exclusivist local identity. This involves using oral history approaches that value students' skills going beyond traditional memorization, connecting cognitive and emotional learning dimensions, and enhancing a sense of inter-identities. Therefore, understanding history as a social construct might have an encouraging impact on the social self-concept of students (Ibañez-Etxeberria, Gillate and Madariaga, 2015).

History education has becoming more constructivist, stressing the role of learning through experience and participation, investigation and sharing. Moreover, understanding how students, teachers and people in general 'use' the past in terms of temporal orientation is also, a core research problem in the history education field, as it shapes formal history teaching and learning practices, and might favour the development of historical competences such as handling oral narratives as historical

sources and interpreting them as historical evidence. Heritage sources may also assume a decisive role in history education since objects and sites can provide challenging evidence to make sense of the past (Nakou, 2001; Cooper, 2004; Seixas and Clark, 2004; Levstik, Henderson and Schlarb, 2005; Apostolidou, 2006; Barca and Pinto, 2006; Pinto 2013).

Within formal education, out-of-school activities can promote the use of heritage evidence as cultural tools relevant for a consistent historical learning, by supporting students' learning experiences with tasks challenging their preconceptions, and helping them to gain awareness of heritage signs as elements relating several segments of time.

Along with the observation and interpretation of heritage sites and objects, oral history can be used as primary source or as case study, which connect to core curricula or interdisciplinary subject areas. Oral history methodology contributes to developing critical thinking and communication skills, and to improve social interaction, since it uses recorded interviews of personal narratives from people with first-hand or other knowledge of historical events or current events. Besides, it fosters an awareness of the intersection between personal lives and larger historical contexts.

Portuguese Students' Perspectives about Cultural Heritage, Using Oral History

The study reported here is part of a wider investigation related to a PhD research on History and Social Sciences Education (Pinto, 2011), carried out at University of Minho within the HICON Project (Historical Consciousness – theory and practices II) granted by Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

Focusing on the relevance of developing under systematic and methodological criteria, educational activities related to the use of heritage sources, the discussion about consistent heritage education practices was developed combining with a reflection on the existing history education research.

Alongside an attentiveness on both tangible and intangible heritage preservation and promotion, a variety of teaching and learning activities may be implemented to promote the interpretation of different sources – for example, the use of objects in context, namely in historic centres – encouraging students to question them critically and of an increasingly complex way. Students can make sense of heritage, by observing and analysing its remains, and connecting that with their previous knowledge or some stories they have been told before, and recognize the dialogic relationship between past, present and future that characterizes historical consciousness.

Method of the Study

A descriptive, mainly qualitative approach based on grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) was followed in order to understand how Portuguese secondary school students make sense of heritage remains as historical evidence, taking part in outside school history learning activities. Simultaneously, it was aimed to realise how history teachers use material sources to support students' learning experiences.

Presenting a proposal of history and heritage education, the study was developed in three phases: exploratory, pilot and the main study. The main sample of this research included 87 students, 40 of them attending year 7 (12/13 years old) and 47 attending year 10 (15/16 years old), accompanied by their history teachers (N=6) from several secondary schools of Guimarães, a World Heritage historic centre in northern Portugal.

A 'questionnaire-guide' was designed, proposing to students a set of written tasks to be held at five specific staging points entailing direct observation and interpretation of heritage evidence (objects, buildings, historic sites) related to the Middle Ages, and also recognizing a wider historicity. There were also two short questionnaires (prior and post activity) for teachers.

The 'questionnaire-guide' included questions that were supposed to be accessible and challenging for both groups of 7th and 10th graders, and was structured taking into account a path through some places of Guimarães' historic centre of the surrounding area. A historical context that could be significant at local and national (and international) levels was selected to allow curricular scaffolding, and to outline an approach to history and heritage education that could be a genuine cognitive challenge for students. Each page of the questionnaire-guide presented the task to be carried out by students at a staging point of the activity tour: a little information and three progressively complex questions – 'What can you know from it?', 'What was its importance to those who constructed it? And to you?', 'Which questions would you like to ask to know this place better?'.

After the activity with different groups and the analysis of data of students' responses, several follow-up semi-structured interviews were carried out with 33 students (38% of the sample) in order to clarify their written answers, the interpretation of some responses, and to explore further in their ideas. Questions focused on students' written replies to the 'questionnaire-guide'. After a brief synthesis of a written response students were asked: 'Can you explain what you mean by ...?' And / or 'Can you say something more about it?'.

Analysis of Data

The analysis of data from students' answers followed an increasingly refined categorization process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) in order to find out a model of students' conceptual progression concerning the way they inferred from heritage sources.

Students' conceptual model was built on two constructs – use of evidence and historical consciousness – which emerged from data analysis. It has focused on students' interpretations of material evidence (specific objects and buildings) answering some proposed tasks of historical learning, and related to results of other studies which were found to be relevant for this analysis (Nakou, 2001; Cooper, 2004; Seixas and Clark, 2004; Ashby, Lee and Shemilt, 2005; Apostolidou, 2006). Thus, the proposed levels of progression are an interpretive construction with regard to contribute to a systematic study and a sustained reflection on historical understanding.

As regards the use of evidence, i.e. students' conceptions concerning the way they use information and infer from heritage sources they observe, some students revealed undefined or confusing thoughts when reading sources, or inferences based on common sense ideas which they reproduce in the situation under observation (**alternative idea**); most of the students regarded written and heritage sources as providing direct information, and described briefly or more extensively based on a superficial interpretation (**inference from existing details**), made conjectures related to factual or functional detail; several students contextualised information within a broader set of previous knowledge, and their answers revealed personal inferences based on previous knowledge, setting information in time sequence or establishing some link with the political, social and economic context (**inference from context**), and their conjectures suggested social and contextual concerns when interpreting heritage sources; finally, some answers revealed personal inferences '**questioning'** the context in terms of evidence and time relations, or hypothesising on diverse possibilities, or articulating political, social and economic elements in the same context, or even making conjectures about several contexts in terms of time relations.

Concerning historical consciousness, namely students' conceptions about the ways they make sense of the dialogic relationship between past and present, in terms of personal and social significance of heritage by interpreting material sources, some students' answers revealed stereotypical ideas (**a-historical consciousness**); many students evaluated actions of people of the past according to present values, or saw the past in generic terms, as timeless (**consciousness of a fixed past**) and most of them conceived the past as image of the present in order to acquire knowledge; some students valued heritage as evoking a 'golden past', others referred to the past as a model for the present, expressing an emotional relation between identity and heritage, or recognising heritage as a symbol linked to a sense of national identity

(**consciousness of a symbolic past**); several answers revealed an emergent temporal orientation – in terms of function and change/continuity – understanding the relation between past and present in a linear way, or even connected to contextualisation and a sense of diverse paces of change (**emerging historical consciousness**); finally, some answers argued historically, based on the relation between social, economic, political, religious and cultural contexts, recognising the duality change and continuity in the relation to past-present-future, and revealing seldom an awareness of heritage sources' historicity (**explicit historical consciousness**) recognising their contextualised interpretation as essential to historical understanding.

After the analysis of data concerning students' written replies, data retrieved from the follow-up interviews were analysed through the same categories, since they focused on students' responses in written tasks. Here the recording in interview form of students' personal narratives was not connected to first-hand knowledge of historical events, but to the received accounts that had been conveyed by elder family or community members. Hence the oral history techniques used at this part of the study centred on conducting interviews and considering students as oral 'historians', asking them to comment on the responses they had written when interpreting heritage during the outside school activity.

It was intended to apprehend the conceptual stability or oscillation between the written answers and the oral comments post-activity. Most of the interviewed students revealed similar ideas to the written answers, in their explanations and clarifications, confirming the conceptual levels previously observed. However, some students of 7th grade and 10th grade 10 in dialogue with the researcher revealed a progression in conceptual terms. Here some students' comments in the interviews (their names are fictional) related to the patterns which have emerged from data analysis.

Simone (7th grade, 13 years old), who had revealed an emergent historical consciousness of a linear relation between past and present, during the interview expressed in a clearer way the perception of different paces of change in relation with different social and economic contexts:

> *Researcher – In your 6th answer you said that there are extraordinary stories that had impact in our existing life, and you didn't know them. Which effects are they?*
> *Simone – For example, the shoemakers … as in the past they exist today … belong to the past, but continue today. This is good and incentives a lot, and if it was not because of our past we wouldn't invent things from nothing.*
> *Researcher – Another example?*
> *Simone – Maybe houses … The castle was a castle in the past and now it is a museum. It has effect in the present because when we enter there we know the past, how they used to live.*

Researcher – And what if it was ruined or had disappeared and its stones were used in other constructions?
Simone – It would be more difficult to talk about it. We can use books, photographs, but it is more important if we walk and see each detail, each piece, because this way we learn better.
Researcher – Do you think that the remains of the past are important? Would we forget easily if we didn't have them?
Simone – Yes, I think so, because we expect to know what happened … We may forget because something become less important. I don't forget because I think history of Portugal is interesting, but other people may forget as time flows.

Other students' answers allow us to conjecture if oral history some students had been in contact with before could have enhanced their historical knowledge and thinking, on the basis of the content of the particular narratives they were presented with.

Irene (7th grade, 12 years old) who had revealed a consciousness of a fixed past, during the interview oscillated between that idea of a direct access to the 'real' past through the stories she had been told (memory conservation) and the idea that they may enable the historical understanding when problematized in contact with material sources:

Researcher – In your answer to the 6th question you said 'people always look at the past' … could you clarify that?
Irene – It was about the tanning tanks … they were used till a certain epoch they were not necessary anymore because technologies evolved … we have to develop.
Researcher – And now, they are not needed?
Irene – To visit, to see the past. People always look at the past … Because the past is the past, and people will never forget the past.
Researcher – Things that aren't being used don't interest us anymore?
Irene – They aren't being used but interest. It is the past of Portugal, so I think people must remember these moments of Portugal.
Researcher – When you think about the past you look at it marvelled?
Irene – Yes… because I like stories of princesses and those things.
Researcher – And what about the stories of the tanning tanks?
Irene – Strange ...
Researcher – It isn't a story about princesses …
Irene – No, I think it is not about royalty.
Researcher – Does it have importance?
Irene – Yes, I think so … because the most part of traditions came from popular people … as it happens with gastronomy … I think those tanks were used by that kind of people and are part of our culture too.
Researcher – They show other aspects …

Irene – I think it is more fascinating the story of royalty, because they lived in castles … but it doesn't mean that other people don't interest me.

Various students' interview replies confirmed the idea that oral history, namely when performed in museums or within cultural activities, even if it cannot make objects speak, it may facilitate the dialogue with objects, in general, and in historical terms, in particular, because of its materiality, i.e. the interrelation of memory with the material world (Nakou, 2005), as exemplified by the following comments of Adelaide (10th grade, 16 years old), Luisa (10th grade, 15 years old) and Ivone (7th grade, 12 years old) during the interview:

Researcher – In your answer to the 2nd question you said that the loudel [military cloth] is much degraded because of the use it had before. Why?
Adelaide – Exactly. Because it was to be used, it was a protection … it was for wearing under the main protection [the armour] and the person who was fighting wouldn't' be hurt. It was to protect. I said that it was much degraded because of the use it had, since it was its function, it is normal that it was corrupted. And because I know that there are only two of these in Europe, this one and another one in London.
Researcher – How do you now that?
Adelaide – I heard it once at the museum, during a school visit.
Researcher – There were only two?
Adelaide – There were more than two, of course, but only two could be preserved till today, and this is very important for Portugal. A lot of people don't know this.

Researcher – In your answer to the 1st question you said that the person who built the church wanted to identify the king, the town and the importance of the church. Why?
Luisa – I said that because the king of the time was the representative of the country and was the most important in this case; the town because I know something about the history of Guimarães, the 'birth town', and its importance for the country; and the church because of catholic religion.
Researcher – Why did he choose this church? There weren't other churches?
Luisa – I remembered a story I heard … I was about Mestre de Avis, the king D. João I, who offered a gold jewel to Nossa Senhora da Oliveira church.
Researcher – And the construction of the church is related to that story?
Luisa – Yes, it is … with king D. João I, and he ordered the construction of the church.

Researcher – In your answer to the 6th question you said the activity allows students and other participants to rise their knowledge. Why?
Ivone – Because people who take part hold more knowledge and may talk about this with their parents or other people, or maybe with those who organise some

events. For example, I have taken part in a mediaeval fair reconstitution, in Santiago and Oliveira squares [in downtown Guimarães] with traditional goods, and people dressed like medieval were walking along and sometimes they performed scenes of the past.
Researcher – And it helps people to understand?
Ivone – Yes, I think we understand better the epoch.

These students had already revealed a historical consciousness about the significance of objects and places they had observed, and their interview comments confirmed this pattern of historical thinking, by contextualising information and connecting it with their previous knowledge. In the following example, Plácido (10th grade, 15 years old) seem to reveal a concern on critical and historical inquiry, connecting theory with practice, recognising the contextualised interpretation of sources – namely tangible cultural heritage – as essential to historical understanding.

Researcher – In your answer to the 1st question you said that in history class you hold knowledge, but visiting places you understand. Why?
Plácido – I said that because usually the teacher imparts the contents in the classroom, and we have images in the textbook, but they don´t show several aspects we may be able to know when visiting a specific site. Here we understand better the history taught in the classroom … why this, why that …
Researcher – Are these aspects details?
Plácido – Yes, details of the objects, their shape, things we can observe when we visit the place.
Researcher – Did those details help you to enhance your knowledge?
Plácido – For example, when we were visiting I observed, and within the book I didn´t. It catches our attention and we become even more interested, being able to understand and connect everything.

These statements recognise that students' skills should go beyond traditional memorization of contents, by connecting cognitive and emotional learning dimensions, interpreting both tangible and intangible cultural heritage as historical sources. Such approach may elicit empathy towards people of the past, and a sense of inter-identities with the existing communities.

The analysis of interviews data also contributed to solidify the construction of a conceptual progression model of students' historical inferences on the use of heritage sources and how they make sense of them in terms of orientation, i.e. types of historical consciousness they reveal when establishing connections between these evidence and the past, the present and possibly the future.

Brief Conclusions

Approaching formal education activities in a systematic process, providing tasks that can challenge students' preconceptions and encourage historical interpretation, namely in out-of-school activities, might enhance awareness of the use of heritage as relevant cultural tool related to students' learning and their historical consciousness.

Teachers and heritage educators need to be involved in manifold activities that empower them to engage their students and other groups with critical debate from multiple perspectives to defy the idea that history is a single, unchangeable truth. Written, material and oral sources require interpretation to become historical evidence about the past. As regards enabling youngsters to develop historical knowledge, thinking and understanding, these sources must be presented within an historical and educational context. Being so, interviews can be used in multiple ways such as in the course curriculum, since they raise students' awareness about both particular issues and larger historical contexts. Oral history may also illuminate dimensions of human experience which are not expressed in material terms, thus it stimulates students' to produce their own narratives.

Providing tasks and learning activities that instil change on students' preconceptions and improve the interpretation of nearby heritage remains, connected to national and international history, entails considering that progress in historical understanding demands a contextualised and significant learning.

History teaching professionals need to reflect more on what students learn in their classes, how to provide the relationship with the past through the interpretation of heritage and other sources. Besides, it is needed a reflection on the possibilities of articulation between curricula/programmes orientations and local history in terms of history education activities, inside and outside the classroom, as no proposed curriculum is closed. Comprehensive analysis of the educational possibilities of oral history may be developed by researchers and teachers within formal and informal educational settings.

Local history – and oral history as a powerful link to the history of the nearby community – could be an interesting theoretical and methodological tool for teaching approaches allowing to connect academic and school historical knowledge, and the construction of meaningful historical knowledge by students, releasing them cognitive challenges within their and other communities, other places and other times.

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Darius Jackson

RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE: SURVIVOR TESTIMONY AND HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND THE WORK OF THE UCL CENTRE FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

Abstract

This paper looks at the use of oral history/survivor testimony in teaching about the Holocaust from three perspectives; that of recent government initiatives, research carried out into Holocaust education in England and the CPD provided for teachers by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education. The use of oral history and Holocaust testimony in English history classrooms is not new; evidence suggests it has been happening for decades. However over the last few years it has gained a much higher profile in political discourse, and governmental policy. Research shows that school students appreciate the experience of listening to and talking with Holocaust survivors as it makes the study of the Holocaust more real. This paper argues that survivor testimony is part of a range of evidence that needs to be used to help school students develop their understanding of the events, but it is essential if they are to appreciate the impact these events had on the ordinary Jewish people in Europe.

KEY WORDS: HOLOCAUST EDUCATION, SURVIVOR TESTIMONY, SURVIVORS, ENGLAND.

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RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE: SURVIVOR TESTIMONY AND HOLOCAUST EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND THE WORK OF THE UCL CENTRE FOR HOLOCAUST EDUCATION

Introduction

The opening argument in Andy Pearce's book **Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain** (2014) is that the Holocaust has become a constant reference point in British culture 'taught in schools, colleges and universities; 'seen' on cinema and television screens; found in bookstores and libraries; and approached through museums, memorials, and acts of public commemoration' (2014, p. 1). Over the last three years it has also taken a central role in politics, there has been a Prime Minister's Commission (2015), a House of Commons Education Committee Report (HC 480, 2016), numerous speeches by leading politicians, and the recent controversy about antisemitic comments by members of the Labour Party (Stewart and Asthana, 2016).

On the 27th January 2015, at the Holocaust Memorial Day Ceremony in central London, the British Prime Minister, the Right Honourable David Cameron announced that the British Government would invest money in building a major, 'world class' centre for studying the Holocaust. At the very heart of this 'world class' centre would be an archive of survivor testimony. This archive is designed to achieve two things, first to make it easier to access the testimonies of these Holocaust survivors, but also to capture and preserve their testimony (HMG, 2015, p. 52). Showing that this was a genuine, rather than rhetorical aspiration, David Cameron promised £50,000,000 to be spent on the learning centre and set out an ambitious timetable for the recordings of survivor testimony to be completed. This is a significant moment as the British government placed to use of survivor testimony at the centre of education about the Holocaust.

There is evidence that survivors have been sharing their testimony with schools and community groups for many years (Cesarani and Sundquist eds., 2012). In 2000 it was observed by Haydn that there was a long history of Holocaust survivors going into schools in England (Davis ed., 2000). This has continued and for many years the Holocaust Education Trust has done a very important job of coordinated the work of Holocaust survivors as they visit schools, arguing that 'survivor testimony is at the heart of Holocaust education' (http://www.het.org.uk/education/outreach-programme/survivor-stories). Research by the Holocaust Education Development Programme (now the University College London Centre for Holocaust Education) in 2009 showed that 25% of teachers surveyed would be likely to 'invite a Holocaust

survivor to talk to my students' (Pettigrew et al., 2009, p. 47). In a more recent survey of school student knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust (Foster et al., 2015, p. 87) showed that 49% of students surveyed had heard a survivor talk about their experiences of the Holocaust. So it is clear that the Prime Minister's announcement does not represent a change in the direction or traditions of Holocaust education it rather builds on existing practice and expertise in using survivor accounts of the Holocaust.

This chapter considers the role of survivor testimony from three distinct perspectives, first that of Government education policy, secondly from that of research into Holocaust education and thirdly that of classroom practice focussing on the materials produced for teachers by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education.

What Do We Mean by Oral History?

Before we go further it is important to be clear about what we mean by oral history, particularly in reference to the Holocaust. The Oral History Society (http://www.ohs.org.uk/) is explicit that oral history does not just cover the spoken word but also recordings, films and transcripts; I intend to follow that definition.

Whilst traditionally Holocaust survivors have spoken in person to groups, recently there has been a move towards recording their testimony, not only under the auspices of the Prime Minister's initiative. The University of Southern California Shoah Foundation Iwitness project has been assiduous in filming survivors being interviewed about their memories, and has an archive of 53,000 audiovisual recordings, from 63 countries in 40 languages. The Prime Minister's Commission called for the recordings to be of the highest quality and to be kept up to date with the newest technologies.

Whilst on a smaller scale Father Desbois has spent many years collecting eye witness accounts of the '**Holocaust by bullets'** (2014) in the Ukraine. He used the classic Sociology technique of snowballing to get more interviewees. This latter work is so significant that, even though the original films are narrated in French and the interviews in Ukrainian, the Imperial War Museum and the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education are working on a joint project with Yahad-In-Unum to produce materials that can be used in English schools.

Oral History in English Schools

The use of oral testimony in British schools is itself nothing new; in 1984 I worked as a teacher on an oral history project on the impact of World War Two on rural Gloucestershire, with the students doing research and interviewing. McCully (2015) argues that oral history first became popular in schools in the 1960s; this coincided with its growing academic respectability as a source of evidence. McCully goes on to argue that several other factors led to this popularity, not least that it allowed students to do history as an historian would by collecting, analysing and evaluating evidence. Alongside this was a growth in "history from below" where the voices of ordinary people would be heard as a counterpoint to the grand, national narratives. Marwick in the second edition of **The Nature of History** is explicit about how for certain groups, he specifies 'black Americans in the Deep South or working-class wives in Edwardian Britain' it is important as 'there is so little other source material to go on.' (Marwick, 1970, p. 141) so the importance of oral history is that, for some groups, it is the only source of evidence. Thompson, an early advocate of oral history was even more explicit: "Oral history is a history built around people. It thrusts life into history itself and widens its scope. It allows heroes not just from the leaders, but from the unknown majority of people ... it helps the less privileged ... it makes for fuller human beings ... offers challenges to accepted myths of history, to the authoritarian judgement." (1978, p. 15). Thompson is emphasising the transformative power of oral history, how it can change not just the historical narrative but also people who are constructing this new narrative.

Chapman and Edwards (2015) in their study of oral history projects in three English schools support Thompson's transformative claims. However they also point out some challenges too. They outline how oral history has three, potentially conflicting purposes; the first is that oral history involves the collection of testimony, whilst the second is then about the preservation of this testimony as part of heritage; and in these two steps oral history has gone from searching out testimony to curating it. However these two purposes are at odds with the idea that history is about enquiry and if oral history is to generate history it must go beyond the preservation of testimony and engage the testimony in a critical dialogue.

This takes us to the heart of the subject; history is inherently messy, there are exceptions and complexities or as Novick explained understanding something historically is to appreciate the complexities and requires enough detachment '... to see it from multiple perspectives, to accept ambiguities' (Novick, 1999, pp. 3-4). Where these ambiguities are ironed out, leaving only one perspective we have a collective memory.

Government Policy

Over the last three years holocaust education has had a very high profile in Britain and in England in particular. In September 2013 at the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) 25th Anniversary dinner the Prime Minister, David Cameron, announced he was setting up a commission to '... ensure Britain has a permanent memorial to the Holocaust and educational resources for future generations,' (PM's Office website). This aspiration was reformulated in a speech the following year combining the need 'to commemorate and educate people about what happened in the Holocaust' (Cameron, 2014). Then on 27th January 2015 on the Holocaust Memorial Day the Prime Minister's Commission issued its report.

The Commission looked at several issues and made several proposals, most importantly that there should be a new Holocaust memorial and a Holocaust Education Centre.

Within a year the House of Commons Education Committee also published a report into Holocaust education (HC 480, 2016). Whilst the Prime Minister's report made a combination of remembrance and education its theme, the House of Commons report focussed on education and contained four paragraphs that highlighted the importance of survivor testimony in Holocaust education. The most striking thing about these four paragraphs that focus on Holocaust education is in the language; the word 'testimony' appears seven times and 'preserve' four times showing that the Committee was emphasising the curating of memory rather than using the memories to change the accepted historical narratives, by giving the victims a voice in the newer studies of the Holocaust (see Pearce **Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain** 2014 for an exploration of the tensions between memorialisation and education in Holocaust consciousness). Whilst Sarah O'Hanlon, representing the Holocaust Educational Trust, emphasised the transformative nature of survivor testimony and spoke about the need to put the experiences of victims into the historical narrative, Karen Pollock the director of HET emphasised the emotional impact a Holocaust survivor visit can have on the '... most disruptive classroom with the most difficult young people.'(HC 480, 2016, p. 10). Suggesting that a rationale for using survivor accounts is about the affective impact it has upon the listeners.

The earlier Prime Minister's Commission also placed a high priority on recording and preserving accounts of Holocaust survivors, and intending to go further by trying to '... capture the experience of interacting with a survivor.' (2015, p. 52).

Criticisms of Using Survivor Testimony

Survivor testimony is not without its critics. Writing about a similar issue, the myth of a Holocaust silence, Diner warns against accepting '... the superiority of oral history over the archival and paper sources' (Cesarani ed., 2012, p. 197) and assuming they are automatically true statements about the past. The late David Cesarani is even more demonstrative in his last book, **The Final Solution** (2016) where he argues: "The use of survivor testimony regularly trumps the dissemination of scholarship. Survivors may only be able to illuminate a tiny corner of the sprawling historical tragedy from their own experience, but they were there so their every word is highly charged ..." (2016, p. xxvi).

Cesarani does not deny a place of survivor testimony in histories of the Holocaust; but he is critical of positioning this memory as in some way being a superior piece of evidence or even the ultimate source about events. This returns us to the argument put forward by Chapman and Edwards (2015) about the different functions of oral history being not only a source of evidence inside the discipline of history but also as something to be collected and preserved.

Cesarani also has reservations about the content of survivor testimony in that it is often reliant childhood memories. This is not a new concern, in his **An autobiographical fragment**, dated as written in August 1838, Charles Darwin (2002) makes a similar point about the reliability of his childhood memories, he was fully aware that mixed in with his memories were stories he had heard from his parents. This is an issue I will return to later in the chapter where the various ways to overcome this show it is a practical problem that can be resolved through treating testimony as a source of evidence rather than literal truth. It is this need for criticality that turns testimony to history that is paramount in Cesarani's concerns. Kenyan (2016) makes a similar point when he emphasises the importance of research methodology to achieve 'some appropriately revealing or contentful result' (2016, p. 56), so oral history or eyewitness testimony needs to be part of the process rather than the intended result.

A similar problem is faced by Human Rights campaigners who need to simultaneously show the extent of human rights abuses and the impact these abuses have on individuals and their families. This is not to suggest that one side is more important or has automatically superior evidence just that they have different functions. Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros and Zimbardo in their work with Brazilian torturers **Violence Workers** (2002) refer to this as stockpiling of evidence and storytelling. The storytelling is the experience of individuals, in their particular research; the individuals were torturers and murderers who had worked for the Brazilian state. However their personal recollections needed to be supplemented by evidence about how common their experiences were. Though no incident of torture or murder is

anything less that tragic, traumatic and wrong; in a society in which torture is commonplace there is clearly a very different set of problems from where any incident of torture is unusual and the work of a single 'rogue policeman'.

Stockpiling of evidence produces a statistical account of an atrocity. By itself this approach has several significant weaknesses, first the victims are reduced to a number, reinforcing perpetrator narratives that where victims are simply victims, with no humanity or agency given to the numbers of killed or tortured. The second problem they highlight is that the statistical approach also dis-empowers the non-victims who are both horrified by the events but unable to respond to their horror, especially where perpetrators are seen to live unpunished within society. This disempowerment is also present in the survivors, they are homogenised as a group of victims, with no diversity or agency or variety in their response to the atrocity, and as Minnow (1998) argues the first step towards justice is the acknowledgement of the victim's voice and narrative.

The way to overcome these issues is to combine the two approaches, stockpiling of evidence to show the extent of the atrocities and storytelling as it 'focuses on how people experience the events' (Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros and Zimbardo, 2002, p. 22). This approach is very relevant to Holocaust education. A statistical account of the Holocaust whilst it would capture the immensity of the events and the motives of the perpetrators would not give the whole picture; it would miss the impact of the Holocaust on the lives of ordinary people. Equally a focus on personal narratives would miss the immensity of the Holocaust.

UCL Centre for Holocaust Education and Research Led Holocaust Education

The UCL centre for Holocaust Education is a research led organisation jointly funded by the Department for Education and the Pears Foundation. It was established in 2008 and now has a staff of sixteen. It has three primary goals: first to conduct research into Holocaust education, secondly to create a programme of research informed Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for teachers in the English state sector of education, and thirdly to contribute to the field of Holocaust education both nationally and internationally. This research led approach is unusual in this field, described by David Cesarani as dominated by '... campaigning groups and the constellation of organizations devoted to education and commemoration. Although these efforts are in good faith, they are subordinate to extraneous agendas ...' (Cesarani, 2016, p. xxv). These comments are more than a little harsh as it was the hard work of these diverse groups that highlighted the importance of studying the Holocaust in the first place. Cesarani highlights the research done by the UCL

Centre for Holocaust Education as providing an 'important but all too rare evidence based approach to Holocaust education' (2016, p. xxv).

The UCL Centre for Holocaust Education has a pathway of CPD that is designed to meet the needs of teachers at different stages in their careers, starting with courses for student teachers, one day CPD courses and evening sessions run after school (Appendix 1 shows a breakdown of the numbers) and following through to a masters module and research degrees. There are two research projects that spoke to the use of oral history/survivor testimony in Holocaust education: **Teaching about the Holocaust in English Secondary Schools** (Pettigrew, Foster, Howson, Salmons, Lenga and Andrews, 2009) and **What do students know and understand about the Holocaust?** (Foster, Pettigrew, Pearce, Hale, Burgess, Salmons, and Lenga, 2015).

The earlier research report was based on a survey of over 2,000 teachers, with 68 follow up interviews. There was a strong commitment to teaching about the Holocaust, with 93% of history teachers agreeing that it would always be important to teach about the Holocaust and 86% saying it was right to be a compulsory part of the History National curriculum. The research also showed that 25% of respondents would consider inviting a Holocaust survivor to come and talk to their pupils, showing that there was an extensive and active tradition of Holocaust survivors speaking in English schools.

Research, carried out in 2012-2014 and published in 2015, set out to explore four areas:
- Young people's substantive knowledge of the Holocaust.
- Young people's recognition of key words and images.
- The sources of young people's knowledge both inside and outside school.
- Young people's attitudes toward studying the Holocaust.

The research used a 91 item survey completed electronically (in most cases) by 8.074 school age pupils in 74 schools across England. There were 49 group interviews conducted with 244 pupils in 15 schools, again from all around the country. A heartening finding was the commitment the school students showed to studying the Holocaust (83% thought that all pupils should learn about the Holocaust, 81% found studying the Holocaust interesting and 70% wanted to learn more about it). This coincided with the young people's background knowledge, the pupils did not arrive in the lessons as a blank slate; they already had a wealth of information (and misinformation) as well as ideas about haw such an event could happen.

Whilst the overwhelming majority of pupils could place the Holocaust in the correct decade, and knew that approximately six million Jews were killed, most school pupils thought most of those killed were from Germany, consequently overstating the German Jewish population. Most also thought the trigger for the Holocaust was

Hitler becoming the German chancellor. This latter point fitted with the commonly held idea that the Holocaust was caused by Hitler (51%) or Hitler and the Nazis (80%) with the German population following through a mixture of fear, trickery, Hitler's charisma and brainwashing.

As it is highly likely that the present cohort of school pupils will be the last for whom listening to a Holocaust survivor is reasonably common, 49% of surveyed students indicated they had heard a Holocaust survivor talk about their experiences, it was thought important to explore how students respond to the experience of meeting a Holocaust survivor. The results showed that listening to a survivor was far more common than visiting a Holocaust museum (24.2%), taking part in a memorial ceremony (18.8%) or visiting a death camp or a concentration camp (9.4%). This shows the importance of Holocaust survivor testimony in Holocaust education in England (and I suspect in the rest of Britain too). To dig deeper into the data eight focus groups were set up of students who had a recent experience of talking with a Holocaust survivor to what the students valued about the experience. Three major themes came out of the focus groups, first it made the events more real, second that it was upsetting and third that it helped them to understand the events better.

The most common response, irrespective of age or gender was it made the Holocaust "seem more real", Chloe (year 9, aged 13-14 years old; Foster et al., 2015, p. 87) gives a characteristic reaction '... then since it's an actual person, face-to-face, talking to you, it seems a lot more real, because they've been through it and their presence is here' (from Foster et al., 2015, p. 87). This gives the Holocaust a different status in their understanding, it is no longer something they have studied using texts or films but they have met a person who was there. This resonates with what Marwick called the poetic aspect of history, he quotes Trevelyan to highlight this '... quasi-miraculous fact that once ... walked other men and women, as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now all gone ...' (Trevelyan from Marwick, 1970, p. 16). Meeting Holocaust survivors enables students to see that these were real people with their own loves and hopes who walked on the earth before them. What is interesting is that the students reconceptualise their pre-survivor encounter experiences of studying the Holocaust, giving it a slightly story book quality as the events feel like something from 'Captain America', 'a fairy tale' or just 'so extreme'. This is not to suggest that the students had doubts about the reality of the Holocaust, it is better to see it, as Foster et al argue, as giving the Holocaust a meaningful context and an approachability rather than an existence in a historical narrative.

The second theme to emerge from the focus group work was that this brought the Holocaust closer to the students own life times '... very recent, if you think about it, it only happened ... like 70 years ago' (Deborah, year 12, aged 16-17 years old; Foster et al., 2015, p. 87). It also enabled students to make reference to longer term

historical processes to help them make sense of the events '... we are not talking about, you know, eleven hundred in Yorkshire or whatever or the blood libel. We are talking about really recent history, you know.' (Natalie, year 12, aged 16-17 years old; Foster et al., 2015, p. 87). Central to this was the physical presence of the speaker '... in the same room' (Fred, year 9, aged 13-14 years old; Foster et al., 2015, p. 88).

Within English education issues around spiritual, moral, social and cultural education are a high priority and these meetings with Holocaust survivors resonated with that agenda. Students showed a greater self awareness. They also appreciated that the experience was upsetting, but with a sense of studying the Holocaust is bound to be upsetting and it is important to note that 'At no point during any of the focus-group interviews did any student suggest they might avoid the subject because it was upsetting (Foster et al., 2015, p. 89).

Students described how the survivor testimony helped them to understand the Holocaust better, but interestingly some went further and showed how the survivor testimony needed to be contextualised in a wider historical account, returning us to the reservations outlined by Chapman and Edwards (2015) about the tension between curating testimony and the purpose of history.

One of the key principles of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance is the need to see the victims as real people by 'translating statistics into personal stories' (https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/node/319) rather than a group identified solely by their victimhood. This is embedded in the practice of the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education. By placing the lives and cultures of pre-war Jewish communities at the heart of our work, we show not only what was destroyed by the Holocaust but also that these people were not a homogeneous victim mass but millions of people with their own hopes and aspirations, desires and fears.

The CPD day run by the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education is called 'Unpacking the Holocaust'. It grew out of the 2009 research and sets out to confront a range of misconceptions and to cover the key elements necessary to be able to teach about effectively. There are five themes:

– Authentic encounters. One of the big dangers when teaching about the Holocaust is how to introduce the issue to children without traumatising them. This session starts with the examination of a toy that belonged to Barney Greenman, the two year old son of Leon and his wife, Elsa. Greenman, an Englishman living in Rotterdam. A short film clip shows Leon describing Barney playing with the toy and how it came to be made. This oral history is central to contextualising the toy.The family was deported to Auschwitz- Birkenau in January 1943. Leon's story is a theme that runs through much of the Centre's work and shows the interaction between the large policy decisions and the experience of people.

- What was the Holocaust? This activity forces individuals to reflect on how they conceptualise the Holocaust, in terms of time scale, victim groups and locality. It combines the case studies of real people and how the various Nazi policies impacted upon these people.
- Pre-war Jewish Life. This session confronts many of the central assumptions about Jews in Europe prior to the Holocaust. One of the problems facing teachers teaching about the Holocaust, without an understanding of the diverse nature of being Jewish in interwar Europe, is that the Jews can become a homogenous group of people that are definable by their being in some way 'different'. Research into pupil understanding of the Holocaust also showed that they overestimate the size of the German Jewish population (73.9% of pupils thought it was over 15%, the real figure is less than 1%). Centre to this part of the day is Leon Greenman's filmed account of meeting his wife and falling in love, this personalises the story. With this unit the diverse nature of Judaism is highlighted.
- Resistance. How should teachers respond to questions about resistance, whether or not there was any resistance? This session emphasises the need to reflect upon what was actually meant by resistance then pupils will consider a range of case studies showing the diverse nature of resistance.
- Legacy of the Holocaust. This session explores how Europe was changed by the Holocaust. David Cesarani (2016) is rightly critical of the redemptive message that Holocaust survivors are often expected to provide; whilst some were able to build new lives, many struggled with their personal legacy of genocide.

Personal testimony is also present in two of the new units being written within the centre. 'Holocaust by bullets' is a unit being produced jointly with Yahad-In-Unum and the Imperial War Museum. This unit uses eye-witness testimony to study the mass shooting of Jews in Eastern Europe. Father Patrick Desbois (2008) spent years exploring archives and interviewing local people about what they saw and knew about the murder of 1.5 million Jews in the Ukraine. The nature of Father Desbois' work shows that oral history is central to this topic.

The other new unit is about Meerela Erlichman who, as a baby, was aboard the SS Ville-de-Leige, the last boat to leave Ostend for Britain on 17th May 1940. It combines her family stories about life in pre-war Belgium with a detailed study of the events unfolding around them. Meerela's father had been born during World War One, in (what was later) Poland during, as a child he lived for a time in Dresden, before moving to Antwerp where he worked as a diamond cutter. Whilst her mother had been born in England but worked in Antwerp as a hairdresser when they met, fell in love, married and had a daughter. This unit shows the personal story of a family buffeted by events but also explores issues about refugees and migrants.

What Should You Do If the Oral and Documentary Evidence Do Not Coincide?

This is a very sensitive issue in history and Holocaust education. To suggest that an eyewitness is 'wrong' is going to be awkward to say the least, though that is central to many court cases. However as Holocaust survivors are volunteering their accounts and helping younger people understand a complex period of history rather than being part of a legal process to ascertain a third party's guilt or innocence the analogy is of limited relevance.

When listening to a Holocaust survivor, a person who has experienced so much it would seem ill-mannered to suggest that their account needs closer scrutiny or even that it may be flawed. Whilst Roseman felt this, in his biography of Marianne Ellenbogen nee Strauss **The Past in Hiding** (2000) found that there were three types of disagreement between memory and documents. He explains how some of these disagreements stem from misleading document, either because the documents are deliberately misleading or produced from a partial knowledge. The second group of disagreements is over the interpretation of the events by 'contemporary and retrospective observers' (Roseman, 2016, p. 321). The third type of discrepancy is where the memory is incorrect or has changed over time. Roseman outlines a number of discrepancies between the oral account and other sources. However they do nothing to undermine the fundamentals of the oral account, he goes so far as to describe the discrepancies as trivial. He is explicit that the documents should not be looked upon as reassuring accurate and the oral accounts as in some way flawed. He gives an example from his work where the official accounts of the arrest of the Strauss family state that they were allowed to pack materials needed for the journey to Terezin. In Marianne's account she refers to the chief Gestapo officer stealing her mother's flat walking shoes and that her own escape was possible whilst the men guarding her searched the basement for loot, neither of these incidents appear in the official accounts. Roseman concludes that where there are other sources it is not disrespectful to the survivors to compare accounts as there is no '... wish to or an expectation of challenging the fundamental voracity of their testimony. On the contrary, it helps to illuminate the very process of memory' (2016, p. 332).

An example of this came up in our research into Meerela's flight from Belgium and school students explore this issue. She and many of her relatives left Ostend for Britain as the country of her birth was invaded and occupied by the Germans. In an early interview she said that her family had arrived at Greenwich. Greenwich is on the Thames estuary several miles downstream from London, though the area was not a major port there was a pier in Greenwich that had been used for landing livestock. In our search to find the name of the ship we ran into difficulties. We could find no record of any ship docking carrying Belgian refugees in the May of 1940.

This didn't make us doubt her testimony; she had been born in Belgium and had numerous other documents to support her account. It was one of these, her father's Belgian identity card, which gave us the answer. Clearly stamped on this card was an entry visa for Folkestone dated 18th May 1940, the day after the British Consul had given him a visa in Ostend. Folkestone is a coastal town in southern Kent with a long history of cross channel trade and would be a more logical port for ships leaving Ostend to arrive at. This new piece of information led my colleague to look into the names of ships that had left Ostend and landed passengers at Folkestone. Quite quickly we could ascertain that she would have travelled on the SS Ville-de-Leige, a Belgian ship that left Ostend with a cargo of Belgian state archives and a number of Belgian Jewish refugees. These refugees were allowed on at the last moment as it became apparent that not all the archive could be rescued and that there was some space for passengers. The ship disembarked some passengers at Folkestone in Kent and the remainder sailed on to Southampton. Our research is an exploration of Meerela's memories and is designed to help contextualise and explain the events of her parents' lives. So the positioning of her oral history is as Chapman and Edwards would want, it is part of the evidence used to construct the historical narrative.

Conclusion

Though there is nothing new about the use of oral history or Holocaust survivor testimony in English History classrooms, over the last few years the role of oral testimony in Holocaust education in England has been highlighted by research, by government announcements and policy and by diverse Holocaust educational organisations. Though this has not been without critics (Cesarani, 2016) the funding provided by the British government for the new learning centre and archive and for organisations that specialise in this field suggest the government is fully committed to collecting and preserving survivor testimony.

Holocaust survivor testimony plays a significant role in Holocaust education in England, it makes the events seem more real, students see it as an upsetting event that needs to be studied and it helps them to understand the events of the Holocaust. An area that will be an issue is the way that the students appreciate the presence of the Holocaust survivor as a central aspect of their testimony, the survivor testimony is so much more that simply transferring their experiences or as Foster et al put it 'it is hard to conceive of any technology that will be able to repolicate these students profound encounters with an embodied human presence' (Foster et al., 2015, p. 88).

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PART 2

ORAL HISTORY PROJECTS AND STORIES

DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS FROM REMEMBERING TO RECONCILIATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA: AN EXAMPLE OF AN ORAL HISTORY EDUCATION PROJECT
(Sergiu Musteață)

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Abstract

In this paper is presented the experience of the National Association of Young Historians of Moldova during a project on oral history education done in 2014 with support of DVV International. The project goal was meeting and reconciliation of generations of young and old, as well as community groups. The originality of the project was that to build a bridge between generations through oral history and adult education. During one year the activities were conducted in the form of thematic meetings where local citizens were encouraged to share their personal memories of the past, to listen to each other and to accept past. Within eight mini-project over 900 participants around the country were involved in various activities, like Word Café, Seminars, Debates, etc., collecting stories and debating recent history issues. The events were related to a wide variety of moments in history – the Soviet era famines, deportations, war, school life, daily life, etc. The participants were encouraged to share and collect biographical narratives with their colleagues, involving other volunteers in the process of dialogue.

KEY WORDS: ORAL HISTORY, HISTORY EDUCATION, DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS, REMEMBERING, RECONCILIATION, REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA.

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DIALOGUE OF GENERATIONS FROM REMEMBERING TO RECONCILIATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA: AN EXAMPLE OF AN ORAL HISTORY EDUCATION PROJECT

Introduction

Communication among generations is one of the biggest problems of our society. Harmonization of relation between generations existed in all the stages of human civilization development. The interest toward the problem of generations became more intense in 20th and 21st Century. Connection between generations is based on their continuity, on acquiring, using and keeping material and spiritual values, social information and experience of previous and existing generations. Continuity in the social life represents natural connection between past, present and future, which assure integrity of historical development. If the values of previous society lose their legitimacy, and became no more functional for the present time, it can generate a generation gap.

The conflict between generations has been obvious in the post-soviet states, including Moldova – a result of unpreparedness for building of the democratic states. Tensions pregnant in Moldova are also being dictated by instability and endless transition. Migration of Moldovan population (between 25 and 40% of population is working abroad), (BNS, 2008) has caused a lack of family education, along with loss of identity and moral orientation; thus we have now a country of the young and the very old – a split that still creates controversy on all the levels (social, political and economic). On the other hand, the school education is insufficient to create a unique identity consciousness and unity between generations. Teaching history as well as other school subjects has been domains of political interest and controversy. The issues of language and history in Moldova have remained issues of political importance, which reinforce identity dilemma (Musteaţă, 2010). Whereas the social values created in totalitarian period can't be recognized by young generations, for the reason that they are not functional at the present time and future, the problem of gap among generations remains real. After the breakdown of the former Soviet Union the younger generation is more oriented towards capitalistic values and models represented by the US and Western European countries. At the same time, for the younger generation is more difficult to understand the recent past, as relationships of many countries to former enemies and friends have changed and youth is not aware of many important events of the recent past to the modern society (Musteaţă, 2014). In addition, there are various – sometimes controversial – points of view among people of same generations. Involvement of common people in an

open dialogue will give the opportunity for each to share the personal experiences about the past. Listening, accepting someone's perceptions and emotions about the recent past will set basis for creating a culture of remembrance and strengthening the ties between the Moldavian citizens.

Taking in account that one of the biggest problems of our society is deficient information about our 20th c. history and insufficient communication between young and old generations, during 2013-2014 the National Association of Young Historians of Moldova-ANTIM[22] in partnership with DVV International-Moldova[23] has conducted a project "Dialogue of Generations from Remembering to Reconciliation" (Musteață, 2013; DVV-ANTIM, 2014). The main goal of the project was to establish a network of local coordinators who will help to develop dialogue between generations and different community groups.

Figure 1. Cover of the Project brochure (DVV-ANTIM, 2014)

22 The National Association of Young Historians of Moldova-ANTIM is a NGO which mission is to develop the national and international cooperation through history education, research and preservation cultural heritage – http://antim.md/en/.

23 DVV International is the Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association, presented in over 40 developing countries. Mission of DVV International is promotion and development of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education concept as an important factor in increase of life quality of people, in sustainable development and poverty reduction – https://www.dvv-international.de/en/.

Project Significance

The complex phenomena of the past continue to affect individuals, families and communities by their shaping of identities and perceptions of "the other". Changes and processes that have occurred during and after the Soviet era, resulted in divergent attitudes toward the past, dividing Moldovans/ Moldovan citizens, and spreading hostile attitudes in the society (especially between adult and younger generations). On the other hand there are only a few studied reflections of key events in our history on people's lives, perception of these events by ordinary people, how their culture was transformed, routine life in periods of profound social changes, of which there were enough in the 20th century Moldavian history. That is why we need an evaluation of the past, through personal memories of ordinary people, who can bring completely different information about the important events, as compared to literature, films or documentaries can.

The project goal was bringing together and supporting reconciliation among generations of young and old, as well as community groups. Knowledge about the history of person's own community is indispensable for the education and development of a person. Communication with people from different cultural backgrounds and attitudes towards life could facilitate understanding between generations and will perpetuate history.

The project had following objectives:

- Promotion of structured dialogue between generations through oral history recovery and common memory – promoting continuity and links between generations;
- Allowing adults to pass their experience and to share knowledge about the recent past with the younger generation, and giving the chance to senior citizens to reflect on young people's knowledge, skills, values;
- Strengthening the national conscience and active citizenship of adult and young generation by learning trough intergenerational dialogue.

Target group:

The project addressed people, who witnessed the events of the past, adults and young people from eight communities. Previously, community mediators (teachers of history, representatives of local NGOs, museums, libraries, etc.) went through several training activities, to equip them with oral history methodology (Klingenberg, 2011).

Figure 2. Training of Trainers (April 3-5, 2014) and National workshop (June 7, 2014) (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 3)

The project activities were open for community members, and people were encouraged to participate in oral history activities. The total number of participants of the project was over 900 people. Of these:

- 24 people received training on oral history methodology, combined with adult education methods;
- over 820 beneficiaries in eight communities have participated in activities organized by local moderators in the local mini-projects. Mostly, the participants were representatives of teachers, local public administration, officials in the cultural field, direct and indirect witnesses of past events. When referring to the age group of participants, we can say that the dialogue table were present adults, youth and students;
- 25 people participated in Adult Education Days – a special session dedicated to the Teachers' Day. This activity was attended by teachers of history, mathematics, science, Romanian language and literature and students of the Faculty of history of the "Ion Creangă" Pedagogical University;
- 29 beneficiaries participated in the international seminar "Dialogue of generations" where they learned about the experiences of the oral history, patterns merge the methodology of oral history techniques and methods in adult education.

Activities

The activity started in 2013 with a workshop on oral history methods and established a project development for 2014. In this regard we invited Community Centers (NGOs, libraries, museums, cultural centers, and other community institutions) who wanted to participate in the project. As a result of open call process, ANTIM selected a core team of representatives' form ten local organizations and

initiative groups. There were trained two moderators from each selected organization in order to acquire solid knowledge on oral history methodology and adult education methods. After conducting the training sessions for the trainers, the next step was setting and opening the space for dialogue at the local level, where people from villages met together. The moderators were encouraged to organize community activities with people of different age, backgrounds and professions who were motivated to speak about their life memories and share their life experience with other members of the community. As organiser, we advised local coordinators to apply in their activities various methods they learned during TOT, like Word Café, Open Space, biographical method, interview technique, etc.

Figure 3. Project "Deported villagers from Crihana – eyewitnesses of hard time" (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 13)

Word Café – this method helped people of different ages to have a dialogue with themselves, to remember and narrate their life story as participants in history. This activity assured the continuity in history narrated by individuals, offering different pictures of past events and promoting the connection of time, space and generations. A successful activity organized by using the method Word Café was "The history the way I see it my yesterday school, my today's school" – an activity, organized on 4th of October within Adult Education Days, which gathered teachers of six generations (of ´40s, ´50s, ´60s, ´70s, ´80s, ´90s of the 20th century) – the real creators of history in the country educational institutions. The meeting addressed the role of the teacher in the past and present, relations between parents, teachers and pupils, outfits of students and teachers, as well as past and present curricular activities.

Debates. Organizing discussions on biographical narrations in the communities involved. Representatives of each generation had the possibility to share their experiences, learning a lesson for themselves. They had the possibility to see the history as a continuous process, imagined trough personal perceptions and memories of peoples. During the project, the storytelling groups focused on stories, which illustrate their personal experiences, depending on age and the events they witnessed.

The activities took place in many localities from The Republic of Moldova – actions of commemoration, reconciliation and reconsideration of the past, aimed to create bridges between representatives of different generations.

Results

ANTIM has established partnerships with representatives of several local NGOs who received training in oral history methodology and Adult Education, to carry out activities within the communities they belong. As a result, partners in the region have implemented eight mini-projects:

- Crihana Veche Public Library has implemented mini-project "Deported Crihanians – eyewitnesses of time" in which took place two activities;
- NGO COPE "Dialogue" implemented mini project "Archaeologists of memories" where conducted ten different themed activities aimed at informing young generation on traditions and cultural heritage;
- NGO "Southern Farmer" implemented mini-project "Memories from Deportation" in which six activities conducted on the topic of deportations in partnership with Library and Culture House in the Cahul town administration, Pelinei and Valeni local public administration;
- NGO "Voice of Women" implemented mini-project "Eyewitnesses bearers of truth", held seven activities on issues related to famine and deportations. The NGO has established partnerships with Public Library, Culture House, High School, and Local Public Administration from Balatina community;
- NGO "Işcălenii" implemented the project "Children from yesterday and today in a dialogue" in which witnesses 7 activities conducted deportations. It has established partnerships with Communal Councils from Glinjeni, Catranîc and Işcălău and village museum Glinjeni;
- NGO "Spiritus" initiated two mini-projects "Cold Wounds of Siberia" in Abaclia and "Life story of veterans of the World War II – memories for the present" in Basarabeasca. Within the first project were organized six activities that were invited as witnesses narrators of deportations. In the second case were invited veterans of WWII, to participate as narrators to five activities. During the project implementation were established partnerships with High schools, municipalities, House of Culture and regional television channel TV BAS;
- AOPP has implemented mini-project "Armchair with Memories" within four activities were conducted. They have established partnerships with Culture House, City Hall and Veterans from Bahrinesti.

Figure 4. Project "Archaeologists of memories from Chișcăreni, Sângerei" (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 6)

During one year project within national and local activities we involved more than 900 participants around the country under one common goal – dialogue of generations. But, from all activities we could light some success stories.

Success Stories

The project "Dialogue of generations" generated several success stories, not just through successful joint methodology oral history techniques of adult education, but also in terms of results. During designing and conduct of activities in the community was a gradual opening to the communication of people participating in activities, being encouraged by members of the younger generation who were very interested histories of life of narrators and, in particular, the ability and courage that they showed them in overcoming difficulties.

Figure 5. Project "Memories from far away in Cahul" (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 7)

A success story can be seen as the partner of NGO "Southern Farmer", which gathered a collection of testimonies of persons deported, managing to bring to the table of dialogue people who have reconstructed the stages of deportation, forming array integrity of this event complex. Within mini project "Memories of deportations" was written and edited book deportees Racoviță Feodosia, entitled "The Book of My Life." NGO "Southern Farmer" managed to put into practice the knowledge acquired in previous training. The NGOs "Iscalenii", "Vocea Femeii", "Spirituss" did a great job too, by successful combination of gender issues, diversity of ages and opinions.

Another successful example is the Public Library of Crihana Veceh, who made the first attempt to bring generations to dialogue, held a meeting themed "Deported Crihanians in dialogue with the younger generation". The moderators work method used was the Word Café and gathered together representatives of old and young generations. As storytellers were invited deported people in the first wave, the night of 12 to June 13, 1949, young people and adults who shared experiences that marked their life and personality development. Even if initially some participants were mere spectators, most were gradually integrated into the dialogue, being captivated by the stories told by deported through the prism of memory and personal feelings. During the talks was seen growing interest of participants for items related to daily life, family, personal experiences of deportees, and less sequences offered official history. Also, the narrator has gained more confidence and willingness to provide as many details about the moments related to his past, actively contributing to dialogue.

Figure 6. Project "Children from yesterday and today in dialogue", NGO "Iscălenii" (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 16)

Lessons Learned

During the implementation of the project "Dialogue generations – from remembering to reconciliation" were identified both positive and negative moments. Training of Trainers workshop had a positive impact on the participants, the training

sessions initiated them in adult education methodology combined with aspects of oral history.

With the support of DVV International office in Moldova and ANTIM, local NGOs were able to successfully implement eight mini-community projects, bringing to the table of dialogue witnessing historical events, adults and youth in the community. Within the activities sensitive moments of the past were discussed, such as deportations, war and famine, which eyewitnesses refused to share with other community members, accepting only limited circle home visits. In other cases, displaced people agreed to talk, but if the work were present and other former deportees willing to share their experience.

Figure 7. Project "Cold wounds of Siberia", NGO "Spiritus" (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 9)

Prospective moderators project activities in localities had the opportunity to know the DVV International Moldova and ANTIM experiences in implementation of oral history and the diversity of theoretical methods and practical help to rethink the interpretation and assessment of historical events from the perspective of the memory of a person or a Community group (autobiography, Word Cafe, Open Space, the autobiographical narrative, interview techniques, etc.). However, it was difficult for Training of Trainers participants perceive oral history as a tool / method of adult education. Therefore, in an attempt to sketch ideas for local mini-projects, it has been seen a tendency to create projects that focus predominantly on historical research and less on adult education based on the methodology of oral history. The consultations which benefited mini authorizing local projects in addition to the workshop and online consultations have helped to overcome the difficulties in developing project activities with a focus on adult education and oral history.

Another difficulty identifies has been insufficient knowledge of the moderators in the field of audio / video recordings, further complicated the task to collect and record stories narrators. But in perspective, as well as participants in such seminars to be more involved in practical activities similar to those you might use in conducting local projects. Also, to ensure proper implementation of activities, local moderators should receive more advice on methods, interviewing narrators, etc.

What would be good to do differently?

- Encourage partners to establish as many partnerships in the community to ensure the participation of different actors in such activities;
- Organizing additional training with a focus on time management, resource management, delegation;
- Organize additional trainings in facilitating / moderating events, communication and audio / video recordings, video installation;
- The project could be involved veterans associations, local newspapers and local public administrations. Strategies may be diverse invited to events organized within the project, the creation of common products, the development of joint activities etc.

Figure 8. The Parents and Teachers Association of Bahrinești involved over 70 local people of different ages in different actions: Men in the history of village, The teacher´s image yesterday and today, From the Family album, etc. (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 5)

Conclusions

During one year the activities were conducted in the form of thematic meetings where local citizens were encouraged to share their personal memories of the past, to listen to each other and to accept past. The events were related to a wide variety of moments in history – the Soviet era famines, deportations, war, school life, daily life, etc. The participants were encouraged to share and collect biographical narratives with their colleagues, involving other volunteers in the process of dialogue. Story telling groups have had the possibility to see the history as a continuous process, imagined trough personal perceptions and memories of peoples. During the project, the storytelling groups were focused on stories, which illustrate their personal experiences, depending on age and the events they witnessed.

The project increased personal value and skills of older generations, it will help them integrate and realise themselves in a constantly changing society. Activities within the project "Dialogue of Generations from Remembering to Reconciliation" have helped to overcome the fear of adult communication and improving communication skills of the younger generation. The activities of the mini local projects were arranged in thematic meetings, which helped create bridges between generations, strengthening their unity and continuity. Elders and adults felt valued in the community they represent, since they were the main actors / witnesses of past events, to whom was entrusted the transmission of memory and accumulative values of lifelong learning, the younger generations.

By collecting, recording, and sharing the memory of ordinary people about the traditions, the way of life, habitudes, in the difficult situations of the past, we will help the citizens to obtain a better understanding of their past and future, in order to become active citizens in a united society. We have to develop such projects, in first of all, the topic is very actual, secondly, because it will help to understand and to learn from each other.

Acknowledgement

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Figure 9. Dialogue of generations – a cultural and an identity project, Bahrinești (DVV-ANTIM, 2014, p. 4)

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Isabel Barca

PORTUGUESE STUDENTS' VOICES ABOUT THE NATIONAL CONTEMPORARY PAST

Abstract

A line of research in history education has focused on students' cognition in the light of the epistemological apparatus of history, aiming to understand how children and young people can develop more powerful ideas in history. Such a framework has inspired the scrutiny of students' historical explanations, narratives, significance, uses of evidence. Recently it has also incorporated the purpose of exploring issues related to the idea of historical consciousness, in the line of philosophical debates conducted by Jörn Rüsen and Peter Lee. This investigative focus is linked to the need to contribute to historically literate young people to better face a global and diversified society in the present. This chapter reports a study on Portuguese students' voices about the national contemporary history in the last one hundred years, within the scope of a Project on Historical Consciousness. It presents the qualitative analysis of accounts given by Portuguese students attending two history classes at year 9, in two data collection (2007 and 2011). Students answered to the challenge of telling their national recent history as if they were on a camping holiday in peer-group. Levels of narrative structure as well as historical significance, relevant values and signs of national identity are discussed in terms of persistences (masternarrative) and particularities.

KEY WORDS: STUDENTS' VOICES, STUDENTS' HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, HISTORICAL COGNITION, HISTORICAL EXPLANATIONS, PERSPECTIVE IN HISTORY, IDEAS ON NATIONAL HISTORY, NATIONAL IDENTITY, HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

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PORTUGUESE STUDENTS' VOICES ABOUT THE NATIONAL CONTEMPORARY PAST

"Imagine that you are on an international camping holiday and one evening you decide, together, to each present the history of your own country in the last one hundred years. What will you tell?"

At the verge of conceiving an empirical study to capture students' conceptions related to historical consciousness – one of the aims of the Historical Consciousness – Theory and Practices Project, the research team launched a challenge like the one above to students in two classrooms of year 10 (secondary education). In one class the students were studying humanities, history included; in the other they were focusing on natural sciences. This exploratory study intended to function as a launch pad for designing a more refined instrument of data collection if it provided some clues about students' ideas. Thus we tried to stimulate students' participation by asking the young people to write about the national contemporary past as if they were speaking to each other within a colloquial, peer-group environment.

The young people adhered very positively to the proposal. And, surprisingly, the data collected appeared with a very rich potential to be analysed in many-folded perspectives thus permitting to reach some understanding about students' historical ideas in coherence to the aims desired. Accordingly, we decided to keep the data collection design almost intact for the next studies, continuing to analyse in similar ways young people' s ideas in history conveyed by their own voices – through their written accounts when imagining to narrate the recent history.

Young People's Ideas in History: the Investigative Context

In the 1970s a vigorous debate about the place of history in the curriculum took part in England in a context where the value of history as a school subject was being questioned. Among the arguments for the autonomy of the history subject, the genuine links between disciplinary history and the inescapable human drive to know the past were brought to light in support to the idea of teaching history on a basis of historical thinking.

The influential book "*History teaching and historical understanding*" edited by Alaric Dickinson and Peter Lee in 1978 is considered a milestone in providing empirical research on students' ideas in the light of epistemological concepts of history. The appropriation of the historical apparatus by children and adolescents was analysed by looking at various levels of sophistication irrespective of the students' age.

In parallel studies, Denis Shemilt (1984) when analysing some data taken from the History 13-16 Project constructed a categorisation of students' ideas cohering with that applied by Dickinson and Lee (1984). Cooper (1992) extended that analytical approach on students' historical conceptualisation to the exploration of ideas of young children attending the primary school years. The several empirical studies carried out by these and other pioneers made possible to construct an objective confidence in a potential historical learning and reasoning since the early ages.

In the same wavelength many researchers in history education have focusing their work in understanding the ideas *of* and *in* history students construct. It is an investigative approach on historical cognition – it differs from surveys on perceptions – and it is concerned with a conceptual diagnosis of learning in order to favour teaching strategies consistent with the nature of historical thinking.

The understanding of the historical cognition process demands a link to the epistemological apparatus of history such as it is currently practised. Historical explanations, interpretations, accounts, evidence, significance or perspective appear as key elements to grasp the idea of history as a systematic, grounded form of knowing the human past. Perhaps it is already consensual to explain past human affairs searching (conceptually speaking) for causes, motives, conditions or consequences. It might be consensual too the acceptance of historian craft's imperatives as in-depth inquiry and methodological detachment, when searching for evidence to construct valid interpretations (Fulbrook, 2002). However, the nature of historical validity is an issue yet standing for debate. Neutrality cannot mean a total absence of values – the historical explanation is intrinsically evaluative, it is value loaded such as its object is (Dray, 1991). The historians inevitably hold their presuppositions and, as Walsh (1967) claimed, if all the points of view were taken away in history, nothing would be left. Some presuppositions are genuine and should be empirically and rationally justified: what is crucial is to distinguish between emotional interests and evidence as grounds for a historical conclusion. Historical pictures of a given past can gain validity and explanatory power if it is based on varied evidence enriched by several perspectives, and constructed with historical imagination (Collingwood, 1992). Nonetheless, the recognition of a genuine perspective in history does not entail that all versions are equally valid – or no valid at all. As Mc Cullagh (1984) and Martin (1989) pointed out, among competing historical versions one might be favoured according to criteria of evidential scope and explanatory power. The key element of perspective in history might appear yet counterintuitive. But in democratic contexts, and even more in a global, media society, the existence of a diversity of perspectives appear more clearly and turn that counterintuitive condition more accessible to common sense. Besides, children and young people might be closer to this elaborate criterion of history than those who had grown up in a cultural environment where only one truth – or nothing at all – should be believed.

The philosophical debate currently undertaken by Rüsen (1993) around historical consciousness has strengthened the idea on the need to think historically about the past. Rüsen vales a ontogenetic, more complex approach to historical consciousness than other more conventional trends, having in mind a disciplinary historical thinking tied to a preoccupation with the needs of the human beings. More recently this author has discussed the idea of consciousness in a globalised society, bringing into light a fresh approach to humanism encompassing subjectivity, agency and cultural diversity (Rüsen, 2013), and advocating the perspective of fostering dialogue among cultures. In the field of history education some researchers have taken attention to this philosophical debate undertaken by Jörn Rüsen by relating the formation of historical consciousness with issues of learning history.

Those disciplinary concepts embedded in the historical thinking have inspired an innovative way of looking at history education as a bridge between the learning of history and the very nature of history. In this field, among a fruitful research on students' historical cognition spreading across diversified countries, we can hold as relevant contributions to history education the studies on how students (tacitly or consciously) conceive historical explanations (Lee and Dickinson, 1984; Shemilt, 1984), evidence and perspective (Wineburg, 1991; Ashby, 2005; Chapman, 2009), significance (Cercadillo, 2001), as well as historical consciousness related to issues of historical narrative, identity, agency (Lee, 2004; Seixas, 2004; Barton and Mc Cully, 2008; Barca and Schmidt, 2013).

The studies on students' voices on the national history in Portugal presented here is part of the apparatus of that line of research.

Voices of Portuguese Students about the Contemporary National Past

Methodological Issues

We aimed to explore in a qualitative approach some signs of historical cognition and consciousness given by young people. Being the idea of historical consciousness very complex, with multiple dimensions, I bring to discussion here some patterns of historical narrative and traces of national identity the students suggest when accounting for the national contemporary past.

The Participants. To prospect students' views the data collection involved several 'trips to the field' of year 9 history classrooms in Portugal, between 2005 and 2011. Here I will refer only to data collected in 2007 and 2011 (42+40 students). Year 9 of schooling corresponds to the end of basic education with a common curriculum. History is taught as an autonomous subject in years 5 to 9 (although it is formally

integrated in the "History and Geography of Portugal" subject in years 5-6). It is part of the "Environment studies" in years 1-4.

For this qualitative study the schools were a deliberate sample selected in order to get a heterogeneous sample of students concerning criteria of cultural context and achievement. Therefore, the 82 participants in this study were attending two classrooms located in a town near two 'big' cities (Lisbon and Porto) each. It is worth to note that out of the largest cities the school population uses to be much more heterogeneous once students belong to diverse social strata and private schools are almost inexistent there. However, in many of those peripheral contexts it is less probable to find a considerable population of foreign students. The accounts of a residual number of foreign students who participated in the study (Brazilian and Chinese) are not discussed here.

The Instrument and Procedures. The instrument for data collection consisted of the task proposal initially launched in this article ("Imagine that you are on an international camping holiday and one evening you decide, together, to each present the history of your own country" …). Indeed, there was a second task proposal formally identical to the previous one and focusing on the world history, but it will not be discussed here.

At the first contact with the students in each class, they were told about the aims of the Project and how it was important to get their volunteer participation in the specific study; the students were also informed of the confidentiality of personal data (in public presentations the subjects' names would be fictional). The young people seemed pleased to cooperate (perhaps the idea of imagining to be at an international camping holiday contributed positively for that). They took about half an hour to write an individual account of the national contemporary history.

The Analysis of Students' Accounts

An inductive qualitative analysis of data was carried out. It was guided by broad questions about the ways in which students' accounts can progressively be linked to a genuine historical narrative. The focus of analysis here is oriented toward, a) the structure of historical narrative, b) historical significance, values and signs of national identity.

a) The Structure of Historical Narrative.

Most of the students wrote their histories in a discursive (narrative) manner, and just a few presented factual lists of events. If we look at each account either at its formal and substantive structure, the data suggest a set of less or more elaborate patterns

in respect to what might be count as a valid, comprehensive picture of the recent past. As indicators of a poor formal structure, some students gave a chronology, or a non-chronological list, or generic statements about the national contemporary past. In fact, lists of singular events – even in a valid temporal sequence – indicate a poor idea of what historical knowledge means. Generic comments about the past might also be seen as a case of non-historical construction since no particular past situations are made explicit. The account given by Jorge, in 2011, might be an example of those generic comments: *"In the last hundred years my country has evolved in technology and way of life, we are an average country as some are worse and some others are more developed. My country is on a crisis too. In fact we had already been worse, but I am 15 years old and never had seen what a crisis is. That is, this will be bad for me, and it is something new, as I'll have to leave a sort of stuff, which is hateful. This crisis has happened due to the people not taking an attitude, the Portuguese people tend to think "ah, is this bad? Let it be'. The crisis is also due to the fact that we have bad politicians [...], the people is sleeping and they will have to awake soon."*

In a more elaborate fashion, most of the students gave an interlinked descriptive / explanatory account. A proto historical narrative is present when past states of affairs are displayed in a descriptive form and its statements can be grounded on evidence although showing scarce causal links. Yet such constructions might indicate ideas of history as a factual description, with little attention to establish explanatory connections among events. A genuine historical narrative emerges in some cases: when students describe particular states of affairs with objective grounds and, at least implicitly, they establish relationships in terms of conditions, causes and / or consequences.

b) Historical Significance, Values and Signs of National Identity.

Irrespective of the intrinsic quality of structure as a historical narrative, it is worth to pay attention to the tacit selection of substantive past situations by the students as it can give signs of personal historical significance – even chaotic timelines might shed some light on the authors' historical significance. Looking at data under this focus, it is possible to see that the students attribute a special causal significance to the turning point from dictatorship to democracy in Portugal in the mid-seventies (1974). In fact, two contrasting epochs in the 20th century (the dictatorship from mid-1920s till 1974 and the democratic revolution in 1974) appear in almost all accounts, including those constructed as factual lists.

In her narrative, Lisa words represent that cross idea of a significant feature of the national past for the participants either in 2007 and 2011 (as in former data collections*): "I would tell that the history of Portugal has gone through many changes especially on the 25th April when the country became independent, that is, a democratic*

country, in 1978 [1974]. Ever since everything turned out to be different, women were allowed to vote for the government, the Portuguese could express their opinions while before the 25th April people were not allowed to speak about the government and for those who dared to do it the political police would come and arrest them, sometimes killing them. There was no freedom of speech, we Portuguese had to do what they ordered, but all that has changed, there was a revolution, there was the 25th April, ever since we are allowed to speak about everything coming into our minds And now here we are, the Portuguese."

The account above describes particular features of two contrasting epochs in Portugal simultaneously pointing to an explanation for change (causes and consequences of the 25th April revolution.

Following more closely the challenging to report the national history in the last hundred years, some historical narratives give a larger timespan. In 2007, Alice told: *"In 1900 Portugal still lived under a monarchy and became a Republic in 1910. Later on, due to Portugal's entry into World War I, there was the loss of many lives and the country suffered hard times during this period. In the 30's, Salazar entered the government (which was chaotic by this time) and brought about years of dictatorship inspired by the Italian fascist regime. In spite of the dictatorship, Portugal was neutral during the five years of World War II. During those years of oppression, the Portuguese saw their freedom of speech censured and their men leaving for the colonies to impose Salazar's colonial ideal. After years of lost fights, on 25th April 1974 the people rebelled and put an end to the painful years of dictatorship, installing a democratic regime. Another important step for Portugal was joining the European Union in 1986. Ever since, in spite of being a free country Portugal has experienced some negative aspects.*"

In 2011 John gave a similar account of the past. He signalled that "*about one hundred years ago the republic came with the fall of the monarchy*", he then skipped toward a description of the severe Salazar and Caetano regime, which ended thanks to the 25th April as "*Portugal was fed up with the dictatorship*"; he stated that "*along the years the country has been facing several troubles*" and mentioned the adherence to the European Union currency.

The master narrative across the students' accounts prices the values of freedom and welfare above all. Those accounts designed in a descriptive / explanatory mode trace a movement from oppression toward liberation in the country – the monarchy replaced with the Republic, the Salazar dictatorship replaced with the democracy thanks to the "carnation revolution" which opened a route to development.

The young people seemed satisfied with their own country till 2007. In those times they used to look at the contemporary past as if they were mere vicarious agents of

significant national deeds. At the end of their accounts transcribed above, Lisa and Alice expressed an individual passivity as agents in their own time: "*And now here we are, the Portuguese*", or "*Ever since, Portugal, in spite of being a free country, has lived with some negative aspects*".

In 2011, however, some students' voices turned to be more active about the present states of affairs. Jorge closed his generic account already quoted here, by claiming: *"This crisis has happened due to the people not taking an attitude, the Portuguese people tend to think 'ah, is this bad? Let it be'. The crisis is also due to the fact that we have bad politicians [...], the people is sleeping and they will have to awake soon."*

In this late data collection (2011) some accounts expressed mixed feelings of satisfaction with the past and worries about the present by showing growing concerns with the economic crisis. Although just at an emotional level some kind of conscious personal agency seems to emerge among the young people.

Final Comments

The public opinion uses to criticise the lack of historical knowledge in students based on an impressionistic criterion of amount of factual information. However, when we want to listen to the young people in a stimulating, investigative context and we ask them to express their ideas, the conceptual picture they show of the recent past of their country is not so poor as the common-sense critique claims. The analysis of students' accounts indicates that the main conceptual framework for a valid history is being constructed. It may not include a lot of substantive information, some of the particular factual features may be not very accurate, but a descriptive/explanatory structure of the historical account naturally emerges in most of the students' voices. That does not mean that students' pictures of the past are quite elaborate. A historical thinking made of a disconnected timeline even if it is factually and sequentially accurate, or broad statements about the past poorly grounded in objective states of affairs, is still present. Also, the historical narratives may be considered yet too much mild in their explanatory power. Looking at diverse factors, weighing their relative influence in particular states of affairs, and strengthening a rational argumentation around historical issues in grounds of varied evidence are some elements of the cognitive process required to develop a sophisticate historical thinking. Furthermore, history is not exempt of values and this is part of their richness. Historical detachment relies on the recognition of several perspectives and there is no way of historians escaping their own presuppositions, not tinged by practical interests or propaganda. In history the most genuine presuppositions are those embedded in the common aspirations of the human beings, that is, those linked to humanity in its cultural diversity. When students give emphasis to

freedom and welfare they are reasoning in this wave, at the level of national identity. And the same might be said if the young people begin to take a position when facing the troubled present times. These elements of students' thinking are relevant to the emergence of making sense of the past in connection to the present and possible scenarios for the future. It is a kind of historical consciousness that may be acknowledged; however, it may be not sufficiently powerful to face this diversified, interdependent world within humanistic aspirations. The "we" must take into account the 'others': for example, in this particular focus of contemporary Portuguese history, those peoples who suffered colonialism and managed to get the independence (rarely remembered in the students' accounts), or those countries / international policies who conditioned good and bad situations of the national history (absent from the student' accounts too).

We only can consciously change what we already know. The diagnosis presented here intends to be a contribution, open to debate, to the teaching and learning of history in a globally interconnected society. A better living for the human beings is the utopian aim to be pursued even knowing that such aspiration there always will be only relatively accomplished.

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Meenakshi Chhabra

MIRROR NARRATIVES OF RECIPROCAL DISTORTIONS AND RECIPROCAL CONNECTIONS – CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN AND PAKISTANI YOUTH ON THE 1947 BRITISH INDIA PARTITION

Abstract

This chapter analyses the conversations between Indian and Pakistan high school students on the topic of the 1947 British India Partition. Partition is a historical event of mass collective violence between the two peoples and a watershed event for both India and Pakistan. Data for the study was collected through participant observations, focus groups and interviews with the Indian and Pakistani youth who participated in a coexistence camp in Maine in the United States. The analyses of the data reveal mirror narratives of reciprocal distortions and reciprocal connections and sheds light on the challenges and possibilities of creating alternative narratives of peace.

KEY WORDS: HISTORY EDUCATION, COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE, RECIPROCAL DISTORTIONS, RECIPROCAL CONNECTIONS, HISTORICAL NARRATIVES, PERSONAL NARRATIVES, MIRROR NARRATIVES.

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MIRROR NARRATIVES OF RECIPROCAL DISTORTIONS AND RECIPROCAL CONNECTIONS – CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN INDIAN AND PAKISTANI YOUTH ON THE 1947 BRITISH INDIA PARTITION

"There had really been a time, not so long ago, when people sensible people, of good intention, had thought that all maps were the same, that there was a special enchantment in lines … They had drawn their borders, believing in that pattern, in the enchantment of lines, hoping perhaps that once they had etched their borders upon the map, the two bits of land would sail away from each other … What had they felt I wondered, when they discovered that they had created not a separation, but a yet-undiscovered irony … there had never been a moment in the four-thousand-year-old history of that map, when the places we know as Dhaka and Calcutta, were more closely that I, in Calcutta, had only to look into the mirror to be in Dhaka; a moment when each city was the inverted image of the other, locked into an irreversible symmetry by that line that was to set us free- our looking-glass border." (Ghosh, 1988, p. 233).

Introduction

Narratives of historical events of mass violence have been a topic of considerable debate, discussion and research in the field of history education. Much of this research on the topic has focused on the textbook narratives of such events and their enactment by the teachers in the classroom (Podeh, 2000; Korostelina, 2013; Stearns, Sexias and Wineburg, 2000; Carretero, Asensio and Rodriguez-Moneo, 2012). What is missing in the discourse is the voice of pupils sharing memories and narratives of events of collective violence across conflict lines. This chapter seeks to contribute to the existing research by examining dialogues on a historical event of shared collective violence, between high school pupils from two countries in conflict. The underlying question guiding this chapter is; Are there possibilities of restoring the past towards peace and coexistence between groups that have a history of collective mass violence between them, through sharing narratives of a shared violent past?

The foci of inquiry are conversations between Indian and Pakistani pupils on the narratives of the 1947 British India Partition of Punjab, a significant event in history of South Asia marked by brutal collective violence. These pupils from India and Pakistan were participants in a summer camp, organized by Seeds of Peace, a non-profit organization that brings youth from conflicting countries together for a six-week camp at Maine, in the United States of America. Through my engagement with the Seeds of Peace as a peace and conflict practitioner and researcher, I participated

in several workshops between 2001 and 2005. Data for this study was collected in 2005, through participant observations of the dialogue workshops, interviews and focus groups with both Indian and Pakistani students who were participants in these workshops. Two main themes emerged in these conversations: Why Partition happened or the historical narrative about the causes that led to Partition and, how Partition happened, the personal narratives about the impact of the brutality of Partition on the lives of the people.

I apply the frame of mirror images (Urie Bronfenbrenner, 1986), to analyse these two themes. The frame of mirror images has been used in the analysis of various conflicts such as, Soviet Union and USA during the cold war period and the Israel-Palestinian conflict. This frame states that, in any conflict there are *reciprocal distortions* that exist in the perceptions of the two parties about each other (Urie Bronfenbrenner, 1986, p. 72). The reciprocal distortions are mirror images in the sense that they mirror the stereotypical views each group holds about the other. The frame of reciprocal distortions has been mostly applied to negative perceptions between two conflicting groups. While examining the reciprocal distortions about each other, in the conversations between Indian and Pakistani youth, I extend the frame to also explore mirror narratives of shared understandings and connections between them. I define these as *reciprocal connections*. Conversations on the narratives of Partition reveal both mirror images of reciprocal distortions and reciprocal connections. The chapter argues that such exchanges on historical events of violence across conflict lines can offer spaces for possibilities of new narratives of peace between conflicting groups.

The Event of Partition

The end of the British rule in South Asia in 1947 was accompanied by the watershed event of Partition. It is estimated that around fifteen million people were forced to move between the new India and the newly created Pakistan, with its two wings in the East and West. Majority of this forced migration was at the western border. Around ten million people crossed the border, which divided the state of Punjab. Muslims left for Pakistan and Hindus and Sikhs fled to India. This movement across borders witnessed brutal killing between Sikhs and Hindus on one side and Muslims on the other. Contagious disease and malnutrition along the way also added to the loss of life. While there are no accurate figures it is estimated that there were 200,000-500,000 casualties. Those who survived the migration were rendered homeless as refugees in a new land. Many of them had lost family members and friends during the migration. They lost their local and regional cultures and were forced to start life from scratch in a new land.

India and Pakistan emerged from the 1947 Partition as enemy nations with a divided historical memory, setting in motion the collective needs and fears of their people. Bitter hatred against the *other* was institutionalized and deeply etched among the youth through the education system. Both India and Pakistan were new nations in the post-colonial era and instilling a feeling of pride for the new nation among its young was a foremost agenda for both countries. Post-Partition, school education in India and in Pakistan was used as a tool for nation building. Enmity with the other was used as a frame to strengthen the nationalist agenda. This was especially true for the teaching of school subjects of Geography and History. Disputed areas between India and Pakistan, were claimed in the free-hand maps that the students learned to draw in the two countries. Historical narratives in the textbooks carried the same ideological indoctrination of *us and them.* Certain sections of the shared past were highlighted and others were glossed over or even eliminated to suit the nation-building agenda. The school history textbooks on each side, till recently,[24] offered singular perspectives about the event and were used as means to perpetuated the enemy images of the other. While the India textbook held the British and the Muslim League responsible for "… shatter[ing] the dream of Indian unity" (Chandra, 1996, pp. 246-274), and echoed a feeling of loss, the Pakistani textbook celebrated the creation of Pakistan as well as the freedom and independence of the country and its people from oppression by the Hindus and the British (Pakistan Studies, Class IX-X, 1999, pp. 27-61). The media and films on both sides of the border reiterated a similar enemy discourse.

Although the violence during Partition had impacted the lives of millions of people in both India and Pakistan, till date there is no memorialization of the event, on either side of the border. The school history textbooks in both countries made only a formal mention of the impact of the event on human life. One of the widely used secondary textbooks in Pakistan, stated, "After the establishment of Pakistan the entire sub-continent was engulfed in the communal riots […] fifteen lac people were murdered, 50 thousand women were abducted and more than one crore people had to migrate (Pakistan Studies, Class IX-X, 1999, p. 46)." Likewise in India, the history textbook by the National Council of Education Research and Training (NCERT) used in secondary schools around the country described the brutality of Partition in this way, "[…] even at the very moment of freedom, a communal orgy, accompanied by indescribable brutalities was consuming thousands of lives in both India and Pakistan" (Chandra, 1996, pp. 246-274).

24 In 2005, the National Council of Education Research and Training in New Delhi, India was entrusted with a task of developing a new curriculum framework. In 2008 a revised curriculum and new textbooks were introduced. Under this new curriculum an entire chapter on Partition was introduced in the secondary school history textbook. This chapter titled, "Understanding Partition- Politics, Memories and Experiences," includes multiple perspectives on Partition as well as oral histories on the impact of Partition on different populations.

However, in the quiet of homes of those who experienced the event, the memory of Partition was actively transferred in the sharing of the personal stories of the brutality of Partition, which were passed down from one generation to another. Partition was a marker of life before and after for many who had experienced the event. Much has been researched and written about the event in both countries. The scope of this chapter does not allow for a review of the wealth of this literature. It is suffice to say that the collective memory of the narratives of the event have continued to a great extent, to shape the history and politics of the region and the identities of Indians and Pakistanis (Kumar, 2001).

The two countries have fought three wars since 1947. In addition, any act of communal violence in each of the countries is attributed to the other. The nuclearization of the two countries in 1998 and the rise of terrorism, have added to the tension in the region. People to people interactions across the borders have been opening up only in the last decade or so. It still, however, continues to be an arduous process, resisted by the governments and long bureaucratic delays on both sides.

Seeds of Peace

Seeds of Peace is a non-governmental organization that was started in 1993 to bring youth and educators from conflicting countries together with intent to transform enemy perceptions between them. In the early years the program was focused on Israel and Palestine. In 2001, a South Asia initiative was launched to include youth and educators from India and Pakistan. Each year, 20-24 high school boys and girls, twelve each from Lahore and Mumbai, fourteen to eighteen years of age, are selected to participate in a camp for six weeks in Maine in the United States. During the six weeks, these youth live together at camp, share bunks, participate in several competitive and cooperative activities, and meet in structured dialogue sessions.

From 2001 till 2005, as a facilitator and researcher, I witnessed the dialogues between different groups of teens from India and Pakistan, or *seeds* as they were called in Seeds of Peace. The camp was their first encounter with someone from the other side. Each side came prepared with narratives and resources from their textbooks and media to rebut the other on issues of conflict between the two countries. The camp provided a structured platform for these dialogues. The conversations reflect the challenge for these youth to navigate between the master enemy narrative in each country, their newly formed friendships with the perceived enemy, and their notions of patriotism.

Each day at camp, the seeds had two hours of structured dialogue called co-ex sessions (co-existence). The rest of the day was spent in various other camp activities. In the first few co-existence sessions, the seeds engaged in community building

activities, like setting ground rules for their conversations, building trust and learning and practicing dialogue skills. These were followed by a few sessions on discussions about stereotypes among Indians and Pakistanis about each other. Topics ranged from everyday food habits and Bollywood cinema, to treatment of women in the two countries, corruption, role of politicians and the western influence. Do women drive in Pakistan? Is there a McDonald in Pakistan? Are your politicians as corrupt as ours? These were some of the questions the Indian seeds asked the Pakistanis. The Pakistani seeds were curious about, the practice of young widows in India burning themselves on their husband's pyre (*Sati*),[25] Indians having Muslim friends and, wondering if all Indians were vegetarians. It was interesting to see each side defend their country in the discussion that followed, and realizing through the conversation how little they knew about each other.

Dialogue on Partition

Why Partition Happened

Around the third week at camp conversations on historical events were introduced in the dialogue sessions. The Indians and Pakistani seeds were asked to take a *historical memory walk*, where they worked in their own groups to list what they knew of as critical historical events leading to Partition. Each side was then instructed to take a walk on the other side's *historical memory lane*. The differences in the historical memories were striking for each side, leading to an enthusiastic discussion on why Partition happened. Both sides drew on content from their history books to strengthen their claims. The Indian seeds, argued that Partition was not justified based on 'the fact' that India is a secular country and Hindus and Muslims coexisted before the British came and could have continued to do so. It is the British who divided them. The Pakistani seeds provided 'facts' from their textbooks about the discrimination of Muslims by the Hindus and the British, and justified the need for a separate state. Both sides argued using past and present events to buttress their case. To offer an example of that conversation,

Pakistani seed: *"The Muslims were facing religious hurdles. Even the Congress was for the Hindus. The Nehru report*[26] *was against the Muslims and ignored the Muslim rights. It was not in favor of giving separate electorates to the Muslims and overlooked the rights of the Muslims and a separate identity for them. Separate identity of the*

25 The practice of *Sati* was legally banned in India in 1861. But a few cases have been found in some villages in India in recent years.

26 The Nehru report, in 1928 was an attempt to outline the constitution for India as a dominion state under the British Commonwealth. It was rejected by the Muslim League on grounds that it did not recognize Muslim minority rights

Muslims was under threat [...]. Qaid E Azam [Muhammad Ali Jinnah] protected our rights and fought for our freedom from the British and the Hindus. We fought for a separate state."

Indian seed: "*India is a secular country all along. The Nehru report was written for a secular India. We have had a Muslim President. Muslims are given equal representation. We could live together […] Hindus are not the only Indians. Muslims are also Indians. We [Hindus and Muslims] did not have differences before the British came […]. The British were not happy about this. They created Partition […]. If it was not for the British and Jinnah, we would still be united as one country.*" (From the Observation of the coexistence session between Indian and Pakistani seeds, summer camp in Maine, 2005, 7 July).

The conversation above reflects the exclusive narrative from each side. It was the first time that these youth were exposed to the other side's historical narrative. While being challenged by this new narrative, each side passionately defended their respective country's master narrative on Partition. However, when I spoke to the seeds from both sides following the session, one of the seeds talked about how she realized after her conversations, 'that what the other side is saying might be right. But I am not going to agree to that in front of them. I cannot back down. I will be letting my country down.' Another commented, '[…] we fight in the coexistence sessions about my history is right and yours is wrong. We both know that that is not true. But we must speak for our country.'

In their conversations the youth grappled between their newly formed friendships at camp with their enemy other, and their need to defend their country. In this third space of camp, on the one hand these Indian and Pakistani seeds saw themselves as representatives of their countries, committed to upholding its master narrative. On the other hand, the camp provided them opportunities to befriend the other and through these connections with the other side, they were introduced to a contrastive historical narrative. They navigated through these multiple terrains of their notions and feelings of patriotism for their respective countries, and their friendships with the other side. In the process, they 'accepted the other's narrative without agreeing to it,' and constructed their own understanding of conflict and the possibilities of peace in the region.

As one of the Indian seeds commented,
"*Our discussions on the topic were very intense […]. I got to know about the other side's thoughts on Partition. I also learnt about the differences in our history books, about the brainwashing that both our governments were doing on the people for creating hatred for each other. They (Pakistanis) felt strongly that Partition was a justified. We (Indians) did not agree to that. I can now accept their viewpoint as a different view. I think it is valid but I still do not agree with it […] I don't think we can reverse*

partition. So I think we should accept it and talk about issues that can still be changed between the two countries."

Reflecting on the same conversation a Pakistani seed shared,
"[…] Through the discussion I learnt why they [Indians] did not like partition. I knew they did not but did not know why and why they felt so strongly about it. I found about how our history books were so different about the same event or how some events were not even mentioned in their books and some in ours. When we started talking about it we realized how we did not have the complete picture […]. Each of us thought that our side was right. We realized at the end of it that we will never know the truth. We have been taught certain things that are truth for us. And we have been taught all this for a purpose. The idea was never to tell us what had happened but for us to know certain things and feel for our own country and against the other. I will now question things I read or I am told about the Indians." (From focus group with Indian and Pakistani seeds at the summer camp in Maine, 2005, 8 July).

How Partition Happened

During the week, the conversations moved away from the political discourse, to the impact of Partition to the lives of the common people. Seeds from each side shared oral narratives they had heard in their families of violence committed against their family members by the other side. In these narratives, the other was the aggressor and one's own side the victim. The following is an excerpt from that conversation,

Indian seed*: "One of my teacher's she told us a story about her grandparents. Their house was burnt and her grandparents were burned alive by the Muslims. So many stories […] So many Hindus were killed."*

Pakistani seed: *"I heard from my mother, that her mother told her a story of a Muslim woman who was pregnant. She was killed and her child was also killed. She was stabbed in her stomach. I remember hearing that. it was really torturous."*

Indian seed: *"My grandparents really suffered during partition. I have heard stories from them. They were forced to leave their home and that changed the future of our family. I felt very angry about that. We lost much more than you."*

Pakistani seed: *"My grandparents, my mother's parents, had to leave their home to escape. They were with their children and one of them fell sick on the way and they could not get him any treatment and he died. My grandmother hates the Indians."* (From the Observation of the coexistence session between Indian and Pakistani seeds, summer camp in Maine, 2005, 10 July).

Like the historical and political narratives, the personal narratives of Partition were told and retold in each community in a way that continued to reinforce the enemy perceptions about the other.

As each side shared narratives of the victimization of their side by the other, some of the seeds on both sides came to acknowledge that there were perpetrators and victims on both sides. This was also the first time they were hearing personal stories where their side was implicated as the perpetrator and the other as the victim.

Neither their textbooks nor their teachers or families had talked about the experience of the other side.

Pakistani seed: *"It was the same on both sides. There was loss of life for both. Both sides killed. We (Pakistanis) had never heard their story. We know that Muslims suffered. We did not hear that the Hindus suffered also […]"*

Indian seed: *"I had heard that both sides suffered, but I had never heard a personal story of the other sides suffering. But I have heard many stories of the suffering to the Hindus."* (From a focus group between Indian and Pakistani seeds, summer camp in Maine, 2005, 12 July).

Reciprocal Distortions and Reciprocal Connections

The conversations between the Indian and Pakistani seeds on why and how Partition happened represent mirror images of reciprocal distortions and reciprocal connections. On the one hand seeds from each side held on to their exclusive narrative about the other sides, on the other hand through these interactions they also formed connections between each other's historical and oral narratives. While narratives of reciprocal distortions reinforced an, us versus them dynamic, the reciprocal connections offered possibilities of shared narratives. They illustrate two distinct kinds of engagements; one, mirrors the stereotype images of the 'enemy other.' The second reflects efforts on both sides, to understand, empathize and connect with the other.

The stereotypes about the other side have been passed down to the seeds through the historical and personal narratives that they were exposed to through their textbooks and the oral histories of their families. Some of the reciprocally conflicting narratives related to the legitimacy of Partition, the treatment of Muslims in India, India's secularity, perceptions about political leaders, and which side suffered more during the event. The reciprocal connections the seeds made were around acknowledging that there were different narratives of the same events in their history textbooks, the role of their respective governments in 'brainwashing' them about the other, and that, during Partition victims and perpetrators were on both sides of the

border. The tables below with selected excerpts from the seeds conversations from the dialogue sessions and the focus groups provide an opportunity to examine the two different kinds of narratives.

Table 1. Reciprocal Distortions

Indian Seeds	Pakistani Seeds
Partition 'should not have happened.'	'We are happy that Partition happened.'
'The Hindus and Muslims lived together in peace [before the British came].'	'There were always problems between the Hindus and Muslims.'
'India is a secular country. We could have lived together.'	'India is not secular. The Muslims are oppressed [. . .] We could not have lived together.'
'The British sowed the seeds of division between the Hindus and the Muslims [. . .] [and caused partition].'	'Muslims in India were treated unequally . . . they were kept backward by the British and the Hindus [. . .]'
'Mr. Jinnah [the Muslim leader] misled the Muslims and asked for the division of the country [. . .]'	'Mr. Jinnah represented all the Muslims. He had to fight for our freedom from the Hindus.'
'The Muslims killed the Hindus and the Sikhs and took away their land. More Hindus were killed [. . .] my grandparents told me how they suffered through partition.'	'The Hindus and the Sikhs massacred the Muslims brutally. We lost more than your side [. . .] 650 thousand Muslims and 470 thousand Hindus [. . .] my grandmother has told me many stories of that time.'

Table 2. Reciprocal Connections

Indian Seeds	Pakistani Seeds
'Our history textbooks are not the same [. . .] they have contradictory things [. . .]'	'Our histories tell us different facts [. . .] some things are missing in ours and some events are missing in their books.'
'We don't know what is the truth [. . .] there are many ways of telling the same story.'	'Each side tells their version [. . .] what is the truth we will never know [. . .] Every history book, theirs and ours is biased, that is one thing we learnt'
'There was loss of life on both sides.'	'Both sides suffered.'
'I realize for the first time that our side also killed and looted.'	'There were people killing each other on both sides.'
'Our history books don't tell us personal stories of Partition [. . .] We heard these in our families and only about our side.'	'We read only facts in our books numbers of how many died not stories of what happened to people [. . .] No one ever told us what happened to the other side.'
'[. . .] Now we will not just believe what we read or see in the media about the other side. We will question it.'	'If I hear news about the Indian side I will check with them [. . .] I can't fully trust what we hear.'

As mentioned before, the seeds confront the other side's historical and personal narratives for the first time at camp. This confrontation while challenging their assumptions and perceptions also exposes them to the other side's perspectives on Partition. While not 'agreeing' with each other on the historical narrative, through the structured discussion the seeds are able to 'accept' that both sides have different

interpretations about the same historical facts. They come to accept the multiple perspectives on Partition. They also concur with each other about the role their governments play in educating them about the event in a way that strengthens the enemy perceptions about the other. As one Indian seed commented in the focus group, '[…] I got to know about the other side's thoughts on Partition. I also learnt about the differences in our history books […] about the brainwashing that both our governments were doing on the people for creating hatred for each other.'

Like the historical narratives in the textbooks, there are no personal oral narratives on both sides that acknowledge acts of violence and aggression by one's own group. The exchange of personal narratives allows both sides to see the shared suffering and accept their own group as not only the victims but also perpetrators of violence. In describing her experience about the sharing of personal narratives in the focus group, one of the Pakistani seeds said, '[…] both sides suffered. I had not heard till then that Hindus and Sikhs suffered too or were treated badly by the Muslims here […] The fact that your people who you thought were kind and merciful, your people could be so irresponsible. It hurts to hear that. But we all heard each other's stories […].' Talking about the same experience an Indian seed shared, '[…] It was hard to digest that Hindus had killed the Muslims because I had learnt and was told by my teachers that it was the Muslims who caused the trouble […] when I heard their personal stories I realized my people were not the only ones who suffered […]. My side killed too.' (From a focus group between Indian and Pakistani seeds, summer camp in Maine, 2005, 12 July).

There is greater potential for connection in allowing oneself to listen to the other's narratives than there is in listening to the stories of those who share the same history. Till they come to camp, the seeds have only experienced the master narratives in their respective countries. This to a large extent informs the seeds' understanding about the other as perpetrator. Through listening to each other's oral narratives at camp, the seeds are introduced to a new narrative where the other is the victim and their side is the perpetrator. Acknowledging the other as the victim also means acknowledging one's own group as the perpetrator. This challenges a pattern of idealization of those identified with the self and dehumanization of those with whom one is in conflict (Deutsch, 1990). Taking responsibility of one's group's actions is a way of recognizing moral ambiguity. It implies accepting the capacity of one's own group to be inhuman and acknowledging the humanity of the other.

In this grey zone, it becomes possible for both sides to appreciate each other's common humanity. As this conversation from the focus group reveals,
Indian seed: *"When we started telling our personal stories, everyone was quiet. One person shared how her grandfather had to leave his daughter behind and she died and he could not do anything about it […]. Another boy shared about how his grandmother was the only one who survived in the entire family. We all forgot the figures at*

that time; who had lost more lives and who less. Everyone dropped that conversation. Everyone suffered […] so many of us started crying. We felt so much for each other and for what had happened."

Pakistani seed: "*I heard the stories from the other side […] I felt sympathetic for them. It was not some Indian who suffered, but my friend's family. It was no longer a discussion on faceless suffering. These were friends now whose stories we were hearing. For the first time the enemy had a face. It was not about a representative of a country but another human being.*" (From a focus group between Indian and Pakistani seeds, summer camp in Maine, 2005, 12 July).

Conclusion

In sharing of the historical and personal narratives of conflict, the seeds negotiate between their enemy identities as Indians and Pakistanis and their newly formed friendships and understandings of the enemy other. Within the workshop structure, while the seeds strongly hold onto their national identities and narratives about the other, they also hear the other's perspectives, grapple with multiple and contradictory narratives, recognize their side as equally responsible for the violence during Partition, and acknowledge the suffering of the other side.

Navigating through these multiple processes of reciprocal distortions and reciprocal connections allows for spaces for an authentic sharing of historical and personal narratives about historical event of collective violence. Consideration of multiple truths from both sides and acknowledging the victimization of the other by one's group, threatens master narratives of binary thinking that accompany the dehumanization of enemies, creating opportunities for nuanced narratives of peace to emerge.

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Brenda Gouws, Johan Wassermann

VIOLENCE AND HISTORY TEACHING – THE PERSONAL STORY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY TEACHER

Abstract

Post 1994, South Africa was thrust into a new democratic political dispensation, with a new Constitution and a new focus for the history curriculum. For history teachers, teaching was not a simple task, for as many confronted the updated content, such as Apartheid and the Holocaust, recollection of their personal experiences surged to the fore. Using narrative methodology, in this chapter we explore one of these oral histories, the story of Sipho Langa, a South African history teacher. Layer by layer, we reveal a story within a story and the complexity of the way in which oral history unfolds and interplays with his life and profession. First we explore the methodology, background and context of our protagonist, then we reveal the personal story itself and finally we delve into the way his story draws on violent incidents in his past in order to make sense of the complex topics that he currently teaches, specifically the Holocaust and by dint of that also Apartheid. Sipho's story tells of the violence and intimidation he experienced as a young man and how it becomes a hidden narrative that does not leave him, instead subtly shaping his teaching in the present when he uses this story to fill in blanks in his knowledge on especially the Holocaust.

KEY WORDS: PERSONAL STORY, ORAL HISTORY, HISTORY TEACHER, SOUTH AFRICA, VIOLENCE, APARTHEID, TESTIMONY.

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VIOLENCE AND HISTORY TEACHING – THE PERSONAL STORY OF A SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY TEACHER

Introduction

This chapter tells a story within a story – the personal story of a South African History teacher situated in the broader context of the Holocaust, Apartheid, violence, history teaching and oral history – the latter being conceptualised by us as meaning "history that is passed down by mouth" (Kros and Ulrich, 2008, p. 91). The story of the protagonist, Sipho Langa, is a first-hand oral testimony of the violent events that he experienced at the time of the demise of Apartheid and how it relates to his teaching of the Holocaust, and in all probability Apartheid, as oppressive violent events. His personal story, micro in nature, is placed in the macro context of the end of Apartheid and the subsequent blossoming of oral history. Conceptually Russian nesting dolls (*matryoshka* dolls) are used to frame this chapter. This means that in terms of the theory of storytelling the beginning – the largest Russian nesting doll – is the background, context and methodology of the story. This is followed by the middle of the story – the medium size Russian nesting doll – which is in this chapter Sipho's actual personal story. The end of the chapter – symbolised by the smallest Russian nesting doll – is the attempt at making meaning of the story told. Metaphorically, as with Russian nesting dolls, this chapter is thus a recognisable Gordian knot of stories within similar stories where knotted symbiotic relations outweigh size. Differently put, the various nesting dolls need each other to exist, just as Sipho's story needs other stories to be of worth. These relations between stories are used to ultimately understand how a history teacher's personal story shaped his teaching of historical violence.

Background and Context to the Personal Story of Sipho Langa

Storytelling in Africa is a deeply traditional activity with indigenous stories and storytellers key to a rich legacy of intangible heritage. In Africa, oral stories were told to educate, elucidate and entertain, with many embodying a moral tale. In the process, history was passed on from one generation to the next, through folktales, parables, legends, praise poems, and historical narratives (Deacon and Stephney, 2005, pp. 2-3). However in the South African context, oral history, regardless of what form it took, was not taken seriously as part of formal schooling, neither by a succession of White minority governments nor by the historians subscribing to the dominant Afrikaner Nationalist historiography of the time. As a result oral history was shunted to the margins of the discipline and was completely overshadowed by

a Von Rankean vision of history which relied heavily on the various official archival collections as the only legitimate source of historical evidence to underpin White minority rule. In the process the problems with archives, such as whose history it represents and in what manner, were glossed over. But not all historians in South Africa necessarily held archives in the same esteem as the Afrikaner Nationalists, and especially the so-called Radicals, who embraced other sources of historical evidence such as oral ones, deviated from this position. They did this because, amongst other reasons, the archives told the history of, for example, workers, peasant farmers, women, and other minoritised groups, in but a partial and one-dimensional manner. At the same time they understood the rich oral evidence and methodologies available amongst Black South Africans which could act as a counter narrative to the dominant White supremacist official history as touted by the ruling National Party. In embracing oral evidence in the manner they did the Radicals were in step with international developments in historical research methodology (Thompson, 1978, *passim*; Vansina, 1961, *passim*).

Against this backdrop, as Apartheid was unravelling violently by means of government oppression and Black-on-Black violence, especially between two rival political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), making the prospect of a civil war a real one, many South Africans were dreaming of a better future – including a new history free from an Afrikaner Nationalist stranglehold. One envisaged way of achieving this ideal was by exploring new sources of historical evidence, adopting new historical research methodologies and allowing ordinary people to tell their histories. Central to this thinking was the possibilities that oral history offered. A groundbreaking publication in this regard was *Write Your Own History* by Witz (1988). In his view, "Oral tradition helps us to recover a major part of our history that can easily be lost because it is not written down" (1988, p. 40). His publication served as a step-by-step informal training manual by means of which workers, students and the youth could participate in using oral history to capture the history of their societies. This was to be achieved by means of participatory oral history projects involving local communities. The vision was that such oral histories would help counter the imbalances created in the South African narrative under Apartheid.

Other oral history projects and publications followed and with the death knell of political Apartheid on 27 April 1994, the day of the first fully fledged democratic election in the history of South Africa, oral history was no longer necessarily viewed with deep suspicion by all traditional historians. The cementing of oral history in the South African context and consciousness was achieved by the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1996, to scrutinize the violent National Party tactics used to suppress resistance against Apartheid. The TRC, constituted under Nelson Mandela and the ruling African National Congress, was able to publically interview thousands of witnesses during televised hearings on how

they suffered under Apartheid. During these hearings, viewed by millions of viewers, perpetrators and victims came face to face. In the end 849 cases of amnesty were granted and 5392 were refused (*TRC Final Report, Volume 5*, *passim*).

Critics argued that the oral history used by the TRC was unreliable and grossly inaccurate. However, this view was destroyed "as perpetrators confirmed the most outrageous stories and affirmed the reliability of oral history" (Ritchie, 2003, p. 120). In the process, memories were revived without which South Africans would have been deprived of their history and of the celebration of who they are as a people.

The TRC not only shaped the history of South African but also views on oral history for it allowed for individual and collective testimonies and memories to be shared, transmitted and expressed in various complicated ways (Hodgkin and Redstone, 2005, p. 23). In the process many people who previously did not have the opportunity to talk about their histories could do so by means of oral interviews in which "description, explanation, and self-reflection" in a narrative manner took place (Yow, 2005, p. 15). Consequently light was thrown on the forgotten stories of people oppressed and marginalised under Apartheid (Oelofse and Du Bruyn, 2002, pp. 151-155).

In the aftermath of the TRC several oral history related initiatives followed. The South African Department of Arts and Culture, for example, has been recording and preserving oral history since 1994 for inclusion in the National Archives of South Africa. The aim of this undertaking was to create a more balanced and historically representative post-Apartheid archive. Education, and more specifically school history, did not escape either and in August 2001, the Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, launched the South African Oral History Project. The objective of this project was to encourage history learners to undertake oral history research. This thinking was in line with the outcomes based education approach adopted post 1994, and the ideas of nation building, multi-perspectivity and democracy as enshrined in the Constitution and embodied in the various post-Apartheid history curricula. Additionally the thinking was that by means of oral history the diverse and undocumented histories of ordinary people would be uncovered and recorded so as to give voice to them by means of a "history from below" approach (Singh, 2016, p. 12). As a result it was envisaged that Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners would learn history by "doing" the subject in a constructivist manner. School history thus shifted radically from knowing to learning–through-doing in a learner-centred manner by having to complete an oral history project from 2002 onwards (Oelofse and Du Bruyn, 2002, p. 156).

At this time too, representations were being made by Western Cape educators and the Cape Town Holocaust Centre to include the Holocaust in the history curriculum because of the synergy between this history, aspects of Apartheid history, oral

history and the aims of the post-Apartheid history curricula (Du Preez, 2008, p. 66). The Holocaust was therefore included in the history curriculum. The rationale for its inclusion in the 2002 curriculum was to bring the human rights aspect of the Constitution to life. This was intended to make learners more aware of the importance of values in society and to encourage them to stand up in the face of social injustice (Department of Education, 2002, p. 6).

Since the initial introduction of oral history into the history curriculum the oral history component has experienced several incarnations with the latest version, Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS) being fully implemented by 2013. The CAPS curriculum includes a heritage project which should contain an oral component (Department of Basic Education and Training, 2011, p. 14). This accounts for 20 percent of the final continuous assessment marks for Grade 12. Additionally, oral history competitions are held annually in all nine provinces for learners under the auspices of the Department of Basic Education and Training. The winners from each province then take part in the national *Nkosi* (Chief) Albert Luthuli Oral History Competition, named after the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize laureate. This event is co-hosted by the Oral History Association of South Africa which was formed post 1994 under the guidance of the Department of Arts and Culture (Singh, 2016, pp. 6-10). Over the years numerous teacher education workshops on how to assist learners in conducting oral history workshops were held (Kros and Ulrich, 2008, pp. 90-91; Singh, 2016, pp. 65-69).

What the above signals is the enormous importance being placed on oral history in the history curriculum and other structures by the South African government and the Department of Basic Education and Training for numerous broader historical reasons including: working towards "the construction of a new national identity" by "keeping the triumph over evil fresh, memorialising the struggles of the past, and helping to break down all remaining racism; giving back a history to those who had been denied or robbed of one before; and helping to strengthen democratic and constitutional values – or the three 'r's of reconstruction, redress and reconciliation" (Siebörger, 1993, pp. 39-48). Additionally, oral history also tied in with South African society in a socio-cultural manner since "... historical information continues to circulate by word of mouth, in African societies in particular" (Denis, 2008, p. 2). The story on which this chapter is based is one such story.

Research Methodology

Sipho's personal story was one of those heard during the gathering of the field texts for the PhD study of the leading author. Her research focused on the way history teachers' personal stories shape their teaching of the Holocaust as part of the history curriculum in South Africa. However, like many a time when research is conducted

unexpected results were yielded and the story of Sipho revealed much more than how he teaches the Holocaust. This was not strange for in the words of Kros and Ulrich (2008, p. 91) "… oral history is nowhere near as simple as it may seem at first glance." This proved to be the case in the interview of Sipho which in many ways resembled the title of the book by Denis and Ntsimane (2008), *Oral History in a Wounded Country: Interactive Interviewing in South Africa* as will be revealed by this personal story later in this chapter.

The one-on-one semi-structured oral interview with Sipho took place in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, a post-apartheid environment where deep racial and political divides still exist. Violence remains part of the national political landscape but KwaZulu-Natal in particular has been characterised by violent political encounters (Bonnin, 2006, pp. 59-83). Sipho was chosen to be a participant for this study as he taught the Holocaust to Grade 9 and 11 learners in KwaZulu-Natal as part of the history curriculum and had not visited the local Holocaust museum nor had he taken part in any of their teacher training programmes. The interview lasted approximately three hours. Sipho was a perfect candidate to be a participant because he understood oral history by dint of his work as a history teacher overseeing learners doing oral history projects.

During the interview Sipho spoke intently about his personal and teaching experiences, his childhood, his marriage, high and low points in his life, and his Holocaust and general teaching experiences. Sipho told personal stories within personal stories, each with its own beginning, middle and end, while literary elements such a time, place, character, plot and climax took their place. The interview was punctuated by sometimes unexpected personal and professional disclosures as will be revealed in his personal story. This resulted in powerful emotional moments, especially for him. Afterwards, following the guidelines of narrative interviews in qualitative research, impressions and conclusions were written down (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 142-144). Many hours of listening, transcribing and analysing followed as the elements of Sipho's story came into focus and his words took on new meaning. In the end his personal story was restoried based on the core of the transcribed text in line with the narrative methodology followed (Sengupta-Irving, Redman and Enyedy, 2013, pp. 4-5).

As a methodology, and also as part of the underlying theoretical framework, narrative provided the theoretical framing of the study, for in the view of Yow, "Narrative is a strength of oral history" (2014, p. 20). This we argued to be the case since oral history as a method "offers our best bridging point between two forms of narrative – narratives of identity and narratives of history" (Gardner, 2003, p. 184).

Finally, in line with the ethical promise made at the outset of the study names, places and other identifying characteristics were disguised to preserve the anonymity of

those involved. Simply put, the personal story of Sipho as recounted below is real but his identity is not.

The Personal Story of Sipho Langa

Sipho Langa is an African Zulu-speaking South African history teacher who teaches at a rural school in the grassy, rolling green hills of KwaZulu-Natal. Sipho was born in 1972 in rural KwaZulu-Natal into a family comprising his mother, father and eleven siblings. His father worked on a sprawling farm where the family also lived and was in charge of a 200-head herd of cattle. As a young boy, Sipho went to school in a nearby town but returned to the farm on weekends and school holidays, working voluntarily as a herder to assist his parents by earning extra money for school uniforms. These were happy, carefree times and he grew up untouched by the divisive political contestation that swirled around him in late apartheid South Africa and during the politically tense run-up to the first fully fledged democratic general election that took place in 1994.

The farm on which Sipho and his family, as well as six other families, lived was owned by a White man, with whom the family had a good relationship. Sipho described the farmer as a generous man, who allowed his father to keep as many of his own heads of cattle as he wished – cattle being a sign of wealth in African communities – and who always offered advice and assistance when Sipho's family needed it. This relationship was to have a profound effect on young Sipho's later life and would forge his understanding of people and history.

Sipho was in his final year of school when his father passed away. It was 1992. This was an acutely painful time for him as he struggled to cope not only with his father's death but also, as a result, his studies. But he was determined to break the bonds of poverty and lack of education so through hard work and single-minded focus he successfully passed his matriculation examinations (Grade 12) with a university exemption, the first person in his area to do so.

As the farmer neared his retirement, he acknowledged the dedication and commitment of the Langa and other families who had worked and lived on his farm all their lives, by providing them with the opportunity to collectively buy the farm. The Langas bought their portion in 2001. A couple of years later, Sipho left to study teaching in the city where he met his wife whom he eventually married in 2007.

Children soon followed – one in 2008 and another two years later. All the while he continued to teach in the same area in which he had grown up and as he carefully managed his finances and climbed the educational ladder his fortunes rose. His neighbours, however, were not so forward-thinking or hardworking, and their

jealousy spilled over when Sipho and his brothers tried to implement the co-operative envisioned by the farmer. They proclaimed, "We can't be controlled by the Langa family, because the sons of Langa regard themselves as people who know more than everybody else." As a result, the co-operative farm never materialised.

Sipho loved history, a love that he attributed to his school history teacher and Afrikaans university lecturer. Both avoided clichéd, dry chalk-and-talk methods, instead using stories to ignite their learners' imaginations. However, history was not favoured at the school where Sipho taught. The social sciences were dismissed as inferior to the sciences and languages by teachers, learners and parents and, learners who chose to study history were labelled "Stupids". Despite this, Sipho persevered and encouraged his learners to understand and embrace the value of history education.

Although obliged to teach the Holocaust and Apartheid as part of the history curriculum, Sipho confessed that teaching the former was a nightmare and he wished he could simply avoid it. He felt that it was an important section but he explained that as a sensitive person, the Holocaust touched him deeply. Even so, he tried to help the learners understand the complex history but they sometimes became emotional and cried, which upset him greatly. Moreover, teaching the Holocaust reminded him of what happened to him in the townships, residential areas created under Apartheid for Africans, when, from the simplicity of his happy, carefree childhood, he was thrust into a political hotbed, as a result of which, he almost lost his life – twice. These incidents took place shortly before he met his wife and he was so traumatised that he was unable to share them, even with her, until long after they were married.

One morning in 1994, 22-year-old politically naive Sipho set out to find the teacher training college in his area, a township that was split into warring factions – the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). As he walked, he became conscious of someone following him. The man shouted, "You are ANC!" Sipho turned and to his horror stared down the barrel of a gun. Sipho was confused. He had never met this man before. He struggled to make sense of what was happening. Fear gripped him. He froze; but at the same time his mind raced wildly. Then he remembered the *muti* (traditional medicine) that certain African people use to prevent themselves being injured during a shooting or stabbing, *muti* that ensured that if you were stabbed the knife would not penetrate. Bravely, Sipho tried to convince the man with the gun that he was using such *muti*, even though he wasn't. The man shot. The gun misfired. Sipho closed his eyes and waited. The man took aim. He shot again. Nothing happened. Sipho wanted to ask the man why he was doing this but he knew that his voice would vibrate and betray his terror. Instead he slowly reached behind his back as if to grab for a gun of his own, all the time looking directly at the shooter. Without warning, the man turned and walked

away. Sipho boldly shouted after him, "I'll catch you!" But to his horror, as he spun around, another man stood behind him brandishing a spear, braced to attack. Every muscle in Sipho's body turned to stone. There was a deathly silence. Sipho could only hear his shallow breath. Then without explanation, the man withdrew the spear, turned abruptly and ran off, leaving a shaking Sipho alone on the pavement at last. Sipho walked as quickly as he could to his brother's house. Sweat blinded him and his heart and mind raced. Bursting through the door, he broke down and tearfully blurted out his story. This was 30 January 1994, less than three months prior to the iconic first democratic elections in South Africa which took place on 27 April 1994. However, as a result of that incident, Sipho realised that he had to distance himself from that IFP area and went to live elsewhere.

In October of the same year, roughly six months later, Sipho was due to write his first examination. That Saturday evening he retired to bed around 9 o'clock and was dozing off when suddenly he was jolted awake by a commotion. Someone kicked viciously at the door of his hut, shouting and banging, yelling "You are IFP!" His mind was in turmoil. Who were these people? Why were they after him? Unbeknown to him, while he was at college studying, a message had circulated in the area that everyone was to gather that evening to sing struggle songs, and those who did not attend would be labelled IFP. Now they were after him.

Again the door shuddered from a mighty kick. There was no electricity in the room so Sipho grabbed for matches to light a candle. Quivering he fumbled, knocking the matches aside. A man shouted, "If this door is opened because we manage to kick it in, we'll kill you!" This galvanised Sipho into action and he rushed to open the door. The men burst into the tiny dark room:

> *"Why are you are in the dark?" they yelled. "Who is inside there with you?"*
> *"I'm alone," Sipho whispered.*
> *They said, "Okay, switch on the lights!"*
> *He replied, "I don't have electricity. I'm using a candle."*
> *"Then get the matchbox!"*
> *"I can't find it, but it's-it's here in the house," Sipho stammered.*

Finally someone understood and said brusquely, "Okay, this is a young boy," while someone else said, "Okay, let's give him a chance," and with that Sipho finally managed to ignite the match. The men glanced around the small candlelit room; shadows danced menacingly on the hut walls. No-one else was there. "Why didn't you go to the meeting?" one man demanded. Spluttering Sipho explained that he didn't get the message. "So where have you been?" the man barked. "I was at college," Sipho whispered, his mouth dry.

At that point everyone appeared calm, so, thinking that disaster had been averted, Sipho was flummoxed by what happened next. "You are being rude!" someone interjected, "Why do you have ready answers to our questions? You must have planned them beforehand!" As he spoke, Sipho's his eyes widened in terror as he took in the horror of his predicament – one man was holding a gun to his head and another was poking a spear into his chest. They pushed him up against the wall. Tears welled in his eyes. He was convinced he was going die. Resigned he whispered, "Okay, you can kill me," as his mind sped back to 30 January of that same year. It was happening again – a gun and a spear – however then the weapons were further away, now they were being poked into his body by the followers of the other major political party active in KwaZulu-Natal.

Time stood still ... One of the men stared intently at Sipho for what seemed like an eternity then ordered gruffly, "Okay, remove these things!" indicating to the weapons as he marched out of the room. And just like that the men left, leaving Sipho crumpled on the floor.

Making Sense of the Personal Story of Sipho Langa

The first step in weighing the story of Sipho is to juxtapose it against the bigger picture of political violence between the ANC and the IFP prior to and immediately after the 1994 election. This violence, termed an "unofficial war" in some circles, hit Natal (KwaZulu-Natal post 1994) particularly hard. The reasons for this conflict were numerous and were political, economic and social in nature (Jeffrey, 1997, *passim*). Conservative estimates are that 12 000 people lost their lives in KwaZulu-Natal between 1985 and 1996. At the same time between 200 000 and 500 000 people became refugees, while countless others were tortured, raped, abducted and violently assaulted (Denis, Ntsimane and Cannell, 2010, *passim*; Coan, 2011, p. 9). Sipho's personal story in which he was threatened with a gun and spears by ANC and IFP members' nests snugly in the bigger narrative of the violence experienced at the time. In fact his personal story is intertwined with this narrative and mirrors the stories of many other ordinary people at that time. As such his story is part of the fibre making up the tapestry of the history of violence in KwaZulu-Natal at the time.

Some of the people who had to endure the political violence as outlined had, as part of the embracing of oral history after the fall of Apartheid, the opportunity to tell their personal stories. Testifying in front of the TRC was one such opportunity. Others had their stories collected by, for example, the Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives attached to the University of KwaZulu-Natal. In-depth academic studies of the political violence in Natal, based on oral history, also took place. A well-known example in this regard is *Indians versus Russians – An Oral History of Political Violence in Nxamalala* (*1987-1993)* (Denis, Ntisimane and Cannell, 2010,

passim). This work tells the personal stories of political violence as experienced by 50 people from Mthoqotho, an ANC-affiliated region, who were labelled Indians and the surrounding IFP dominated areas of Bhobhonono and Imbubu whose inhabitants were known as Russians. The ordinary people who had contributed to the book through interviews stated that they felt proud and happy to have been contributors and confidently pronounced, "We have history." They could also explain that they had moved on with their lives and were able to live together as a community (Coan, 2011, p. 9). In this instance oral history helped to create an understanding of what happened in that time period and also why and how it happened. Oral history thus worked as "a connecting value" which allowed "us to make connections in the interpretation of history" (Jeffrey and Edwall, 1994, p. 11).

However, numerous others were not fortunate enough to have their personal stories told and in the aftermath of the TRC they were nevertheless asked, like all other South Africans, to forgive, reconcile, and embrace nation building, diversity and rainbowism. Although laudable as a political project this new master-narrative in many ways served to suppress untold stories like that of Sipho. Consequently Sipho did not, unlike the fortunate few, have the opportunity to tell his personal story of Apartheid and violence. As a result his story, like countless other stories, remained untold until he was interviewed for the study on which this chapter is based.

In the meantime Sipho, by dint of the community in which he worked as a history teacher, was confronted with stories similar to his own on a regular basis. He was informally confronted, as part of his daily life in his school and community, listening to the personal stories of the parents and learners who arrived from elsewhere as refugees and of those who had lost family members during the political violence as described above. But most importantly, following the implementation of oral history into the school curriculum in 2002, he also had to formally engage with the stories of others for as a history teacher he had to oversee and guide learners doing oral history projects – at times on hidden histories like his own. This could not but leave him feeling ambivalent. Oral history was thus the double-edged sword whereby Sipho had to live. Whether he wanted to forget or not, his work as a history teacher, guiding learners with oral history projects or teaching topics such as the Holocaust and Apartheid, resulted in him being confronted with his own trauma.

For instance when teaching the Holocaust, Sipho used his personal knowledge of the nature of violent men in trying to understand Adolf Hitler's power and influence. Also, when telling his story of trauma and intimidation at the hands of the people who tried to kill him, he rationalised that the leader was just like Hitler, for at first he seemed to be just one of them, but then he began issuing orders. Sipho knew that if the man had ordered, "Kill him", his followers would certainly have done so. This man had the power of life and death over him, just as Hitler and his NAZI followers had power over the lives of Jews. Sipho thus understood, when thinking of

Hitler and the leader of his attackers, that both men held the lives of others in their hands.

Furthermore, like the events of the Holocaust, Sipho's story was political, raising issues of violence and intimidation. Guns and other weapons were an integral part of the terror tactics employed by the Nazis during the Holocaust while the gun and spears brandished in the attacks on Sipho are symbolic of the political violence in South Africa, both past and present. They were a means of intimidating political opponents. Consequently, his understanding was not merely an intellectual abstraction, gleaned from the words on the pages of a book; it evolved from the rawness of his first-hand lived experiences. He truly understood the power that one individual can hold over another; so when he whispered, "You can kill me", it was the vocalisation of his profound understanding that the people threatening him held the very source of his existence in their hands, just as Hitler wielded power over Jewish and other victims' lives.

Through the teaching of the Holocaust Sipho was forced to deal with deeply uncomfortable personal memories and feelings, while keeping them hidden from others – even until today. In fact, the interview was an unintended telling of his personal story, generated by the narrative method adopted. But through the confronting of his story he also gained greater understanding of other people who experienced similar trauma, violence and intimidation, such as Holocaust victims. Yet we can merely surmise how uncomfortable Sipho must have felt when he had to confront the details of an event that was central to his experience, Apartheid, which forms a major part of the history curriculum, and in which his story is so deeply nested.

In the view of Yow: "… [in] memories of extremely emotion-laden events such as traumas, there may be intrusive, persistent recalling" (2005, p. 46). In this regard the teaching of the Holocaust was nightmarish for Sipho as it forced him to tap into his deepest, hidden memories which served to remind him of his own trauma. Sipho knew firsthand, like many Holocaust and Apartheid victims, the pain of being subjected to someone else's political ideology, being thrust into life-threatening situations and having the balance of your life in the power of others. Thus, instead of desiring to learn more about the Holocaust, he avoided it as much as possible, skirting around the details, and instead filling in the gaps in his knowledge with snippets of his own personal history. For instance, he used the understanding he had acquired of people and the depths to which they were prepared to go to achieve their political goals to create a narrative that fitted neatly with his view of the world. Based on his knowledge he tried to understand why Hitler hated the Jews and arrived at what he believed was a rational conclusion that, in fact, Hitler was simply trying to protect his people, the Germans. The Jews, who to Sipho were foreigners, were taking their jobs and their "lebensraum" or living space and thus Hitler was not wrong when he wanted to get rid of them. This rationalisation can be understood with reference to

Riessman (2008, p. 8) who explains that "there is a complicated dynamic between narrative, time and memory for we revise and edit the remembered past to square with our identities in the present."

For Sipho, the memory of almost being killed, not once, but twice, although not a story that he readily shares, is one that is clearly etched in his mind. For him this was a deeply personal experience and each time he recalls it, he relives it in some way. The other stories that tumbled out as he spoke about his life, such as being humiliated by a school headmaster or being referred to as a "Stupid" because he studied history, coloured the way he viewed people. His judgements on humanity were etched in his consciousness as he told of the emotionally taxing narratives of the Holocaust. These memories then became part of his present and something that would continue to influence his thinking in the future. His own stories thus became a lens through which his story is shaping his life and providing an insight into his historical consciousness (Yow, 2014, p. 16) while acting as a mirror of self-understanding (Duff and Bell, 2002, p. 209).

What is thus abundantly clear is that there is a power in telling personal stories as part of oral history. Stories like Sipho's provide us, the reader, with a window onto the events and experiences of his life that inevitably shaped his teaching. At the same time such personal stories provide a porthole for other teachers, who might have experienced similar traumas, to connect with and gain greater insight into their own teaching. Furthermore, in recounting his personal story there was also the unintended outcome for Sipho of it being cathartic and liberating in that it gave voice to his experience as a member of the previously marginalised majority and in so doing he was allowed to recover some agency (Minkley and Rasool, 1998, p. 90). These outcomes were unintended but key to the understanding Sipho's experiences.

Sipho's story is also a positive reflection of what oral history can do, namely, "… the viewpoints of the non-elite who do not leave memoirs or have biographers are presented" (Yow, 2005, p. 11). In a South African context this is important since an issue that had to be dealt with was the way in which the Apartheid education system and Afrikaner Nationalist historiography had presented history as being a grand narrative of important men. In this sense, the historical record up to 1994 was heavily based on and characterised by a Eurocentric perspective. As a result, the history of ordinary Black people like Sipho was falsely interpreted, went unrecorded, or was silenced altogether (Wahlberg, 2008, p. 3).

Conclusion

As in all good African stories, there is a moral to Sipho's story. It is this – as humans, we are inseparable from the stories we tell (Bruner, 1987, p. 708). Stories are powerful. They are therapeutic. They help us to unravel the knotted threads of our experience and our worlds. They constitute the core of our human experience (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 2) and through them we are able to make sense of life and the world. Thus Sipho's strategy to understand and teach the Holocaust, and possibly also Apartheid, was based on his raw lived experiences and so, when he taught the Holocaust, his personal story and the Holocaust narrative were inevitably inextricably intertwined, revealing a personal oral history that adds to the as yet incomplete South African historical record. Additionally, Sipho's previously untold story nests, like Russian nesting dolls, snugly, not only in a greater body of historical evidence, but also in the realm of teachers 'using their own personal stories to make sense of their identities and what and how they teach.

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PART 3

ORAL HISTORY IN SCHOOLS

ORAL HISTORY IN LITHUANIAN SCHOOLS: CURRENT SITUATION AND CHALLENGES
(Benediktas Šetkus)

DOING ORAL HISTORY – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ROMANIAN SCHOOLS
(Laura Elena Căpiță, Lavinia S. Stan, Maria Rițiu, Carol Căpiță)

ORAL HISTORY IN THE US SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM
(Barbara Winslow)

Benediktas Šetkus

ORAL HISTORY IN LITHUANIAN SCHOOLS: CURRENT SITUATION AND CHALLENGES

Abstract

The article presents a brief overview of the role of oral history in Lithuanian schools on the basis of the Programme for the Teaching of History developed in 2008 and the examples from history textbooks for grades 5 and 10. The author discusses three most relevant aspects of oral history education. The article first explains why the topic of Soviet repressions takes an important place in history teaching in Lithuanian schools and why it is the dominant topic in oral history. It reveals what makes the memories of certain contemporaries of historical events unreliable and gives some pieces of advice on teaching pupils how to determine whether the memories are objective. Secondly, the article brings forward the problem of pupils' perception of historical context, as it prevents a complete understanding of the memories shared by contemporaries of events. Several ideas on how to help pupils to prepare for communication with a contemporary of the events of the past are put forward to ensure that the information provided by the informant is understandable to pupils. The author points out the third relevant problem – the drawbacks of the questions addressed to the informant (interview). The article also provides the recommendations of certain authors for avoiding the aforesaid drawbacks.

KEY WORDS: LITHUANIA, ORAL HISTORY, SCHOOL, SOVIET PERIOD, CONTEMPORARY, MEMORIES, RELIABILITY.

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ORAL HISTORY IN LITHUANIAN SCHOOLS: CURRENT SITUATION AND CHALLENGES

Introduction

Several years ago I asked the students of history at Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences whether they had a chance to listen to the memories of contemporaries of historical events while learning at school. It turned out that roughly one out of ten students had such a school experience. When I asked them what they thought about the benefits of oral history, the answer of one student was most memorable.

A student from a small village school remembered how once her history teacher had given pupils a task to interview a woman residing in the village who had been deported to Siberia in the years of Soviet occupation. She visited the former deportee for several times and listened to her life-story. The student admitted that the deportee's story on the hardships faced during the Stalin era was so heart-breaking that they both were deeply moved and were wiping the tears off their faces. According to the student, she had previously read about Soviet repressions in history textbooks and several articles in the press but she gained the best understanding of the Soviet deportations of Lithuanian residents from the memories shared by the old woman.

The promotion of oral history in Lithuanian schools can be traced back to the early 20th century but it gathered pace in 1990, after Lithuania regained its independence from the Soviet Union. The occupation period which lasted five decades (1940-1990) is one of the key topics in the teaching of history in schools. Currently, thousands of contemporaries of the Soviet period live in Lithuania; they can share the memories on Lithuania's occupation by the Soviets, World War II (Nazi occupation) and the repressions undertaken by the Soviet government after the war. Therefore, oral history in Lithuanian schools is mostly associated with the years of Soviet occupation.

The aim of the article is a general review of oral history education in Lithuanian schools. First of all, it seeks to provide a brief description of the attention paid to oral history in present-day schools. Second, it aims to enumerate the greatest challenges faced by history teachers in oral history projects in Lithuania. Third, the article intends to discuss certain proposals on how history teachers could deal with those challenges.

Oral history education is a scarcely researched topic in Lithuania. In the majority of cases the author refers to his experience and subjective opinion because he has several decades of experience in oral history projects; he is also an author of the publication on the projects implemented by history teachers, etc. Over the past two years the author has recorded the memories of Lithuanian political prisoners on their activities and imprisonment in forced labour camps in Kazakhstan.

Oral History and Its Role in Lithuanian Schools

In the past decade Lithuanian schools have paid more attention to local history as well as oral history. In the history programme adopted in 2008 history teachers working with pupils of lower grades are recommended to explore the past of pupils' immediate and extended family, to collect information on the history of their school and residential area. History teachers are offered to teach pupils "to record local customs, people's stories and memories about the area and the people" (Pradinio ir pagrindinio ugdymo bendrosios programos, 2008, pp. 939-940). It is pointed out in the history programme that "based on the examples from their family life, pupils should try to find out how the independence of the country was restored and analyse the change of people's life after the restoration of independence with reference to the materials provided by the teacher and the information sources found individually" (Ibid., p. 944). The 2008 programme established that in the case of pupils from grade 5, residential area history has to account for 10 percent of all lessons, which means a total of 6-7 lessons. Whereas the goal is to make pupils aware of the events from their family history and the recent past, oral history is often a handy tool.

The educational guidelines of similar type are also provided for upper grades. For instance, pupils from grade 10 are recommended to collect and analyse various local data and to use them in trying to puzzle out the events of the past (Ibid., p. 971).

In recent years an increasing number of tasks encouraging pupils to take interest in oral history has been included in history textbooks. The tasks provided in the textbook for grade 5 "Pages from the History of the Homeland" can be quoted as an example: "ask you parents or relatives to tell you about the people from your native region, their works and customs" (Stašaitis and Šačkutė, 2001, p. 21); "try to find out how your grandparents or great-grandparents met 22 June 1941 and the events of those days in Kaunas" (this day marked the outbreak of the war between Germany and the USSR and the Lithuanian anti-Soviet uprising in Kaunas – the author's note) (Ibid., p. 157); "write down or retell the memories of your family and the people you know on the life and fights of the Lithuanian partisans" (Ibid., p. 163); "try to find out how your parents and relatives used to celebrate religious holidays during the years of the occupation" (Ibid., p. 171). The textbook for grade

10 "Contemporary History" includes the tasks of similar content. After pupils familiarize with the topic "Lithuania in the Years of German Occupation", they are offered to write an essay "My City (Village) in the Years of German Occupation" based on the memories of contemporaries of the events concerned (Kasperavičius, Jokimaitis and Sindaravičius, 2008, p. 154); after pupils learn about the topic "The Holocaust in Lithuania", it is recommended to find out where and how the Jews from the pupils' native city or town were murdered (Ibid., p. 160); and after analysing the topic "Second Sovietisation of Lithuania", pupils are asked to take interest in the life-stories of their neighbours or family members having experienced deportation or imprisonment in forced labour camps and describe the living conditions in the sites of deportation or imprisonment in writing (Ibid., 2008, p. 196).

In fact, it is not programmes or similar things that play the major role in the popularity of oral history in schools but history teachers. It is up to them how often elderly people are invited to schools or how often teachers bring pupils to the homes of such people for the latter to share their memories. The memories are often concerned with individuals who had attended the same school or lived in the same city (village). Among them are former well-known figures of culture, scientists, politicians who played an important part in the fights for Lithuania's independence, etc. Their family members, relatives, companions or people who knew them are asked to share their memories about them. Such a practice is followed on various occasions.

It is even more common to ask a person to share his or her memories on prominent events from the history of Lithuania. The information available on schools' websites, publications in the press, seminars, conferences and conversations with history teachers make it clear that elderly people are often asked to share their memories on the Jewish community in Lithuania and the Holocaust. The relevance of the topic of the Holocaust lies in the fact that until World War II Jews accounted for roughly 7 percent of the population in Lithuania; around 195,000 Jews were murdered during the war, i.e. about 95 percent of all Jews in Lithuania (Bubnys, 2015). In 2001 the non-governmental organization Atminties namai (*The House of Remembrance*) launched an essay competition for pupils "Jews in the Neighbourhood of my Grandparents and Great-grandparents". Pupils' best papers are published in separate books. 230 pupils from 56 Lithuanian schools took part in the first competition held in 2001; 280 pupils from 69 schools took part in the second competition (2002) (Ibid., 2015). While collecting the materials on the history of Jews in Lithuania and the Holocaust, pupils often refer to the stories of local people. However, there are already few people who can remember the events which took place about 75 years ago.

Oral history is a wide-spread tool in collecting information on Soviet repressions in Lithuania in the period 1944-1953. A number of families, grandparents and great-grandparents of present-day pupils were affected by Soviet repressions in Lithuania.

After Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940, the Soviet government commenced a massive deportation of residents from their residential areas to the remote regions of the Soviet Union. Families with babies, old, sick, even disabled people were taken away from their homes. In June 1941 and in the period 1945-1952, 132,000 people were deported, 70 percent of women and children among them. About 28,000 of them died of diseases, hunger and hard labour. Around 50,000 people were deprived of an opportunity to come back to Lithuania for a long time or did not return at all (Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2014). The period after World War II witnessed Lithuania's armed resistance to the Soviet regime, resulting in over 20,000 deaths of the people involved in the resistance movement. Roughly 2,000 fighters and about 16,000 of their supporters were arrested and sentenced to death or given other sentences, usually 25 years in prison (Kasperavičius, Jokimaitis and Sindaravičius, 2008, p. 202). It was the period when land, cattle, working tools were seized from Lithuanian residents; industrial buildings were nationalized, etc. Deprived of their property, people lost their freedom and faced continuous humiliation.

Whereas the period of Soviet repressions is currently considered a period which inflicted the most tremendous losses and suffering on Lithuanian residents and there are still thousands of living contemporaries of these events, oral history is a wide-spread tool: the people who lived through the Stalin era are invited to the events held in schools or to history lessons; pupils interview elderly people in the framework of various oral history projects.

It should be noted that the period of Soviet repressions is a controversial topic in Lithuania – among both historians and ordinary residents. This fact as well as several other circumstances determine certain difficulties which have to be overcome in the course of oral history projects implemented with pupils.

Problem of Selection of Contemporaries of Historical Events and Reliability of Their Memories

There are a lot of elderly people who can be asked to share their memories. However, the sharing of memories does not always go smoothly. It was as far back as 1972 that V. Galvėnas, a teacher of history, pointed out that "the witnesses to the events of the past who are invited to share their memories have important facts in their mind but they are unable to present them in a brief manner and the lesson becomes rather lifeless" (Galvėnas, 1972, p. 80).

The didactic-type book "History of Residential Area" published in 2009 provides recommendations for teachers which should help in choosing a valuable

contemporary of historical events who can provide useful information and raise the interest of pupils. The book highlights three aspects of selection.

1. *Person's role and activities during events.* Though plenty of people lived through the same events, their experience is different. Some people were observers, yet others took an active part in events. Of course, it is usually better to interview the person who was an active participant of the events of that time. They can be classified into two groups – organizers and implementers. There is no doubt that the people who took part in organizational activities have more to say about the events in question because they planned the activities, they anticipated the ways for achieving the objectives and involving more people in the activities, etc. They can tell more about the things in which they succeeded and those which ended in failure and why it happened as it did (Šetkus, 2009, p. 118).

2. *Original items held by a person.* Pupils are usually interested in original items of the past; seeing them, they can better imagine the events of the past, thus taking a greater interest in history. Certain contemporaries of historical events still have the photographs, the awards received at that time or the periodicals published by them; they also have letters and their own or their companions' relics, etc. Therefore, priority could be given to those contemporaries of events who can illustrate their account by original items or other visual aids.

3. *Person's health condition and the ability to communicate with other people.* The contemporaries of rather old historical events are of venerable age; hence, it is necessary to take their health condition into account. It is often the case that the invited person has a physical disability distracting the person's attention from the story. A senior person may have also forgotten many things and his or her memories become not that useful. Yet another important aspect is the manner of speaking and the faculty to express one's thoughts fluently. Finally, it is also important that an elderly person would be capable of reacting to the questions asked by pupils and taking their interests into account (Ibid., p. 118).

Sometimes, the people who lived through the Soviet repressions act in a way that it is difficult for others, in particular pupils, to understand them. When several years ago a history student asked a former deportee from a Lithuanian village to tell about the fate of her family and the years spent in Siberia, she gladly agreed to do it. However, when the student took her notebook and tried to put down her story, the former deportee said that she was not going to say anything else. When she was asked about the reasons, the woman answered that she did not know what might happen in the future – perhaps Lithuania would again be occupied by the neighbouring country and she would be taken to Siberia again, and she might face serious troubles if her memories were made public.

Some time ago a student told about her nearly 90 year-old grandmother G.T. When she was young, she and her family were deported to Siberia where she suffered various hardships and lost one member of her family. The woman is still under continuous stress: when she hears a car coming to the yard and people's voices, it seems to her that it is here to take her to Siberia again as it had already happened seven decades ago (Bukauskytė, 2016).

When a contemporary of historical events agrees to share his or her memories, it does not mean that the major goal is achieved. The reliability of memories is yet another problem. This problem is rather difficult to solve, and not only for pupils.

Lithuania had been occupied by the Soviet Union for five decades; the country faced an intensive exposure to Soviet ideology. Everything that was in conflict with the Communist Party and the then regime and its policy was rejected. For example, the pupils of the Soviet period were explained about the participants in Lithuania's anti-Soviet resistance in the following way (a quotation from a history textbook): "The bourgeois nationalists used the most atrocious methods to stop the creation of Socialism; they interfered with the reformation of the Lithuanian village on socialist grounds. [...] In 1949 the whole republic saw the wave of terror of bandit gangs. Class enemies tried to spread the distrust in the system of collective farms among peasants and to destroy the collective farms already created. [...] Labour people got engaged in the active fight against the bandits. Workers, landless peasants and newcomers-volunteers voluntarily joined the units of the people's defenders. In the first half of 1948, over 14,000 fighters were in the people's defenders and self-defence units. They commenced an active liquidation of the gangs of bourgeois nationalists" (Navickas, Žepkaitė and Surblys, 1986, p. 143).

The above quotation illustrates that during the Soviet period the participants in the anti-Soviet resistance were labelled bandits and considered enemies, while the people fighting against them, the so called "people's defenders", were evaluated very favourably.

After Lithuania restored its independence in 1990, the evaluations of historical events and their participants changed as well. This is what contemporary history textbooks say about anti-Soviet resistance: "Lithuania's guerrilla warfare against the USSR was the most heroic period in the 20th century history of Lithuania" (Kapleris, Meištas and Mickevičius, 2007, p. 131). The textbook also has something to say about the "people's defenders" glorified in the Soviet textbook: "Owing to persistent robberies and cruelty, people hated the destroyers (the Istrebiteli) called "the people's defenders" by the Soviets and scornfully dubbed them *stribai* in Lithuanian." "The humiliation of partisans' corpses in town squares was among the most horrible atrocities. In order to intimidate the society, the degenerates of the nation would mock at the bodies, undress and kick them and prevent their families from burying

them. They would secretly toss the bodies into abandoned wells, outdoor toilets, gravel quarries" (Ibid., p. 128).

When comparing the textbooks from the two periods, we see two completely different approaches. What was viewed in a negative light during the Soviet period (regarding the resistance participants), now gained a positive shade. What was evaluated favourably back then (about "the people's defenders") is now perceived as negative. The "people's defenders" glorified by the Soviet government were tried recently for the murders of participants in the anti-Soviet resistance, e.g. one of them was sentenced for the murder of nine Lithuanian partisans by shooting (Alfa. lt, 2012); the other was accused of the murder of four partisans. It should be noted that they were released from the sentence due to their age (Baltic News Service, 2013).

The changed situation also "changed" people's memory: certain distinguished individuals of the Soviet period (e.g. former "people's defenders", members of the Communist Party and Communist youth organizations, supporters of atheism) attempt to conceal their activities by showing that back then they were also the patriots of Lithuania fighting against the Soviet regime. Certain individuals seek to prevent their activities of the Soviet period from getting into books or encyclopaedias; they write fact-falsifying articles or give speeches and aim to restore their leading positions through participation in patriotic organizations. Thus, we are confronted by an uneasy task of helping pupils to identify when the memories are objective and when the informant is not saying the truth.

Some Tips for Pupils Trying to Determine the Objectivity of Memories

Historical memory is a subjective notion. Elderly people tend to remember and tell about the same events and people differently. They often make mistakes in specifying dates, places, people's names or surnames. Experience shows that when pupils listen to the memories of some specific person on the events not known or scarcely known to them, the listeners are convinced that this is exactly how it was. Pupils are unable to evaluate the information provided by the informant critically. Therefore, some tips on how pupils could determine the reliability of memories should be provided. After all, pupils of upper grades could even be given a task – to find out whether the memories are accurate and objective (Moyer, 1999).

In order to determine the objectivity of memories, pupils should pay attention to several moments. First, they should take into account whether the informant personally participated, experienced and saw everything he or she tells about. It might be the case that he or she had heard all that from others and there can be more inaccuracies without the informant's fault.

Secondly, the behaviour of the person sharing his or her memories should be taken into consideration. In his article Mark Clay-Dove advises to consider the informant's feelings and emotions. The person's behaviour and the manner of speaking make it easy to determine whether the person who shares his or her memories sympathizes with or hates someone or something. Usually, in this case the person's account is not objective (Šetkus, 2009, p. 173).

Third, the information provided by the informant should be compared with the memories of other persons. If different witnesses to the events recount the same facts and their evaluations coincide, such information could be treated reliable. More credit is given to such memories where the accounts of several witnesses coincide. If the accounts of several witnesses are contradictory, it is obvious that some of them is wrong or is deliberately not telling the truth.

It is important to explain to pupils that the memories of contemporaries of historical events are made of facts and their evaluations, i.e. the opinion. As regards facts, the accounts of contemporaries of events should coincide but their evaluations of the past could be different. In this case, it is useful to try to find out what determines different evaluations of the same people or events.

Fourth. There is a certain possibility to compare the informant's account with the works of historians or the research performed by journalists or other persons. In fact, plenty of events of the past have already been researched or described. Therefore, it is possible to compare different sources and to make sure whether the informant's account much differs from what is written in publications.

Notwithstanding the above, the question of reliability of memories shared by contemporaries of historical events is rather complicated to pupils. Pupils do not have extensive experience; it is therefore not easy for them to evaluate the objectivity of memories. The above proposals might be useful to them but not in every case (Ibid., 173).

Problem of Perception of Historical Context

One of the greatest problems faced by pupils in oral history projects or when listening to the memories shared by contemporaries of historical events is their failure to understand the informant's account completely. An elderly person often tells about the past events as if talking to his or her contemporary who understands everything. However, people, certain words (e.g. "forced labour camp", "collaborator", "fifth column"), abbreviations, e.g. GULAG (Russian: ГУЛАГ, was the government that administered the main Soviet forced labour camp systems during the Stalin

era, from the 1930s until the 1950s), NKVD (Russian: НКВД, was a law enforcement agency of the Soviet Union that directly executed the will of the All Union Communist Party. It was closely associated with the Soviet secret police, which at times was part of the agency, and is known for its political repression during the era of Joseph Stalin) and a lot of other notions mentioned by him or her are either little known to present-day pupils or they have heard of them but fail to understand their meaning. It is obvious that as years go by, pupils know less and less about the period of the Soviet occupation. In this case, oral history is getting too complicated for them as illustrated by the case described below.

Several years ago a historian asked a famous anti-Soviet dissident Viktoras Petkus to share his memories on the so called Lithuanian Helsinki Group. Viktoras Petkus (born 1928) was one of the most accomplished dissidents in the Soviet Union. In 1947 he was sentenced to 5 years in prison for disseminating underground press. After an attempted escape his sentence was increased by 10 more years. After Stalin's death in 1953, he was released from prison before completing his sentence. At the end of 1957 he was again arrested and accused of the keeping and distribution of anti-Soviet and nationalist literature. He spent eight years in forced labour camps in Russia. He returned to Lithuania in 1965. Together with four brothers-in-arms, he established the Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in Lithuania (the so called Lithuanian Helsinki Group) in 1976. Its establishment was announced in a press conference in Moscow. The Group issued the manifesto which did not only address the violations of human rights but also the right of nations to self-determination, thus raising the fact of Lithuania's occupation. In 1977 Petkus was arrested for the third time. This time he was sentenced to 3 years in prison, 7 years in a corrective labour camp and 5 years in deportation. He served his sentence in several prisons in Russia and was later moved to a forced labour camp. Due to political changes in the Soviet Union and the active demands of society to release political prisoners, Petkus returned to Lithuania in 1988. Together with other members of the Helsinki Group and famous Ukrainian and Russian dissidents, Petkus was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978, 1979 and 1981. On 11 September 1992 the International Biographical Centre in Cambridge named Petkus International Man of the Year 1991-1992; he was later pronounced Outstanding Man of the 20th Century (Lietuvos gyventojų ir genocido tyrimo centras, 2012).

During his meeting with the young generation Petkus shared his memories on the activities of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group. Being a modest man, he kept many things unsaid about himself. When it was time for pupils to ask questions, there was a long pause. No one knew what to ask and kept looking at each other. Finally, a girl managed to ask the only question – "Did the number of members in the Helsinki Group founded by you increase or decrease in the course of time?". When this case was remembered after some time, the girl who asked the question later admitted

that they did not understand what the Helsinki Group was. Since they did neither know about it nor about Petkus' activities in the Soviet period, they could not even ask questions. It was only because other members of the organization were mentioned, the only question was concerned with the change in their number. The audience avoided to ask questions which could expose their lack of information about the person and the Helsinki Group (Driaučiūnaitė, 2007).

The statistical analysis of results of the school-leaving examination of history shows that pupils know little about the dissidents of the Soviet period in Lithuania. For instance, in the history test of 2015, 19 percent of them believed that the persecution of dissidents was discontinued in Soviet Lithuania in the 1970s (Nacionalinis egzaminų centras, 2015), which does not correspond to reality because dissidents were actually persecuted during the period of rule of Leonid Brezhnev. When in 2014 pupils were given a task to specify the representatives of secular and religious dissident movement of their choice and to describe their contribution to the fight for Lithuania's freedom, as many as 71 percent of school graduates could not indicate at least one dissident, and only 10 percent of them completed the task (Nacionalinis egzaminų centras, 2014). In 2013 pupils had a task to specify the organization founded by the famous Lithuanian dissident Antanas Terleckas (the Lithuanian Freedom League), 40 percent of school graduates gave the correct answer (Nacionalinis egzaminų centras, 2013).

We may imagine the reaction of the person having gone through Stalin's repressions when he or she faces the present-day pupils' understanding of the period. Each senior person knows that from 1940 to 1974 Antanas Sniečkus was the leader of the Communist Party of Lithuania and also de facto leader of Soviet Lithuania. When pupils were asked a question: "Which of these phenomena is not characteristic of Antanas Sniečkus' period of rule?", the results were as follows: 31 percent of pupils believe that the answer was deportations, 21 percent of them consider it is to be collectivization, 19 percent think that resistance is the correct answer (the three above phenomena are exactly what defines the period concerned) and only 29 percent of pupils gave the correct answer, i.e. privatization. Soviet Lithuania witnessed nationalization, while privatization began after Lithuania regained its independence (Nacionalinis egzaminų centras, 2010).

A lot of examples could be provided showing a huge gap in the knowledge and understanding when comparing the people from the Soviet period and contemporary youth. Present-day pupils were born and raised in independent Lithuania with its political, economic and social development different from the situation in the Soviet period. Therefore, considerable efforts are required to ensure that the meetings with contemporaries of historical events do not result in misunderstandings and are useful. What could be done by teachers?

The practice of organizing oral history projects in schools shows that those events are usually successful for which pupils are prepared in advance. The preparation before meeting a contemporary of the past events covers the following actions.
1. Pupils should be informed about the topic of the planned meeting. For example, they may be informed that they are going to meet a person who lived through the Holocaust or a Soviet deportee. In both cases pupils should have the understanding about the events concerned before the meeting. In other words, when listening to a contemporary of historical events, they have to be able to associate the information provided with its historical context. Pupils might familiarize with the historical context in the course of history lessons; however, it is also worth offering them to read an article or the memoirs of another person on the events concerned or to watch a documentary (Šetkus, 2009, p. 120).

2. Pupils should receive the information of general type on the person they are going to meet. The teacher him/herself may briefly inform about the person's activities (it is worth mentioning the person's merits or some memorable episodes from his or her life); pupils may also be recommended to find information in other sources – articles in periodicals, memories of familiar people, etc. Usually, primary information on the participant or contemporary of important events encourages pupils to attend the meeting and guides them to prepare the questions of interest to them in advance.

3. Additional conditions are introduced. For example, pupils might be proposed to put their questions in writing in advance. In certain cases, pupils might be given tasks which will later be discussed during classes or some other time (Ibid., p. 120).

On the other hand, the elderly person might also be willing to know in advance what pupils are mostly interested in, how much they already know about it, what age group they belong to, etc. In some cases, the informant might also need assistance in preparing for the meeting.

Communication with a Contemporary of Events: Problem of Questions

When pupils communicate to an elderly person directly, they have to ask various questions. It is rarely the case when a contemporary of historical events is able to tell his or her memories for a long time without digressing from the main topic. The questions provided during the conversation or in advance help to remember the most important things and enable a person to understand what listeners or interviewers are mostly interested in. Taking into account the educational activities personally observed and the works of pupils and teachers made public (published, available on school websites, etc.), various drawbacks can be singled out. Only three

of them will be mentioned in this article, which the author believes to be most common in Lithuania.

The problem of systematic arrangement of questions is one of the major drawbacks, showing that the questions are either formulated hastily or with little knowledge about the topic. A typical example: a school published a small book on the former principal whose name had been given to the school. His mother was asked to share memories about her son and she was given 22 questions. The first five questions were concerned with his childhood; she was then asked to tell about his hobbies and free time. When the first half of the interview was over, the woman was asked: "Where did he spend his childhood?"; several other questions followed and finally the last question was again concerned with his childhood: "Did he have many toys?" (Švelnikas, 2013, pp. 7-10).

In order to ask questions consistently, a valuable tip is provided in YouthBuild mentoring resources presenting the guidelines on how to prepare questions for an interview. The authors propose to single out several focus topics and to formulate several questions for each of them. The example proposed by the authors is as follows (YouthBuild, n. d.):

FOCUS TOPIC #1:……
Question: ……..
Question: ……..
Question:……

FOCUS TOPIC #2:……
Question: ……..
Question: ……..
Question:……

If the questions are planned in advance following the established guidelines, unsystematic questions can be avoided. What is more, the authors remind that "these questions should be used as "guides" only. It is ideal for the interview to be a natural discussion around these topics, not a series of questions and answers" (YouthBuild, n. d.).

Those who have less experience in oral history usually give the first question in the interview which is either very broad in scope (e.g. a person is asked to tell about his/her life, activities and to share his/her thoughts on the events experienced in the past) or complex (e.g. a person is asked to remember the details of remote events of the past or to evaluate complex events or controversially evaluated people's actions). In fact, the first questions should not be complicated. It is a tip given by a number of authors. For example, according to Michael Gatto's "Student Workbook": "Your

interview should begin with several memory questions. First, memory questions should help relax your subject and get them in a mood to reminisce. Second, these questions will help you gather information about your subject's personal experiences" (Gatto, n. d.). Judith Moyer gives the following piece of advice for beginners: "Ask easy questions first, such as brief biographical queries. Ask very personal or emotionally demanding questions after a rapport has developed. End as you began, not with bombshells, bur very gently with lighter questions" (Moyer, 1999).

Another drawback in asking questions is the formulation of questions in such a way that what remains to the interviewee is to answer in barely one word – either 'yes' or 'no'. Quite often pupils or even adults ask the questions of the following type: "Were you scared very much when you were arrested?", "Did you see how they were murdered?", "Did you have a hope back then that Lithuania would be independent ever again?", etc. According to most authors, such questions are not very valuable. For instance, Judith Moyer gives the following advice: "Ask questions open enough to get "essay" answers unless you are looking for specific short-answers "facts"" (Moyer, 1999). The publication released by the Texas Historical Commission elaborates on the problem of such questions: "Try not ask questions that only require a "yes" or "no" answer. These do not help you obtain the fullest stories for your research. Instead of asking, "So, was school integration good for the community?" you could ask, "What was the impact of school integration on the community?" As you begin asking detailed follow-up questions, you may find it necessary to use yes/no questions, but avoid them in the early stages of exploring a topic" (Texas Historical Commission, n. d.).

In fact, more drawbacks in the questions asked during an interview are observed. Generally speaking, oral history education is a complex activity and there is no wonder that the people engaged in it experience certain troubles, not to mention pupils who are hardly experienced in this field. As mentioned before, publications for teachers and pupils focusing on oral history projects are lacking in Lithuania. However, in this situation one can learn from the mistakes of oneself and others. After all, it is not for nothing that a saying was born in Ancient Rome: "Quae nocent, docent", which means "What hurts us, teaches us; we learn from our mistakes".

Conclusions

In recent years Lithuanian schools have paid more attention to local and oral history. The Programme for the Teaching of History proposes to rely on oral history in the process of teaching, and history textbooks include certain tasks encouraging pupils to ask elderly people what they remember about the main events of the 20th century.

During the classes much attention is paid to the period of Soviet repressions (1940-1941; 1944-1953) in Lithuania when Lithuanians were deported to Siberia on a mass scale, lost their lives in the course of the armed anti-Soviet resistance and their property was seized. The contemporaries of that period are usually asked to share their memories on these events. However, the memories of the people from the Soviet period might also be misleading because there are people who try to speak about themselves and the Soviet period without being objective, taking into account the changed political circumstances. It is therefore necessary to teach pupils how to determine whether the memories of contemporaries of historical events are objective.

Pupils do not always fully understand the memories of contemporaries of the Soviet period because they lack knowledge and understanding about the period. It is therefore required to achieve that before gathering to listen the memories of an elderly person, pupils would first gain the understanding about the historical context – the events and people of that time and, preferably, the person who is going to share his or her memories.

One of the drawbacks observed in oral history is improper questions which are occasionally asked while communicating with contemporaries of historical events. They are unsystematic and formulated improperly. Hence, it is required to teach pupils how to ask those questions. To that end, we can also refer to methodological type publications of other countries.

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DOING ORAL HISTORY – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ROMANIAN SCHOOLS

Abstract

The paper explores the way in which Oral History has been introduced in Romanian Secondary Schools. Starting from an academic interest in a field and methodology of research that was neglected during communism, a group of researchers and practitioners developed a program, supported by European funding, that aimed at including elements of oral history in the training of History teachers and in their teaching. The rationale of the project included a teacher training module, the development of small-scale oral history projects, and the publication of the results in order to disseminate examples of good practices in the field. The project demonstrated the fact that innovation can be introduced through the school based curriculum rather than through the core curriculum. The approach is well suited when dealing with a controversial and traumatic past, and it enables a teaching that focuses on both procedural knowledge and the relation established between schools and local communities.

KEY WORDS: ORAL HISTORY, TEACHER TRAINING, SCHOOL BASED CURRICULUM, COMMUNIST PAST, HISTORY TEACHING, HISTORY OF MINORITIES, PROCEDURAL KNOWLEDGE IN HISTORY TEACHING AND LEARNING.

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DOING ORAL HISTORY – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ROMANIAN SCHOOLS

Introduction

The recent period demonstrated that History, both in terms of academic writing and public perception, has undergone significant changes. The expansion in the field of research aims and methodology has put forth the fact that the past is more complex, and that the political dimension is by no means the important one when dealing with individual and/or group perceptions of the past. Although the starting point of oral history as a research field can be placed in the late 1940's (Thomson, 1998), it is only in the late 1970's that the construction of history as the product of subjective (collective) recollection of the past has become accepted as a part of the elements that constitute the structure of historical research. On the other hand, the growing interest of the general public towards history is on the increase, and asks for a reappraisal of public history.

History education has a major /contribution in developing skills and competences related, among others, to public messages.

An analysis of the different stages of development of this field of inquiry showcases the issues related to Oral History (Thomson, 2006). After a first stage of revival as history of the common people, Oral History became more aware of the criticism that stemmed from the traditional historians and introduced the analysis of subjectivity in their approach, as well as taking into account the relation between individual and collective memory. The step is significant, since it introduces not only the eyewitness as an author of historical writing – or, as Portelli recently (2003) puts it, "*this book is made of many voices. The narrators are its co-authors*" – but focuses on subjectivity as part of the historical narrative. Especially so since the issue of multiperspectivity is a recurrent topic in both academic writing, and History teaching (Stradling, 2003). The third stage taken into consideration by Thomson (2006) is the introduction of interdisciplinary approaches. The gender dimension of history, as well as the more comparative (viz. international) scope of Oral History have marked the late 1980's and early 1990's. The digital revolution is in the process of drastically altering the way in which historians of all theoretical and praxiological persuasion do their work.

This brief reminder demonstrates that, in fact, Oral History today has significant contributions to make to History teaching in the Secondary School. The focus on primary sources, the relation between schools and the local community, the learning

by doing approach, and the issues related to the ethics of research are elements that could prove to be significant developments in History teaching.

A Contribution to the History of Oral History in Romania

For Central and Easter European societies, oral history proved to be an essential tool in accessing a recent traumatic past. Based on different oral history schools which developed after World War Two by academic and non-academic interest in everyone's story, such as the North American, the British or the Italian, gradually academia in Central and Easter Europe became more open to oral history as discipline. In Romania, the first interviews were recorded with victims of the abusive policies of the communist regime. They were brought to the wider public through documentaries such as *Memorialul Durerii*, a series produced by Lucia Hossu-Longin or publications such as those by scholars of the Oral History Institute in Cluj-Napoca. This institute was created in 1997 following the initiative of two visionary professors Pompiliu Teodor and Doru Radosav who understood the importance of the oral history for the knowledge of the past. Since then, the Oral History Institute at Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca has developed several significant projects in collecting testimonies of the past experience of different people, in the tradition instituted by the Italian oral history school and especially by professors Alessandro Portelli and Luisa Passerini. Therefore, the Oral History Institute has in its archives interviews with anti-communist partisan fighters, German, Jewish, Serbian, Hungarian minorities in Romania, with those deported during the communist regime, former political prisoners etc.

However, research is not the only activity developed within the Oral History Institute. In 2011, a project on training elementary and high-school history teachers in the use of oral history as education tool in their classes was initiated. The project was called *The Near Past. The Oral History of Local Communities* and it was funded by the European Social Fund. Almost two hundreds teachers from all counties in Romania participated in this project and learned how to use oral history in order to help young students to understand their past by involving them in conducting their own research, focused on recording oral history interviews with people around them. Their training consisted of two weeks of teaching at the Oral History Institute, Babeș-Bolyai University, in Cluj-Napoca, followed by a summer school with practical activities in Maramureș, a multicultural region relevant for the oral history, and not only. As part of their training, all teachers involved in the project had to develop their own small oral history projects within their local communities, and with involvement of their young students. These small projects included a creative presentation of their research findings and the writing of a dissertation in which the teachers were coordinated by one of the university professors involved in teaching different aspects of oral and recent history. The teachers' activities were

evaluated by a commission and the grade received became a part of the diploma received at the end of the project.

After three years of hard work and commitment, 194 oral history projects were implemented by participant teachers and their students, which investigated different aspect of their local communities' pasts (Stan and Pop, 2013). An impressive archive of more than 3000 interviews conducted by young students, aged between 11 and 19, with their older friends, relatives, members of local communities, was created at the Oral History Institute. These interviews are collected in the archive of the institute and they were used as sources in the dissertations the teachers had to write as part of their assignments. Out of the 194 projects, 43 investigated the recent history of the locality with its traditional customs, while 39 where, in fact, monographs of the local schools and their teachers and personnel. For example, Daniela Popa Cojocaru, a teacher form Galați had an un-orthodox approach when dealing with the history of the school, as she coordinated her students to conduct interviews with support personnel who worked in the school in the past, such as the guards, the support personnel, the secretarial staff etc. In her dissertation suggestively titled *Present, but unseen*, 35 of the projects tackled the experience of childhood and adolescence during the communist regime. For example, Crina Dărăban a elementary school teacher in Satu Mare had organized a small theatre with the students involved in collecting oral history interviews in which they have re-enacted some of the key features of becoming a pioneer during the communism. In Bucharest, another teacher, Milviuța Ceaușu, organized with her high-school students an excellent exhibition reflecting the experience of youth during communism in Romania. The memory of the Second World War, the Holocaust of the Jews, the successive occupations by different armies, and the deportations was dealt with in 12 of the projects. To mention only some of the titles, Rodica Cozaciuc, *The Evacuation of the Civilians from Southern Bukovina (March-September 1944),* Constanța Balog, *Women's Experiences during the Holocaust.* The history of local institutions or factories was approached in 11 projects; worth mentioning is the work done by Lavinia Beșliu, a teacher in Iași who conducted a research about the theatre in Iași between 1970 and 1990. In addition to the dissertation she wrote, the students she co-ordinated produced a documentary film about the theatre and its actors. In the project, the participation of teachers belonging to different minorities was encouraged and, in consequence, there are ten projects which deals with the past of the Serbians (Sașa Malimarcov, *The Stories of the Serbian Children in Bărăgan)*, Hungarians (Muhi Acs Csilla, *The Past Has to be Aknowledged. The Consequences of the Second Vienna Agreement on the Hungarians in Satu Mare County*), Russians, (Sergiu Enea, *The Life of the Russian-Lippovans in Târgu Frumos during the Communism*), Saxons (Marilena Ana Draia, *Testimonies of the Saxons Deported from Călan in the USSR in 1945),* Ukrainians (Maria Papriga, *The Cultural Identity of the Ukrainians in Northern Romania),* Jews (Constantin Focșa, *The Image of the Jews in the Inter-war Vaslui in*

collective memory), and the Roma (Daniel Dieaconu, *The Image of the Other. The Roma in the Neamț Mountains)*.

Nine teachers approached individual life-stories and family stories; such was the case of Simona Bigher who has done an excellent work on the history of her father. The collectivization of agriculture in Romania was tackled by seven of the participant teachers, especially by those living in rural areas were collectivization was put into practice. Similarly, daily life during communism was the topic of seven dissertations and worth mentioning is the work by Luminița Anii-Șeban who wrote *Surviving Strategies in Focșani in the '80*. Church History was investigated by six teachers who produced interesting written works on this topic.

Last but not least, some works stand out as unique topics, though they might be integrated under the general category of local community history. This was the case of the work by Airizer Laszlo, an elementary school teacher who has done an original research on the history of the local football team, ASA Tg. Mureș. The celebrations during the communist regime in Romania were analysed by Silviu Tăraș, the anticommunist military resistance in the mountains by Cătălin Nedelcu who wrote *Two Sisters in the Anti-Communist Resistance in Nucșoara*, while Rodica Bobei investigated the flooding in Sighișoara.

In the choice of the topic and the involvement of local communities in the projects elaborated by the local teachers, differences between schools in urban and rural settings became apparent. For example, in the presentation of their small project in order to be evaluated by a team of professors from Babeș-Bolyai University, the teachers often involved local authorities such as the local mayor, representatives of the county school inspectorate, colleagues in the school or History teachers from schools in the area, the interviewees etc. While most of the presentations were transformed into local events that took place in the schools, others were placed in the local community centers, where most of the local community was invited, including the media. For example, in Bacău, there were some former political prisoners who were interviewed by the students. In Satu Mare, former pioneers (i.e. members of the former communist youth organisation) were present. In Rușețu, all local authorities participated in the event organized by Ramona Stupinaru, including the priest. Successive generations of school students came to share their experience about their school life in Tergova, Timiș County and Peretu, Teleorman County, in the activities organized by Gabriela Bica and, respectively, Cătălin Florea.

The impact on the local communities of these projects was massive, as Vasile Tălpăzan, a high-school teacher in a under-developed area of the town of Râmnicu-Sărat, Buzău County, used oral history in order to help his students in order to improve their writing and communication skills, and to help them raise their self-esteem in their own school environment and the children's families. For very

isolated villages such as the small village of Biruința, Constanța County, the project of the young teacher Ionela Stanciu meant the recovering by the elementary school students of the multiethnic history of their local community, which used to have a significant Muslim community that emigrated in the 20th century.

Oral History within the Curriculum

Starting with the 2012-2013 school year, students in Romania (both in Lower and Upper Secondary Schools) can choose as an optional course the subject Lived History – Narrated History. The course is based on a program of study that was developed in the framework of a project with European financing (POSDRU/87/1.3/S/48695), and is now part of the list of optional courses supported by the Ministry of Education.

In order to evaluate the contents of the programme and its impact on History teaching and related learning outcomes influenced by this specific subject, a number of points on the school-based curriculum (SBC) as part of the National Curriculum have to be made.

There are a number of specific elements that define the SBC in the Romanian educational system. Here, the SBC does not mean the whole delivering of curriculum at school level, as it is generally accepted in the literature in the field (Căpiță, 2008). In accordance to the Law of Education, the SBC represents a number of learning packages (groups of optional courses) offered to students at national, regional, or local level. In some cases, these learning packages are designed and offered by the school.

The introduction in 1998 of this SBC can be linked to the process of separation from the communist period, in which differences between schools were related primarily to the quality of the classroom experiences. The SBC underlines the authority of the school over a part of the National Curriculum, and it is considered to represent a form of school empowerment.

The process by which subjects that constitute the yearly SBC is based on a methodology approved by the Ministry of Education, but the key element is students' choice. They decide on the number of optional courses from a broader offer made by the school. The ability to reflect students' needs and interests is crucial for the issue of flexibility at school level. Once decided upon by the students, the school council makes a formal approval on the list, and the subjects become part of the students' school documents, including the baccalaureate diploma.

The majority of the optional courses offered by the Ministry of Education are in the broader field of Social Studies (in Romanian terms, the curriculum area Man

and Society, structured around subjects like History, Geography, Social Sciences, and Religion). One possible explanation is that the Ministry of Education tries to counterbalance the reduction of these subjects in the core curriculum. As such, the Ministry has for this field of study a list of 11 optional courses for Lower Secondary, and 19 optional courses for Upper Secondary Schools (http://programe.ise.ro/Actuale/Programeinvigoare.aspx).

At the level of their structure, these optional courses have to comply with the general model of curriculum development that is accepted for the specific schooling level. It is important to note the fact that – at least in terms of the curriculum – competences and contents are receiving a closer attention than it is the case with the learning activities. This is the result of the fact that the Lower Secondary School is considered to be fundamental in the acquisition of core elements: the use of historical data and sources, basic historical literacy and the development of a broad historical culture as a basis for further learning, multiculturality and multiperspectivity, and the competence to transfer skills and knowledge from one field of inquiry to another. At High School level, the thematic approach is more significant, but it calls for the inclusion of students' personal experiences (the potential for tackling learning tasks, the use of information in new settings, the use of knowledge and skills acquired in informal and nonformal settings, cultural and social sensitivity). The result is an increase in controversial and sensitive topics, a stronger focus on procedures and modi operandi, and the training of high-order intellectual skills. Also, the development of pro-active attitudes becomes more important. For the both stages, the general competences stated in the programmes focus on the "use" of historical knowledge within the school subject and outside it (e.g., in situations related to civic action, communication skills, lifelong learning).

But the most important is that these subjects have to demonstrate an added value in relation to the subjects in the core curriculum. In most cases, this added value is given by the different learning experiences that the students share, often with the community, as is the case with the school subject under scrutiny.

The Optional Programmes of Study "Lived History – Narrated History"

The programmes of study for this optional subject were developed starting from a set of principles that ensured coherence for the subject, and flexibility in order to enhance relevance for one level of schooling or another. The following elements were considered to be significant:

– A focus on the procedural knowledge: students gain insights in techniques of interviewing as a mean to research and learn about the recent past of a person, a family, a group or the local community;

- Multiperspectivity: students have the opportunity to reflect on the ways in which the same event is perceived differently by eyewitnesses, and is covered differently in historical sources;
- The dialogue between generations: the young generation is actively involved in the research of the past of its community, thus strengthening links between generations;
- Strengthening the relation between the school and the community: students create archives of oral testimonies which are accessible to the local community; they tackle complex topics (such as family history, the history of the school, of the community, changes in the urban and/or natural landscape), and make the results accessible through exhibitions, websites, radio shows at the local radio station, written essays, school contests, and through contributions to monographs dedicated to events and personalities relevant for the local history.

For each schooling level, specific competences identify learning outcomes for each school year; they are linked to the aims of History teaching, but also to the development of key competences. To give an example, the development of the key competence learning to learn is supported by debates over the results of the interviews, the ways in which the results might be better disseminated, but it also helps students to better understand their own development in their learning career and the skills they need in their professional activity as adults. The newly acquired academic and cultural skills and knowledge can be used also outside the educational context: at home, in further training and education, on the job etc.

True, for the Lower Secondary School level, the programme of study puts forth competences that have a stronger link to the general competences proposed by the core curriculum, thus contributing to the general historical literacy (competences such as identifying aspects of the past that can contribute to the understanding of the present, or framing an event or series of events into a relevant historical context). In turn, the programme of study for the Upper Secondary School level asks for the development of competences that contribute to the aims of the curricular area Man and Society, therefore taking advantage of the inter- and transdisciplinarity proposed by that level of schooling. The programme of study also introduces a relatively new approach (for the Romanian school) that fosters the link between formal and non-formal education: in the first year of study, learning activities have as a starting point approaches that are initiated and organised in the classroom, while in the second year, students present their activity in informal settings (local events, students' historical associations, school events).

At the level of contents, the two programmes have differentiating elements. For the Lower Secondary School, the contents are structured around two main topics (which are also the foci for portfolios that are developed by the students): *daily life in communist Romania*, and *traumatic personal experiences in XXth century Romania*.

In High School, the contents cover a larger area, both in terms of chronology and spatial distribution. The programme include topics such as *orality in Antiquity*, *the use of oral sources in reconstructing daily life in the Middle Ages*, exemplars of oral history that are relevant for the European and Romanian space (e.g. *European fascism*, *communism in the USSR*).

Another new element is that the students are involved in both the creation of sources for research (interviews, databases), and the production of historical narratives. The process of designing a research, implementing the research, fine-tuning approaches to the topic, and creating a narrative helps students to exercise intellectual skills and values that are relevant for a larger area than strictly History teaching: developing means for using scientific data, respect for truth, the importance of accepting and valuing multiperspectivity as a characteristic feature of daily life and history, adequate use of sources, following and evaluating the steps in creating an argument, communication skills (both in mother tongue and social skills).

The optional course has a mandatory number of two oral history projects; students can choose among those formulated as such in the programme of study. All projects have the same pattern:

(a) preliminary research: selection of the topic, identifying relevant literature and written sources in the local archives (town hall archives, school archive, personal archives, press articles, memoirs, letters and postcards etc.), the development of the interview guide, identifying eyewitnesses, the drawing up of legal documents (copyrights, legal notices), setting up rules of transcription of the interviews; technical training (using the voice recorder);
(b) taking the interviews;
(c) transcription of the interviews, the creation of a database;
(d) disseminating the results.

In addition, High School student will focus more extensively on the legal aspects of oral history, thus having a greater focus on issues of professional ethics, legal aspects, and practical aspects related to activities in the field.

Classroom Practices and Oral History Projects

In using oral history in their classes, most teachers involved in the project have identified topics of major interest for their students as results of their shared opinion. Then, in the classroom, the teachers have organized the preliminary research by work in small groups in order to build the interview guide. The questions were suggested by the students and oriented in building open questions rather than yes-no ones. Moreover, the interview guide was adopted to the age of the interviewers, therefore it contained less questions in the case of elementary school students and

more questions when high school students were involved. They have the possibility of practicing their interviewing skills in class by working in pairs (changing interviewer-interviewee roles), with recorder (or other recording devices). The follow-up discussions coordinated by the teachers were focused on how it worked and what is to be done in order to improve it. The students had the opportunity to practice the use of the recording device, and to be responsible for making sure their device will work in the real interview setting. Apparently, using recording devices posed not much problems to students given the high degree of digital alphabetization of the young generations. However, in this aspect there were a differentiation in rural and urban areas where students were significantly more privileged in using all kinds of recording gadgets. Through this workshops, the students learned what the responsibility towards their interviewees meant, that they had to inform the interviewees about their research project and, last but not least, to ask them to sign an agreement in order to be able to use the interview.

Another step in co-involving students in the research was working together in identifying the witnesses, while the initial contact and explanation was made by the teacher, in the case the interviewee was outside student's family. Moreover, as part of the preliminary research, done mostly in class, the students had to do the background research: they looked for archival documents, searched for local newspapers, personal letters, journals, memoirs, artifacts etc. For example, Anișoara Balog, a teacher from the small town of Toplița, coordinated her students to collect interviews with people that remembered World War II, and the battles that took place in that locality. One of the most emotional story was told by a grandfather to his granddaughter, of a major trauma caused by killing one of the family members by a soviet soldier because of a watch, which was brought by the student in class as a aide memoire in order to strengthen the grandfather's story.

The recording of the interview itself was done in pairs by the students who sometimes were supervised by the teachers, but mostly they have done the recordings by themselves. After the recording was done, the research moved back in the classroom, where discussions on how the interview occurred, what was good and what is to improve continued. The most difficult part of the oral historical research done by the students was, as most of them confessed during the presentations od their activities, the transcribing. But as the research was a team work, this burden was shared and therefore, the students were disciplined enough to carry on even on this part of the work. Transcribing an oral history interview meant as well challenge the student knowledge of their mother tongue, as they had to reproduce as close as possible the orality in its written form. The team worked continued with creative ways of disseminating their results. The involvement of students' family in supporting this research activities either as informants or assisting them in creating multimedia products. For example, in the work done by Roxana Motoriu, history teacher at Andrei Saguna High School in Brasov, on the 1987 workers' riot against

the communist regime, one student confessed that he has never know that his father was actively involved in the riot. By interviewing him, a communication barrier between the father and the child broke down, while researching on this topic, the student had found a piece of history that was missing from his recollection on the past.

All these projects were possible given the special interests provided by the county inspectorate and school administration which supported the teachers in introducing these research activities. So far, all the teachers involved in the projects continued to use oral history in their classes, but only some of them introduced the optional discipline in their schools.

Conclusions

The project showcases several elements that are, in our opinion, of significance: the introduction of teaching and learning innovations has to be tackled in a more flexible way that the core curriculum allows; this is true especially when dealing with sensitive topics and/or topics that call for multiperspectivity (a case in which critical thinking skills and a focus on methodology is called for); educational change seems to ask for a more process-oriented approach, in order to balance policy making with teacher training and classroom practices.

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Barbara Winslow

ORAL HISTORY IN THE US SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Abstract

This chapter traces the origins, developments, and popularity of oral history; the emergence of oral history as an academic discipline; how post 1945 historians, film makers and documentarians contributed to the popularity and scholarship of oral history. The role and practice of oral history in the K-12 Social Studies curriculum as well as the challenges facing teachers and teacher educators. Finally the chapter ends with a discussion of the Shirley Chisholm Project of Brooklyn Women's Activism, 1945 to the Present.

KEY WORDS: HISTORY, ORAL HISTORY, PUBLIC HISTORY, SOCIAL STUDIES, K-12 SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM, TEACHER PREPARATION, SHIRLEY CHISHOLM.

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ORAL HISTORY IN THE US SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM

Emergence of Oral History as a Popular Academic Discipline

"Oral history is as old as history itself," and "all history was oral history," wrote the British scholar Paul Thompson (*The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, pp. 22-23), meaning that in preliterate societies, history was passed down from generation to generation through song, poetry and storytelling. In later years, only the elite (and usually male) were literate and so they wrote own their histories. "History is written by the victors," wrote Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), the German Jewish philosopher, cultural critic, and friend of Berthold Brecht (although these words are often attributed to Winston Churchill, one time prime minister of England). Regardless of its exact authorship, most of written history, beginning with Thucydides in the fifth century B.C.E. reflected the point of view and the actions of a very select few.

While the study of history, including oral traditions is centuries old, (Herodotus, also fifth century B.C.E used the oral tradition, for example to record history) the actual field or discipline of oral history is relatively new. Donald Ritchie, Historian Emeritus of the US Senate, wrote that the field of oral history began with the establishment of the Columbia [University] Oral History Research Office in 1948, under the leadership of historian Allen Nevins. However, according to Ritchie, this oral history project focused "only on the major players in government, business and society." (Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*, pp. 3-4). In the past fifty years, the study and practice of oral history has proliferated – in the academy, state and local history societies, the schools' curriculum, with amateur historians and history buffs. Even families are now recording their own histories, and putting them up on websites. In 1966, the Oral History Association was founded and "has served as the principal membership organization for people committed to the value of oral history. OHA engages with policy makers, educators, and others to help foster best practices and encourage support for oral history and oral historians. With an international membership, OHA serves a broad and diverse audience including teachers, students, community historians, archivists, librarians, and filmmakers." (oralhistory.org).

The emergence of the new social history in the 1960's inspired historians to value the lives and stories of ordinary people. Many were influenced by the English historian and peace activist whose much quoted paragraph from his Preface to the 1963 edition of *The Making of the English Working Class* described looking at history "from the bottom up": "I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, "obsolete" hand-loom weaver, the "Utopian" artisan, and even the deluded

followers of Joanna Southcott from the enormous condescension of posterity. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience; and, if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives, as casualties." (Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 3). Thompson brought these ordinary people's lives to light through discovery of their letters, poems, songs – the written word. Many of Thompson's students (I was one of them) and admiring historians began to look for other sources to understand history.

Two very influential publications in the United States spurred the interest in using oral history as a means to understand more deeply the complexities of US history. The first was the publication of Theodore Rosengarten's *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*, an oral history of an illiterate black Alabama sharecropper. The author, a Harvard University graduate student, went to Alabama in 1968 with a friend who was researching a defunct organization called the Alabama Sharecroppers Union. Someone suggested they speak to Mr. Cobb, then 84. As Rosengarten began asking Cobb (his name had to be changed to protect his family), questions about the Sharecroppers' Union, Cobb began telling story after story about all aspects of black life in 1930's rural Alabama. Rosengarten returned many times to record Cobb's stories, and the result was the voice of a proud and unbroken Black man, as well as insights into the hitherto unexplored life of the black south. The success and power of this social biography inspired many historians to use the oral histories of the unnamed and the unknown to tell a US history.

Another book by noted oral historian and radio broadcaster, Studs Terkel's *Working: People Talk about What They Do All Day,* also illustrated the power of oral history and contributed to the growing popularity of the field. *Working People* consists of over one hundred interviews conducted with everyone from gravediggers, to nuns, teachers, athletes (famous and unknown), blue collar, white collar, pink collar, union and non union workers, elites and ordinary people. The book provides a timeless snapshot of people's feelings about their own working lives, as well as a relevant and lasting look at how work fits into American life. Terkel continued his projects documenting the lives of ordinary people with his weekly radio broadcasts, plus a series of books following the format of *Hard Times,* and *Working*, including *American Dreams: Lost and Found*, 1983, *The Good War,* 1984, Chicago, 1986, *The Great Divide: Second Thoughts on the American Dream,* 1988*, Race: What Blacks and Whites Think and Feel About the American Obsession*, 1992, *Coming of Age: The Story of Our Century by Those Who've Lived It,* 1995.

Along with the written word, television and documentaries popularized oral history. At the height of the feminist movement a number of documentary films brought women's voices to the fore. *Union Maids*, a 1976 Academy Award nominated documentary film directed by Jim Klein, Julia Reichart and Miles Mogulescu featured the stories of three women labor organizers, black and white, who spoke about their

lives and their struggles in the Depression Era of the 1930's. Another documentary, produced in 1980, directed by Connie Fields was *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter.* Fields interviewed five women, black, white, urban, rural, poor and middle class about their experiences and the tremendous changes that took place as they went from farm or city apartment to making airplanes and battleships in the defense plants during World War II.

Perhaps the documentary that had the most lasting effect on the growing popularity of oral history in telling the story of the United States was the award willing television documentary series, *Eyes on the Prize.* Created and executive-produced by Henry Hampton the series used archival footage and interviews of participants, observers and opponents of the movement.

A total of 14 episodes of *Eyes on the Prize* were produced over two seasons. The first season, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954-1964*, chronicled the time period between the United States Supreme Court ruling in Brown v Topeka, 1954, which declared that school segregation was unconstitutional to the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march, which culminated in the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The second season, *Eyes on the Prize II: America at the Racial Crossroads 1965-1985*, consisted of eight episodes, which aired on January 15, 1990 and ended on March 5, 1990.

The first episode, "Awakenings," demonstrated the extraordinary power of oral testimony. The first story was about the impact of the 1955 murder of Emmett Till, a 14 year old African American teenager lynched in Mississippi after reportedly flirting with a white woman. Tills' mother insisted upon an open casket at his funeral in order to publicize the horrific brutality of Southern racism. The alleged (they were not convicted but they later admitted later to Till's murder) killers were brought to a nationally publicized trial. What made this first segment so emotionally powerful was the oral testimony of Till's 60 year old uncle, Mose Wright who witnessed his nephew's kidnapping. Wright, who was relocated out of Mississippi for his own safety, was brought back to testify. The riveting oral testimony of Wright's grandson, Curtis Jones, electrified this episode. Jones described how his elderly grandfather took the stand, on the stand, pointed his finger at a white man and accused him of being the murderer. "Thar he," said Wright. That one sentence summed up how the dignity and bravery of one person can inspire a movement. For the past thirty years the series has been lauded for its depiction of the Civil Rights Movement and has been used extensively in primary and secondary schools, as well as other educational settings as a way to convey the experiences and struggle for civil rights in the United States. For the past thirty years the series has been lauded for its depiction of the black freedom struggle and has been used extensively in primary and secondary schools, as well as other educational settings as a way to convey the experiences and struggle for civil rights in the United States.

Oral History in the Social Studies Curriculum

In the United States, Social Studies is mandated for study in the K-12 curriculum. According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), the professional organization for social studies teachers, teacher educators and academics, Social studies is defined as "the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence." In other words, social studies basically seeks to arm American citizens with knowledge about the world, nation and society around them, through the help of other disciplines as well such as political science, history, economics, religion, geography, anthropology, as well as psychology. With such knowledge, children and young adults may better understand and make informed decisions about civic issues that affect them and their families as well, especially when they grow older. Such issues include health care, crime, migration, foreign policy, and the like. (socialstudies.org).

In the K-6 grade curriculum, oral history is a key component of the curriculum. Teachers are especially supportive of creating oral history projects because they know that such projects connect students to the past by bringing history to life. Oral history in the classroom provides a non-dominant perspective, especially on historical events, that is often missing in today's social studies classes.

In the early grades, the social studies curriculum is based first on understanding of family, neighborhood and then community. In the secondary grades, 6-12, the Social Studies curriculum is the study of global, state and national histories; economics, US government and civics courses are also offered. In the elementary curriculum, students can learn history and other social studies through projects involving students in conversations with each other or with other adults, friends and family. For example, students can learn geography and immigration by asking their grandparents "where did you come from? Please point it to me on a map;" or economics, "how much did the subway cost when you were my age;" or sociology and politics, "how did you share farm work when you were a young girl?" gender relations, "why couldn't you [grandma] have your own credit card? Or buy car insurance?" race, "tell us about the 1963 March on Washington?" The list is endless.

At the secondary (grades 6-12) level, the use of oral history projects further develop students' interpersonal, research, writing and technological skills. Usually in groups, students organize and plan out a particular project, choose interview subjects, conduct formal interviews, record, transcribe, edit the stories, and then create an effective presentation on their topic. There are a number of organizations that publicize students' oral history projects. One of the better known is National History Day (nhd.org). National History Day began in April 1974, the brainchild of history professor David Van Tassel, who was worried about the decline of the humanities in general and history in particular in America's schools. Van Tassel was particularly

distressed by the boring rote memorization he saw in most history classrooms. He wanted to reinvigorate the teaching and learning of history. National History Day is a year-long academic program that introduces students to the study of history by having them conduct original research and create projects that range from papers and exhibits to performances, documentaries, and websites. Students then enter their projects in local and state/affiliate History Day competitions. Top-ranking students from the state/affiliate competitions are then selected to participate in the national contest in College Park, Maryland, each June. For most, these projects are the students' first experience researching and creating historical work using both primary and secondary sources. They are introduced to the skills of distinguishing between primary and secondary sources, evaluating sources, and placing those sources in a broader context. As part of this process, many students reach out to people outside their schools who are experts on their chosen topic. Because of my background and published work about the post World War II women's liberation movement, I have been interviewed many times about my involvement in the Seattle, Washington women's liberation movement. Middle and High school students are encouraged to contact participants of the civil rights movement, veterans from either the Vietnam, Gulf or Iraq War, the women's movement, and have their stories be recorded as central to their projects.

There are a number of serious challenges facing teachers who wish to incorporate oral history into their social studies curriculum. The first is that for the most part the systematic study of oral history is rarely offered in History undergraduate courses. Oral history as integral to social studies curriculum design is rarely offered in teacher preparation programs in Schools and Departments of Education. Quite often teachers must rely on outside professional development seminars or programs in order to learn about the teaching possibilities or oral history. The second challenge is how teachers align oral history with state curricula and the Common Core State Standards. (CCSS) The Common Core is a controversial educational initiative in the United States that details what K-12 students should know in English language arts and mathematics. The initiative was sponsored by the US National Governors' Association and the Council of Chief State Officers. The purpose of the Common Core was to establish consistent educational standards across the states as well as ensure that students graduating from high school are prepared to enter credit-bearing courses at two- or four-year college programs or to enter the workforce. Social Studies is not included in Common Core, but literacy is, so teachers must be able to formulate how their projects address the Core's literacy's standards. Finally, the emphasis by the US Department of Education, as well as state and local politicians on high stakes testing makes it even more problematic for many teachers to encourage to develop oral history projects. If it's not on the test, it is not taught. Fortunately, there is now a plethora of web resources (mentioned at the end of this chapter) that help teachers and teacher educators how to use oral history and how to align their projects with Common Core State Standards.

The Shirley Chisholm Project: An Interactive Oral History Project

Over the past ten years I have been involved in an oral history project that has involved my academic institution, Brooklyn College, the Brooklyn public schools as well as the larger Brooklyn Community. I have created the Shirley Chisholm Project of Brooklyn Women's Activism 1945- to the Present, an interactive oral and documentary history project – a repository of women's grassroots social activism in Brooklyn since 1945 and ongoing in the present. In the spirit of Chisholm's legacy as a path breaking community and political activist, the first African American woman elected to Congress in 1968 as well as the first woman and first African American to run for the Democratic Party nomination for the US presidency, the archive follows the many paths she pioneered, by including materials representing the wide range of women's grassroots activism throughout the borough. The archive has collected documents and other materials, including oral histories, from people who knew or worked with Chisholm, as well as from the extraordinary diversity of women's activist organizations in Brooklyn since 1945. It is a resource for K-12 students, college students, community activists, public policy experts, scholars, and the general public, expanding our understanding of women's place in history and of the significance of social activism itself. I refer to this Project as interactive because like so many academic and activist endeavors it involves a wide range of participants – Brooklyn institutions and activists working together with academics and scholars.

How this project came to be, how it has developed, what happens when the person who creates and assembles the archive, in this case, myself is a historian, with little or no training in either oral history or archival management is a story in itself. How did my background and life as a historian bring me to this endeavor? What skills did I learned as an activist help build the project? What are the larger challenges that face people who are creating archives and oral history projects? How does this project benefit scholars, activists, college as well as school students, the borough of Brooklyn?

In planning the project, I had an idea of what to do, but had no formal training in any of the areas of archival studies: oral history, interdisciplinary courses in anthropology, archaeology, historical geography, folklore, business administration, policy studies, or information sciences. My technological expertise was equally lacking. I did not even know how to create a web page. I attended graduate school in the late sixties when projects like this were very rare. My formal training was in women's history and in particular women's suffrage and contemporary women's politics. Understanding that I was 'flying by the seat of my pants,' so to speak, I had to develop a conceptual framework for all my ideas. First, I took a self-created crash course on Shirley Chisholm, New York State and Brooklyn history.

I decided to follow the historian Darlene Clark Hine's admonition to historians "engaged in the process of historical reclamation" to create an archive where the voices of grassroots women are always front and center: "It is not enough simply to reclaim these hidden and obscure facts and names of Black foremothers. Merely to reclaim and to narrate past deeds and contributions risks rendering a skewed history focused primarily on the articulate, relatively well positioned members of the aspiring Black middle class. In synchrony with the reclaiming and narrating must be the development of an array of analytical frameworks which allow us to understand why Black women behave in certain ways and how they acquired agency." ("Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women's History," *Journal of American History*, vol. 74, no. 1, June 1987, p. 238).

My formal lack of experience in the area of archival creation and oral history also meant that I had to give greater thought and research to some of the larger more methodological and theoretical issues involved in such a project. What is the role and function of an archive, for example? Is it just a place where scholars sit, read documents and take notes for research? Or does an archive serve a larger political function? Feminist scholars immersed in archival research about the lives of women or less powerful and marginalized people, realized that their subjects' voices and texts had been masked, hidden or just lost altogether. In *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources,* Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, three feminist scholar/activists who edited this collection of essays, challenged the traditional assumption that archives are "simply immutable, neutral and [an] ahistorical place in which historical records are preserved." Other scholars such as Antionette Burton, for example in her edited collection, *Archive Stories,* (*Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History*, directly confronted the idea of the traditional archive for its power to "shape the narratives which are to be 'found' there."

Feminist activism and theory has since its inception challenged class, race and gendered exclusion from archives as well as from history. In addition, feminist theory which interrogated the interrelationship between the personal and political as well as the public and private also contributed to the conceptualization of this archive. In the first decades of the development of the new women's history, feminists posited that the existence of a male public sphere – the world of government and the economy – and a female private sphere–home and hearth–was the major factor in women's subordination. I used this private/public framework in developing this project. In my opinion, historical documents should not be private but public. Housing documents in private, semi public or inaccessible libraries, to be used by a select few, perpetuates the concept that some knowledge should be private. Furthermore, it perpetuates the idea that research and scholarship should be the province of a private and privileged group. Historical documents and artifacts located in public places such as historical societies, public libraries, and of course the web, breaks

down these artificial barriers allowing all interested parties to read the material, And once the materials are put on the web, it can be accessible to all. Social history, which includes women and other racial, ethnic, economic and sexually marginalized groups, could be brought out in the open. Social history challenges the belief that history is not just about the victors. I was particularly mindful of Berthold's Brecht's poem, at the front of this essay, "A Worker Reads History." I saw my goal not so much as rescuing the twenty-first century's equivalent of these figures, but as allowing them to become their own historians so that their voices could be heard by the following generations.

Understanding that African American women have been historically marginalized, their lives deemed not worthy to be documented, recorded or studies; there are few archival or oral collections that could serve as models for this project. Rutgers historian, Deborah Gray White explained in her essay, "Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women's History" why historically underrepresented people, in this instance African American women, absented themselves from being included in archival collections: "Black women have also been reluctant to donate their papers to manuscript repositories. That is in part a manifestation of the black woman's perennial concern with image, a justifiable concern born of centuries of vilification. Black women's reluctance to donate personal papers also stems from the adversarial nature of the relationship that countless black women have had with many public institutions, and the resultant suspicion of anyone seeking private information. Finally, black women have infrequently saved and donated papers because they have grown used to being undervalued and invisible, believing that no one is interested in them." ("Mining the Forgotten: Manuscript Sources for Black Women's History," *Journal of American History*, vol. 74, no.1, June 1987, p. 238).

To what extent does Gray's analysis explain the absence of a centralized archive of all of Chisholm's papers – personal as well as her political legacy as a New York State legislator, Congressional representative, and candidate for the presidency of the United States? One does not get a sense from Chisholm's writings, books and speeches, or from the dozen or so people we interviewed that Chisholm identified in any way as a victim of vilification. However, White's insight into black women's justifiable concern about image, including oral history interviews, rings true about Chisholm. As an elected official, she projected a strong sense of self, confident in her intellect, her physical appearance, demeanor as well as her political and organization skills.

As the project developed, I came to the conclusion that one of the many purposes of this archive is not to "shape" narratives, but rather to bring to light and to life the voices, writings and other texts of people whose lives had hitherto been ignored or deemed by 'professional' archivists as not particularly important to the dominant

historical narrative. The materials collected have enabled students and scholars to develop their own interpretations of Chisholm and Brooklyn women's activism.

My experience teaching and my students at the Brooklyn College also influenced and shaped my conception of this project. As well as serving as the Coordinator of the Women's Studies Program at Brooklyn College, I was also the Interdisciplinary Coordinator of the MA Program in Adolescent Social Studies Education. In other words, I taught undergraduate and graduate students how to teach social studies in the public schools. Making history meaningful to middle and high school students is a daunting task, and most teachers must rely on strategies of making original documents come to life. Teachers use oral history techniques, take their classes to museums or on walking tours of neighborhoods, and use contemporary media such as Power Point, You Tube, and class web pages to get students involved in inquiry based instruction that teachers can use to foster critical thinking, reading and writing skills. Given that I had no formal training in new media technology, I turned to the American Social History Project (ASHP), where I attended faculty development seminars with college, high school and middle school teachers on developing history curriculum using media technology. I continue to work with the ASHP in Brooklyn's schools and on occasion I make formal presentations about women's history using all the information learned in those ASHP seminars.

I am certainly not alone in seeing teaching, research and writing as one path to the creation of public history. James Gregory, the Harry Bridges Endowed Chair of Labor Studies and Professor, Department of History at the University of Washington, got the idea for the Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project from teaching a class on the 1919 Seattle General Strike. According to Gregory, he put his students' projects on a class website. After that, he told me, "I was hooked." He and his graduate students went on to create projects about historical events and organizations in the Pacific Northwest such as the civil rights movement, the Black Panther Party, the Asian and Latino/a liberation struggles, the United Farmworkers Union, the Communist Party, the women's movement, and the Labor Press, based largely on oral histories. (Another disclaimer, I am one of the persons interviewed.) Sarah Schulman, novelist, playwright, lesbian and feminist activist was one of the founders of the ACT UP Oral History Project. Speaking at a conference at Brooklyn College in 2009, she explained that both activism and a concern about who controls the historic narrative was a motivating force behind the ACT UP Project, because the history of the AIDS crisis had been so sanitized that it bore no resemblance to its origins and its participants. Schulman further described how a "group of despised and marginalized people with no rights were facing a terminal disease. Abandoned by their government and by their families, ACT UP activists of all races and classes came together and forced this culture, against its will to change its attitude about gay people, illness, sexuality, healthcare, the rights of patients, and the responsibility of the pharmaceutical corporations." Using direct action and other innovative political

organizing strategies ACT UP achieved positive changes in medical and scientific research, insurance, law, and health care delivery. In the 1980's and 1990's ACT UP was the most visible progressive political force in the US. Schulman, along with the other oral history project founders, James Wentzy and Jim Hubbards wanted the participants to tell their own stories of what motivated their involvement and activism. Schulman is also producing a documentary about the oral history project.

These archivist/scholars were also (and some continue to be) political and community activists and organizers. It seems that many of the political and organizing skills we learned in the past are not that dissimilar from the skills we now use in our scholarly endeavors. Collecting documents, interviewing Brooklyn activists, friends and colleagues of Chisholm, organizing conferences, creating curriculum, designing the website, curating exhibitions, writing grants, finding other sources of income, creating more partnerships with schools, museums, history organizations, and negotiating with Brooklyn College and CUNY administration for more administrative support are now, along with teaching, service and scholarship, are an integral part of my academic and professional life.

Once materials arrived I had to think about the creation of our website. I researched other websites and spent almost a year working out the logo, colors, what each page would look like, and how to organize the video clips. The website had to be simple to navigate, inviting to a wide range of viewers, and easy to maintain and update. However, as with every other component of this project, I learned that there are far ranging theoretical and methodological issues involved in web based public history. Today there are tens of thousands of websites designed to bring history to the public. Museums, newspapers, national history sites such as the National Archives, history societies, history departments, history centers located at universities, high schools and local history societies all have their own websites. Any history buff can put up a webpage. The explosion of these websites has generated a sense of participatory democracy, where any interested person can be a historical researcher, where everyone's story can become a historic document, and where ordinary Americans can create their own history.

The oral interviews are a central to the website and continue to be perhaps the most enjoyable part of the Project's work. I get to meet a wide range of people, some of whom have never been interviewed. Some of my students get involved in the filming, researching the subjects, and framing the questions. All their stories are unique, insightful, and will give the public great insights into Chisholm and Brooklyn women's activism, and enormous material for scholars to theorize. The interviews of people who knew and worked with Chisholm are especially important for the videos offer insights that pure text cannot deliver. One can see the pain in the face of one of Chisholm's staffers as he described the sexist way in which some male legislators treated her; the comments of one of her speechwriters who reflected on

the difficulties and contradictions of a white woman writing the words for a black women, or listen to the laughter of another former staffer as he described her addiction to catalogue shopping as well as Chisholm's thinking about sex and sexuality.

At the same time, the proliferation of oral history websites brings tremendous challenges and responsibilities. How does a website maintain its credibility? How can we, or should we present one or many points of view about Chisholm or Brooklyn activism? How can a website present documents, photographs, and interviews that, as James Sparrow writes in "On the Web: The September 11 Digital Archive," does not privilege one voice or perspective over another? And, as Sparrow continues, how do we deal with problem of the "the amateur perplex": while the "enthusiasm and untrained bias of amateurs can foster historical knowledge and a zeal for primary materials, at the same time it gives rein to prejudices, distortions, falsehoods and inaccuracies (if not worse) … the populist energy unleashed by the web can cut both ways." (Sparrow, James, "On the Web: The September 11 Digital Archive," in *Public History: Essays from the Field*, Eds. James Gardner and Peter S. La Paglia, Krieger, Malabar Florida, 2006, third edition, p. 412.) How we train the "untrained, "as well as how we assess how our materials are used will be a subject for further analysis and discussion.

Along with compiling archival materials and creating a website another essential component of a project such as this is the necessity of involving the larger Brooklyn African American and African Caribbean constituency in the Project's development. We knew the Project would not be able to fulfill its mission unless it was owned, so to speak, by the community Chisholm represented. Once again, community organizing skills are required. The Project developed partnerships with Medgar Evers College, located in central Brooklyn, the Weeksville Heritage Center, a historic nineteenth-century African American community, the Brooklyn Historical Society, the Brooklyn Museum of Art as well as the Brooklyn Borough President's office. With these partnerships we could host a wide range of conferences and speakers, which were video taped and put up on the website.

At our first public conference at Medgar Evers College, Jetu Weusi, (1939-2013), activist and educator, electrified the audience when he began his remembrance with "Shirley Chisholm once called me a nappy headed incendiary." Weusi had been a prominent leader of the 1968 struggle for community control of Brooklyn's Ocean Hill Brownsville school district as a means to deal with problems of racism and failing schools. His firsthand account brought the intensity of this highly charged conflict to life in a way that reading texts, or even watching the documentary Eyes *On the Prize* could never accomplish. His presentation and later interview are now part of the Project.

The success of the conference was followed six months later with another public event, this time with the iconic feminist Gloria Steinem celebrating the election of Barack Obama, the first African American to the presidency of the United States and honoring the 40th anniversary of Chisholm's election to Congress. The event was the highlight of an exhibition of Chisholm archives at the Brooklyn College library and occurred right after the historic 2008 election where issues of race and gender had been hotly debated. Once again, elected officials, community activists, students, faculty and staff from Brooklyn Medgar Evers Colleges came together to visit the public exhibition and to celebrate Chisholm's legacy. Speaking for the first time publicly about Chisholm, Steinem praised Chisholm's courage to challenge the 'White Men Only' sign on the White House door,' revealed she had been one of Chisholm's speech writers, that she always supported Chisholm's 1972 campaign for the Democratic Party nomination for the presidency, and wished that she had made a greater effort in keeping in touch with this woman she so admired.

Every year the Project hosts Shirley Chisholm Day with nationally prominent speakers and colleagues and mentees of Chisholm such as television network CNN commentator Donna Brazile, Professor Anita Hill, President of the Chicago Teachers' Union, Karen Lewis, Congresswoman Barbara Lee (who began her political career as a college student campaigning for Shirley Chisholm), SisterSong founder and reproductive rights activist Loretta Ross have come to speak. Their presentations are also part of the oral history archive.

Involving Brooklyn schoolteachers in the activities of the project, particularly with curriculum design is another central part of the project and its mission. The importance of our partnership with the schools transcends planning curriculum. This collaboration breaks down the barriers between the academy and the schools and is part of the process of empowering teachers and students in creating knowledge connected to their lives. Public school students come to Brooklyn College, to visit the exhibits and to see the archive. We encourage our education majors, student teachers and classroom teachers to bring their classes to the Brooklyn College library, where they can see the collection, or visit the Project Center to see what we do, and we make every effort to speak in the schools about Chisholm and the project. Our involvement and partnerships with the larger Brooklyn community will depend, in a large part on our ability to create and maintain meaningful partnerships and collaborations with Brooklyn schools.

Curriculum innovation around the life and legacy of Chisholm and Brooklyn women's activism is particularly important, because just as race, class, gender, women's history and women's activism are missing from archives; they are all but non-existent in the K-12 Social Studies curriculum. In most United States history school curriculum, the civil rights movement is reduced to Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks. There is little material dealing with post 1965 immigration or social movements.

No wonder studies show that history and social studies are the least favorite subject studied in the schools, and students feel alienated from social studies. The goal of our curriculum development is to use the Chisholm Project's documents, photographs, artifacts and oral history interviews to bring the voices, images, writings and texts of ordinary people who are integral to the making of history alive in the classroom.

Conclusion

Finally, those of us working on oral history are always thinking about the past. But at the same time we also have to plan for the future. How do we insure that our projects will continue after we retire? How do we inspire and enthuse the next generation of scholars? How does one insure that the Chisholm Project's mission of presenting the history of social justice activism to the next generation is protected and continued? How do we get cash strapped administrators to give budget lines to those who do public history? How do those of us affiliated with academic institutions prove to our administrations, especially in this economically troubled time that our work is valuable to the institution, to scholarship and to the communities we hope to serve? How do we keep the community actively involved in the workings of the project? One obvious and perhaps too easy answer is that this will depend on our ability to raise money, to produce new forms of scholarship, and to create and maintain effective partnerships with academic institutions and the public. Another obvious and again too easy answer will depend on the existence of social justice movements outside the academies, the libraries and the archives, which will demand the archives be maintained. These public history projects are still too new and too close to too many of us for academic assessment and reflection. I look forward to the judgment of the next generation of activists and historians – both academic and independent.

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oral history.org
www.nhd.org (National History Day)
www.socialstudies.org (National Council for the Social Studies)

PART 4

GUIDELINES FOR HISTORY TEACHERS IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

ORAL HISTORY SOURCES: INTRODUCTION TO PASSIVE ORAL HISTORY
(Danijela Trškan)

DOING ORAL HISTORY: INTRODUCTION TO ACTIVE ORAL HISTORY
(Danijela Trškan)

SELECTED ORAL HISTORY RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS
(Danijela Trškan)

Danijela Trškan

ORAL HISTORY SOURCES: INTRODUCTION TO PASSIVE ORAL HISTORY

Abstract

The article points out the important role of contemporary oral history sources, since testimonies, stories and memories invoke different emotions in students, as well as a greater interest in the past, and contribute to a better understanding of history. The role of oral sources is very important in Slovenia, since they enable the understanding of not only what happened in the past, but also how the speakers, narrators and interviewees understand what happened and what their opinion is on the matter. The article argues why oral history sources have to be used in the classroom (audio recordings, oral testimonies, conversations, and interviews) and suggests the inquiry-based learning model, which can be used as a simple method for studying various oral sources. The artice also gives practical guidelines how to use passive oral history in the classroom. Working with diverse historical sources is also one of the more successful methods for developing the intellectual abilities of young people.

KEY WORDS: ORAL HISTORY SOURCES, INQUIRY-BASED LEARNING, INTELLECTUAL ABILITIES, UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY.

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ORAL HISTORY SOURCES: INTRODUCTION TO PASSIVE ORAL HISTORY

Introduction

"It is the duty of each individual to know the creations of older generations, to become acquainted with his/her cultural and artistic heritage through them, to make use of these works, and protect them for future generations." (Golob, 2003, p. 11). One of the ways to get to know the works of older generations is through oral history sources.

Discovering life stories, stories told by older persons or persons who lived in a specific time period, invokes different emotions in students, as well as a great deal of satisfaction and the joy of learning and living. Studying oral sources also stimulates an internal interest of students in history, gives them a sense of personal identity when exploring the past, and thus contributes to the knowledge and understanding of Slovenian social, economic, political and cultural history.

Oral history sources remind us that the unique experiences of us, the individuals, also create history; hence students can also come to know and explore the history of Slovenia through oral sources, thus building a positive and respectful attitude towards Slovenian cultural heritage.

"Oral history helps the past come alive and stays alive. By preserving the words and thoughts of eyewitnesses to and participants in events, it helps us all understand a little bit more about why and how they happened. /…/ it can help us all learn from the past and from the people around us." (Sommer and Quinlan, 2002, p. 89).

The Role of Oral History Sources

Seeing that different types of sources or forms of interpretation (advertisements, artists' illustrations, cartoons, computer simulations, diaries, drama and plays, fiction, film, television, radio, museum displays, oral accounts, interviews, pictures, paintings, portraits, poetry, songs) can be used in school, these sources or different interpretations must be studied gradually (Copeland, 2004, p. 36).

"History helps us think about who we are. History helps us picture possible futures. History is about significant themes and questions. History is interpretive. History is explained through narratives. History is more than politics. History is controversial."

(Levstik and Barton, 2001, pp. 1-8). Students can therefore learn how to understand history and its various interpretations.

In Slovenia, the studying of sources begins in elementary school at various levels. First, students try to establish the basic characteristics of a source or try to find a specific piece of data within a source, determine the source's message, and identify specific elements within sources. Afterwards, they continue studying the source by establishing the essence of the text; whom the source (text, image) is addressing; what it is trying to say; and by trying to establish why the source's author holds such a viewpoint. At the highest level, students are able to explain their views on the message within the source, explain the differences between modernity and the past, and look for causal connections between temporally and spatially remote events (Rode and Tawitian, 2004, p. 4).

During history lessons, students can first learn how to identify and distinguish between facts and opinions, which are especially prominent in oral sources.

Table. Differences between Facts and Opinions (Pečjak and Gradišar, 2002, p. 227)

Characteristics of Facts	*Characteristics of Opinions*
Facts can be verified (are true – false; right – wrong).	Opinions cannot be verified conclusively.
In the case of facts, there are ways to verify them.	Opinions, on the other hand, are often the expression of someone's values, convictions or feelings. (The more identical the reader's opinion is to that of the author, the harder it is for him/her to separate opinions from facts.)
Facts are based on direct evidence and observation (original documents, statistics, eyewitnesses, research reports, etc.).	An opinion is subjective. It is often influenced by the social environment.
Facts are things which happened (are not predictions).	
The reality of facts can alter through time.	Opinions can likewise be altered through time.
Sentences which include facts often begin thus: Evidence for ... Statistical evidence can be found in the research study ...	Sentences which include opinions begin with: I believe ... It seems ... I agree that ... I believe it is true because ... My opinion is ...

When thoroughly analysing sources, students can learn how to place historical sources into context; how to analyse, discover bias, and point out the gaps and discrepancies within sources; how to compare and evaluate sources; how to form conclusions, and demonstrate their skill in using various sources (GCSE Regulations and Criteria, 1995, p. 48). "The study of history sources includes interpretations of history and its nature. This has three distinct but related aspect: an acquaintance

with the writings of historians and a knowledge of typical historical controversies, relating to the content of the course; an understanding that history has been written, sung about, painted, filmed, and dramatised by all kinds of people for all kinds of reasons; and an understanding that some histories have a high profile, others are hardly known." (McAleavy, 2000, pp. 73-74).

Oral sources can take a variety of forms. They can focus on:
- "the shared knowledge of the past which was passed down from the previous generation (oral tradition);
- a narrative of events within an individual's life which have helped to shape that life and give meaning to it (an oral biography);
- the personal reminiscences of an individual about certain events, issues or experiences they lived through at some time in their past;
- oral eye-witness accounts recorded during or immediately after an event." (Stradling, 2001, p. 213).

Students can collect and analyse oral sources (verifying the authenticity and reliability of a source or evidence, comparing the evidence with other evidence and sources). This way they develop questioning skills or communication skills, the ability to put themselves in someone's shoes, the ability to analyse (personal impressions, memory limitations, adaptation), and especially the ability to interpret sources (Stradling, 2001, p. 215).

When analysing and evaluating oral sources, students should be able to answer the following questions: "Who produced it? What was his or her starting–point?; What do we know about the person who produced it?; Why was it produced?; Where was it produced?; What sources were used and how valid were they?; Who was the intended audience?; What was the purpose of the interpretation? /…/; Are some interpretations more believable than others?" (Haydn, Arthur and Hunt, 1997, p. 125).

Traditional oral sources are historical sources, which are based on oral tradition (folklore, folk songs and fairy tales, manners and customs, legends, myths, tales, anecdotes, and stories). Modern oral sources, on the other hand, are oral testimonies, speeches, and telephone or television conversations, in particular recorded or written interviews.

"A history interview is not an original testimony from the past, but a subsequently created product. Thus, the history interview is the result of the interaction among three factors: the interviewer, the interviewee and the public historical consciousness of society or social groups. Therefore, the value and interpretation of such a document depends on many aspects:
- the questions, the interviewer's intentions;

- the ability to put oneself in the interviewee's shoes and in his/her situation;
- the type of the interview: questions dedicated to specific matters; open-ended questions about the report on one's entire lifetime, or a standardised list of questions with yes/no answers or partial or fixed answers;
- the presentation method, viewing method and intention of the interviewee;
- the memory ability of the interviewee, the modification of memory and suppression;
- the topic of memory: personal history, everyday life circumstances and activities, public or general history;
- the type of publication (text, visualisation)." (Bauer, 1998, p. 92 in Potočnik, 2013, p. 98).

That is why the modern history interview is the foundation for active oral history. "Bearing this in mind, the history interview and its procedure present an important source. In order to explain and understand social circumstances, the people who did not play a visible role in an event are also important. When the history interview is used properly, these people are just as important as the so-called great figures of historical events." (Bauer, 1998, p. 91 in Potočnik, 2013, p. 97).

Inquiry-Based Learning of Oral Sources

Inquiry-based learning is a special learning method, which can also be used when working with oral sources in history lessons.

In the case of inquiry-based learning it is essential that students ask themselves questions with the intention of obtaining the required data and that they first answer questions such as what, for what, how and why, and only afterwards questions such as when, who, where.

Inquiry-based learning proceeds with the students first asking questions to obtain information; afterwards they answer questions relating to various sources (in our case oral sources), then they select the sources which relate to the research, and in the end evaluate them.

The learning through inquiry model has four phases. The first phase is observation of the source, in which students try to answer the question: What does the source tell me? The second phase requires students to answer the questions: What guesses can I make? What can I infer? The third phase requires students to ask themselves: What doesn't the source tell? In the fourth phase, the students try to determine: What other questions do I need to ask to solve the task? Students write the answers to the question into individual layers. This way, teachers can check how capable

students are of using various sources, asking questions and answering them, and selecting and writing down answers in individual phases (Davies et al., 2003, p. 55).

The basic purpose of inquiry-based learning is to enable students to understand history, which surpasses factual knowledge. Teachers can therefore provide the conditions for independent discovery or inquiry. Inquiry-based teaching or learning is about motivating, encouraging and assisting in the inquiry process, in which students evaluate, interpret and answer various questions about the role and importance of sources and their interpretations. Inquiry-based learning is similar to interdisciplinary learning, in which the knowledge, abilities and behaviour of the students complement one another (Levstik and Barton, 2001, pp. 93-105). Inquiry-based learning of e.g. oral sources enables students to better understand the past, appreciate history more, and use the acquired knowledge more sensibly in their lives.

Use of Oral Sources in History Lessons

"Historians are learning how to 'question' historical sources. This requires a great deal of practice, since only then can they understand their language." (Rode and Tawitian, 2004, p. 20).

When researching local or national history in Slovenia, students also use oral sources (oral testimonies written down, recorded radio or television interviews and testimonies). In the case of audio recordings and oral testimonies, the students have to make sure that their analysis and interpretation are appropriate, and should pay special attention to the narrator. They can answer the following questions: Is the narrator narrating, describing, explaining, defending himself/herself or defending others?; Is he/she talking earnestly, or is he/she embarrassed or reserved?; Can you detect whether he/she has a negative or positive attitude towards someone or something?; Can his/her personal opinion be discerned?; How good is the narrator's memory?; How can we find out whether the information he/she has given is accurate?, etc. (Stradling, 2001, pp. 217, 225).

When analysing conversations and recorded oral interviews, students should pay attention to the contents and make use of the following questions:
- "What are the interlocutors talking about (thematic sets, concepts, etc.)?
- What types of questions is the interviewer asking (quality of the questions, e.g. open-ended/closed-ended, clear/unclear, etc.)?
- Which topics is the interviewer pointing out and emphasising, which leading ideas and messages, etc.?
- Where does the interviewer (with questions) or the interviewee (with his/her answers) connect different knowledge (connecting knowledge about learning

and remembering with the concepts discussed in previous chapters)?" (Rupnik Vec, 2003, p. 184).

They should likewise pay attention to the course of the conversation and make use of the following questions:
- "How is the conversation flowing (smoothly, intermittently, etc.)?
- Ho do you perceive the relationship between the interlocutors?
- How do you perceive an individual interlocutor?
- Is the interviewer encouraging the interviewee to talk?
- What are the interviewee's answers like (clear/unclear, dull/detailed, intelligible/unintelligible, etc.)?
- How is the interviewer reacting to the interviewee's answers (is adjusting/not adjusting his/her questions, bases/does not base his/her questions on what has been said, etc.)?" (Rupnik Vec, 2003, p. 184).

When analysing recorded interviews and other oral testimonies, students can make use of the following questions, too: "How are the interviews and oral testimony used? Are they being asked to describe what happened and when? Are they being asked to pass judgments on others? Are they being asked for their opinions? Are they being asked to say why they thought something happened? Do they seem to have been selected because they agree with each other or because they disagree?" (Stradling, 2001, p. 256). We could also add: Does the interviewer listen to the interviewee and answers his/her questions? Does the interviewer interrupt and correct the interviewee?

In the case of television shows which contain people's testimonies (e.g. documentary shows, informative shows, popular science shows, etc.), students can establish:
- "the context within which these newscasts and films were made;
- the organisations which made them;
- the audiences they were made for;
- the purposes for which they were made;
- the processes through which evidence was gathered, verified, edited and juxtaposed with other evidence;
- the impact of the techniques and technologies used;
- and the producers and editors' perceptions of what makes a good programme." (Stradling, 2001, p. 251-252).

When studying commentaries and films, students can try to answer the following questions:
- "Who made the film?
- Why was the film made? /…/
- Who do you think was the intended audience for the film?

- What kinds of evidence is the film using: primary and/or secondary evidence? eyewitness accounts? the oral testimony of people directly involved? journalists? politicians? visual evidence?
- What is the film trying to do? Is it trying to influence public opinion or the views of decision makers? Is it trying to explain what happened and/or trying to inform people on who was doing what to whom and when? Is it trying to give a voice to those who have been ignored or trying to correct the historical record? /…/
- What is the tone of the commentary? Is it biased or one-sided, and if so, in what ways? Is it attempting to give a balanced account of what happened? Is it neutral or critical?" (Stradling, 2001, p. 255-256).

Conclusion

During history lessons, special attention is devoted to oral history sources in Slovenia. "Oral history reminds us that history is made up of individuals with unique experiences and infinitely different ways of living their lives." (Perks, 1995, p. 32).

Oral sources aid in reconstructing the past and help students to understand how people used to interpret the past. Oral sources enable the understanding of not only what has happened, but in particular how the speaker understands what has happened and his/her opinion on the matter.

"Being human means thinking and feeling; it means reflecting on the past and visioning into the future. We experience; we give voice to that experience; others reflect on it and give it new form. That new form, in its turn, influences and shapes the way next generations experience their lives. That is why history matters." (Lerner, 1997, p. 211 in Levstik and Barton, 2001, p. 191).

In conclusion, the finding of Dragan Potočnik seems fitting, stating that "contemporary history lessons should be directed towards students acquiring specific knowledge and, simultaneously, developing intellectual abilities; i.e. that the learning of history must not only be about memorising. It has been ascertained that one of the most successful methods for developing intellectual abilities is indeed working with historical sources." (Potočnik, 2009, p. 110).

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Danijela Trškan

DOING ORAL HISTORY: INTRODUCTION TO ACTIVE ORAL HISTORY

Abstract

The article describes how students in elementary and secondary schools can contribute to oral history and learn how to create it. One method is to conduct interviews with older persons, thus developing the abilities to discover and familiarise themselves with the past, as well as communication skills. From these older persons they can find out what family relationships were like, or childhood, education, residences, means of transport, spending one's leisure time, etc. Since the conducting of interviews is an authentic and demanding task, the article presents the implementation of the simple project, which consists of several work phases, namely preliminary preparation, planning, implementation, analysis and interpretation with a report, and evaluation of interviews. Since the oral history project is connected with real life, students find it sensible and worth the effort; moreover, during history interviews students learn about history first-hand.

KEY WORDS: ACTIVE ORAL HISTORY, PROJECT, INTERVIEWS, AUTHENTIC TASK, COMMUNICATON SKILLS.

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DOING ORAL HISTORY: INTRODUCTION TO ACTIVE ORAL HISTORY

Introduction

Different learning paths exist:
- "learning from concrete experience, i.e. from the actual life in the classroom, from the class and school as a whole;
- learning through reflection in action (when carrying out an individual activity) or through reflection on action (a reflection on what you have done, perhaps also with the help and feedback from others involved);
- learning through testing (experimenting), i.e. accepting new ideas, and testing and integrating them, which is becoming an integral part of your future practice;
- learning through conceptualising, i.e. researching ideas and connecting them with theoretical frameworks and premises." (Kalin, 2003, pp. 48-49).

Doing oral history is a field method of history lessons. One of the field methods are interviews, in which students develop their thinking skills by observing, comparing and deducing; they develop their thinking skills and abilities to learn and research independently and to use suitable research methods (collecting material, editing and processing data, reporting, etc.). Because interviews are planned, conducted and evaluated in groups, students also get used to working in groups or team work, and taking individual responsibility for their work in the group.

The interview is used for doing oral history, as it is one of those tasks that require students to proceed through every problem-solving phase, namely from detecting and defining the problems, through searching for and trying out solutions, interpretation and evaluation, to giving findings and conclusions (Rutar Ilc, 2003, p. 128). The interview represents a more demanding task, in which students develop enquiry skills (formulating effective questions), communication skills, skills of empathy with people from different generations, ability to formulate conclusions about what happened or why (Stradling, 2001, p. 215).

What is active oral history today? "Oral history is spoken history: it is the recording of people's unique memories and life stories". (Perks, 1995, p. 5). "Memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved. Simply put, oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews. An oral history interview generally consists of swell-prepared interviewer questioning an interviewee and recording their exchange in audio or video format. Recordings of the interview are transcribed, summarized, or

indexed and then placed in a library or archives. These interviews may be used for research or excerpted in a publication, radio or video documentary, museum exhibition, dramatization, or other form of public presentation. Recordings, transcripts, catalogs, photographs, and related documentary materials are often posted on websites." (Ritchie, 2015, p. 1).

Doing Oral History through Interviews

The interview is the basic method of acquiring oral material, in which students learn how to ask questions, listen actively, pay attention to the answers of interviewees, analyse thoroughly, and write reports. It is therefore easiest if students begin by interviewing people who live in their hometown. Students can pick various topics for the interviews, such as: education, means of transport, healthcare, sport, culture, residences, employment, role of parents, spending one's leisure time, diet, clothing, holidays, etc.

As preparation for the interviews, teachers can first assign students simple tasks, some of which are presented below.

Example of first task: "If possible, ask an older local about what life used to be like and how individual towns have changed over the past decades. Write a short report about it. Perhaps you could enrich it with a copy of a document, newspaper clipping or photograph." (Kunaver, 1999, p. 17).

Example of second task: Students ask their grandparents about what life was like when they were young, about old manners and customs. They write a short essay entitled My Grandfather (Grandpa) Told Me ... or My Grandmother (Grandma) Told Me ... (Šter, 2006, pp. 63-65).

Example of third task: Students put themselves in the shoes of their grandfather or grandmother, talking about his/her life. The oral presentation consists of three parts: the introduction (an opening sentence with which the student attracts attention, presents the purpose of the text and the main points of the oral presentation); the central part (a simple presentation of contents by points); and conclusion (the student repeats the purpose of the presentation, suggests solutions, and sums it up with the concluding sentence) (Vodopivec and Vodopivec, 2004, pp. 54-55).

Example of fourth task: "Students are offered questions, based on which they choose the sources and the person from whom they will try to get answers: What does your surname mean? Where does it originate from? Were you named after an ancestor? If so, after whom and why? Names of parents and grandparents, including nicknames. Dates of birth and weddings, including places. Describe your childhood

(with regard to the changes in society which you noticed the most as a child). Did you ever move? Where to and when? Do you remember your great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers? What do you remember the most? Write down the names. Which person from your childhood do you still remember? Who was the oldest back then? Which chore did you hate as a child? Which invention that was created during your lifetime do you find the most important? How does today's world differ from the one in your childhood? Did your family ever suffer a shortage of anything (food, clothes, etc.)? What did you enjoy doing the most in your spare time and who were your friends? How did you spend time with your parents? What did you do?" (Kukanja, 2007, pp. 453-454).

Active Oral History

What follows is a suggestion of a simple project in which students can learn how to prepare history interviews, carried out in several phases (preliminary preparation, planning, implementation, analysis and interpretation, report and evaluation of interviews).

The first phase is the preliminary preparation of the interview.

Teachers can qualify the students for planning and conducting interviews; help them to prepare questions; to prepare and conduct the interview; and to transcribe or copy and publish it. Together with the students, teachers should anticipate:
- who will be involved; who will keep the oral source (library, school or museum); which equipment will be used; who will be financing it;
- how they can obtain the right to use and broadcast the acquired oral sources;
- the project manager and other participants, the title of the project, the project questions, the selection of archival space and equipment for conducting the interview;
- the costs, financial support, advisers, and schedule (Sommer and Kay Quinlan, 2002, p. 91).

The interviews can be structured (interviews are conducted using predefined questions) or unstructured (interviews are conducted casually; no questions have been prepared in advance). Students are advised to prepare structured interviews.

Robert Stradling suggests that students should undertake the following preparation work:
- "background research on the topics or themes to be covered by the oral history project;

– background research by the students on the group from whom the interviewees will be selected: what do we know about the relevance of this theme or topic to their lives? What kinds of relevant experiences are they likely to have had?
– listen to some examples of people talking about the past or look at one or two transcripts (or excerpts) so that students can get a feel for what an oral history interview is like." (Stradling, 2001, p. 223).

As preparation for the interview, the teacher can conduct an interview with someone from the hometown that he/she has invited into the classroom. The interview is followed by an analysis of the interview and a discussion about the interview.

Another example of preparation for an interview:
– "Students interview their partners – students in groups of four are divided into pairs, with each pair having an interviewer and interviewee;
– Students interview their partners – the same element as before, only with the students reversing their roles;
– Students hold a group discussion (round table) – each student in the group says what he/she has found out from the classmate he/she was paired up with (what his/her classmate had been doing during the weekend); this final step contains a special structure – a round table, consisting of the element of an individual in a group giving a report, which is repeated four times." (Peklaj et al., 2001. p. 54).

The second phase is planning the course of the interview.

In this phase, Robert Stradling suggests that students should think about the following:
– "what background information they will need about each interviewee (for example where they were born and when, current or past occupation, what they were doing at a particular time in their lives, where they went to school, where they lived at a particular time, etc.);
– the best or most appropriate sequence of questions to ensure that the interview flows and is not disjointed;
– the importance of avoiding leading questions (for example: You must have been very angry about that?) and not asking questions that will just elicit a "yes" or a "no" response;
– the importance of ensuring that the questions are clear and unambiguous;
– how to encourage the interviewee to talk and yet at the same time, how to get them back on track when they go off at a tangent;
– how to start and finish the interview;
– what to do if the interviewee "dries up" over a particular question or before the interview is completed;

– if there are any ways to check on the accuracy of the interviewee's recollections?" (Stradling, 2001, pp. 224).

The third phase is the implementation of interviews.

The students start by introducing themselves, saying why they are gathering information and what about; what they are going to do with this information; why they have selected that specific person, and how long the interview is going to last (Cencič and Cencič, 2002, p. 206).

The main part of the interview is the inquiry part, in which the students ask questions and note down the answers. Instead of writing the answers down, students can record the interview if the interviewee consents to it. During the interview, students should be kind to their interlocutors and patient. The success of the interview also depends on the students, which is why they must be polite, orderly, and possess good speaking and writing skills. In addition, they must be kind, conscientious, precise, honest and interested in working (Cencič and Cencič, 2002, p. 206).

During implementation, the students must make sure that they are well-prepared. Robert Stradling suggests some key points for conducting the interviews:
– "be on time, be prepared, be polite;
– listen. Do not ask a question which the interviewee has already answered in her or his answers to other questions;
– be patient. Give the interviewee time to answer in their way. Do not argue or correct the interviewee; keep the interviewee on track but try not to interrupt them too often." (Stradling, 2001, p. 225).

The students can record the interview with their smartphone or mini Dictaphone, or write down the answers on a worksheet with predefined questions. After recording it, the students also write down the interview to see which information they have gathered. The students note down the details of the interviews in a special table.

Table 1. Basic Interview Data (Sommer and Kay Quinlan, 2002, p. 96)

Interviewer	Interviewee	Address of Interviewee	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Length of Interview

The students collect data on the interviewee, e.g. first and last name, address, telephone number, email address, date and place of birth, occupation, short biography, and other information about the interview.

At the end of the interview, the students kindly thank the interviewee for his/her cooperation. They can also ask if they can turn to him/her if they need any further information (Cencič and Cencič, 2002, p. 206).

The fourth phase is the analysis and interpretation of interviews.

After the students note down the answers of interviewees or record them, they continue their work by analysing and evaluating the answers. In doing so they should pay special attention to whether the person speaking is defending himself/herself or defending others; whether he/she is talking earnestly, or whether he/she is embarrassed or reserved; whether they can detect a negative or positive attitude of the speaker towards someone or something; or whether he/she is giving his/her personal opinion (Stradling, 2001, p. 217).

Table 2. Answers of Interviewees

Questions / Answers	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3

For this reason, the students should ask themselves the following questions:
- "what sort of person is speaking?
- what kinds of statements are they making. Are they observations about what happened or why it happened? Are the statements disjointed or unconnected responses to each question or are they trying to tell a story? Do they ever go off at a tangent? Are they trying to justify themselves and their actions? Are they trying to justify someone else's actions? Are their answers mainly anecdotes?
- are they trying to answer the questions seriously? Do they seem to be uncomfortable about answering some questions? Are they reticent in their answers? Are they offering up "sound bites" for the tape recorder or the television camera?
- what assumptions do they seem to be making?
- can you detect any biases and prejudices?

– are there any ways in which you could independently check any of their answers?" (Stradling, 2001, p. 217).

The fifth phase is the report.

The analysis and interpretation of interviews is concluded with a report. The report most often consists of three parts. The introduction presents the interviewee, the central part contains the questions and answers, while the concluding part contains the main findings of the interview.

When interviewing people, the students should check the information using secondary sources or fill in the missing data. In the main part the students can decide whether to publish the entire interview or only a part of it. The following questions can be of help to them:
– "Did the interview answer the kinds of research questions they had originally set out to find answers to?
– How good was the interviewee's memory?
– Did the interviewee provide contradictory information?
– Are there any ways in which the accuracy of the responses can be checked?
– Were there any signs of clear bias in any of their responses?
– How useful is the interview as historical evidence?
– In what ways could the interview have been better?" (Stradling, 2001, p. 225).

The final report is most often done in writing. However, students can transfer the conversations, testimonies or interviews which they recorded on a Dictaphone, smartphone or quality USB MP3 players to a computer and, using audio editing software, prepare them for playback as an audio recording. If they recorded the interviews with a digital camera or smartphone, they can use video editing software to prepare a video of the interview. They can thus prepare a documentary for television or radio, in which they make an introduction and conclusion using secondary sources, and insert recorded interviews with people reminiscing about various events in between.

The sixth phase is the evaluation of the implementation of interviews.

In the end, the students can evaluate how successful they were in conducting the interviews and what they have learnt. Teachers can likewise evaluate the entire project. Criteria that teachers can use to evaluate student interviews are as follows:
– "What was the topic or focus of the interview?

- Does the introduction to the recording provide sufficient information for the listener?
- Does the interviewer use leading questions or make biased comments?
- How capable was the interviewing style?
- How good was the sound quality of the recording?
- What is the historical value of the interview?" (Fonsino, 1980 in Ritchie, 2015, p. 212).

The project concludes with the students thanking all of the interviewees in writing and sending them the final report. In order to publish the report or recordings of the interview, the teacher and students must obtain oral or written consent from the interviewee.

Conclusion

Through oral history interviews students can discover various aspects of history over a longer period of time, e.g. they can find out about the changes in family relationships, childhood, residences, employment, sport and means of transport; how the development of means of transport, electronic tools or medicine has changed people's lifestyles; about the changes in ideas and attitude towards e.g. religion, poverty, education, civic responsibility, etc.

Doing oral history can also be an authentic task for students. "In the broadest sense we could say that authentic challenges are those that resemble actual problem situations: e.g. scientific, research, professional, everyday, etc. Authentic tasks and activities are those that show how people actually face challenges and how they solve problems. When solving authentic tasks, students get the impression that these tasks are connected with real life and therefore sensible and worth the effort." (Rutar Ilc, 2003, p. 128). An authentic task is a real-world task that enables the use of knowledge, requires new thoughts, ideas, the gathering and selecting of sources and material, higher mental processes (comparing, describing, evaluating, deducing), independent work (individual, in pairs or groups); it includes content and process knowledge and enables students to progress, learn from their mistakes, improve their results and become involved in local events (Rutar Ilc, 2003, p. 130). Oral history interviews prepared by students also present such a challenge.

According to Kuhn and McLellan: "Oral history interviews enable students to uncover new information about the past and bring that expertise into class discussions. /…/ As students compare interviews, they engage in critical thinking and learn to contextualize information. Through the assignments, students strengthen social awareness, as weII as active listening and questioning skills, while they learn

from first-hand experience about historical research and resources. Students use a variety of technical skills to complete projects: word processing, layout, design, oral communications, budgeting, managing, and record-keeping. Producing oral history interview transcripts and summaries pushes students to solve writing and editing problems. Publishing student work in the form of local history exhibits, a school publication, or a World Wide Web site provides both recognition and a reason for writing; the students' work does contribute to our knowledge of history." (Kuhn and McLellan, 2006, p. 475).

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Danijela Trškan

SELECTED ORAL HISTORY RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS

Abstract

As the publication Oral History Education: Dialogue with the Past is primarily intended for history teachers in primary and secondary schools, we have compiled a bibliography of basic works that teachers can use in preparation for school oral history projects. We have added contents that on the one hand point to the complexity of oral history education, and on the other provide concrete suggestions and guidelines for teachers to familiarize students with active oral history. We have selected books that were published at the beginning of the 21st century and arranged them alphabetically. Teachers can also use the diverse lists of manuals, books, handbooks, articles and other resources which are featured at the end of each of the selected books. The list of bibliography presents a small selection of monographs published in English, but we encourage teachers to use also domestic or foreign books and manuals on the topic of oral history. In addition, teachers and students should make use of the wealth of archival or museum materials and the many resources published online. The bibliography of selected oral history resources is meant to help history teachers, especially beginners, successfully incorporate oral history in their lessons in primary and secondary schools, and students – future history teachers.

KEY WORDS: HISTORY TEACHERS, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, ORAL HISTORY RESOURCES, ORAL HISTORY MANUALS, ORAL HISTORY GUIDELINES, ORAL HISTORY SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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SELECTED ORAL HISTORY RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS

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Table of Contents: Introduction: Turning Practice into Theory; The Peculiarities of Oral History; Self; Subjectivity and Intersubjectivity; Memory; Narrative, Performance; Power and Empowerment; Glossary of Terms and Concepts; Guide to Further Reading.

BARNICKEL, L. (2010) *Oral History for the Family Historian: A Basic Guide.* (Practices in Oral History). [Carlisle, PA]: Oral History Association.

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PART II – Methodology: Research Design and Strategies; Legal and Ethical Issues in Oral History; Oral History Interviews: From Inception to Closure; Oral History and Archives: Documenting Context; The Uneasy Page: Transcribing and Editing Oral History;
PART III – Theories: Memory Theory: Personal and Social; Aging, the Life Course, and Oral History: African American Narratives of Struggle, Social Change, and Decline; A Conversation Analytic Approach to Oral History Interviewing; Women's Oral History: Is It So Special?; Narrative Theory;
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PART II: Introduction: Recreating Identity and Commmunity; Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss, and Resilience in Post-Apartheid Cape Town; Contested Places in Public Memory: Reflections on Personal Testimony and Oral History in Japanese American Heritage; "Scars in the Ground": Kauri Gum Stories; Memory and Mourning: Living Oral History with Queer Latinos and Latinas in San Francisco; Interfaced Memory: Black World War II Ex-GIs' and Veterans' Reunions of the Late Twentieth Century;
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PART II – Oral History in Elementary Schools: Introduction – Oral History in Elementary Schools; Oral History Projects in the Elementary Social Studies Classroom; Creating Contexts for Studying History with Students Learning

English; From the Ashes: Making Meaning, Meeting Standards; Family Stories and Memorabilia: Oral History Projects in Elementary Schools; Connecting the Past to the Present for Students with Special Needs; The Young, the Old and Something New: Sixth Graders Learn From Alzheimer Elderly Elementary School Program and Project Vignettes;
PART III – Oral History in Secondary Schools: Introduction – Oral History in Secondary Schools; Putting the Actors Back on Stage: Oral History in the Secondary School Classroom; Teaching Students How to Be Historians: An Oral History Project for the Secondary Classroom; "Long, Long Ago": Recipe for a Middle School Oral History Program; The Grade Eight Gifted and Talented Oral History Program – Baltimore County Public Schools; Turbulent Times: Grade 11 Unit Overview; The Family in the Fifties: Hope, Fear, and Rock 'n Roll Secondary School Program and Project Vignettes;
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PART VI – Presenting Oral History: Toward a Public Oral History; Motivating the Twenty-First-Century Student with Oral History; Oral History in Universities: From Margins to Mainstream; Case Study: Engaging Interpretation through Digital Technologies; Oral History in the Digital Age.

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Oral History in the Digital Age (OHDA): http://ohda.matrix.msu.edu/
Oral History Review: http://ohr.oxfordjournals.org/

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Dr Carol Căpiță is a Professor at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History, and Associate Researcher at the Institute for Educational Sciences in Bucharest. His research interests are history teaching, curriculum development, initial teacher training. Selected publications: Carol Căpiță, Learning Styles in Higher Education. A Case Study in History Training. In Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences, vol. 180, 2015; Carol Căpiță, *Introduction to Prehistory* (vol. 1, General Framework and Chronology), Ars Docendi Publishing House, Bucharest, 2015; Carol Căpiță, Laura Elena Căpiță, *The Arab World in Romanian History Textbooks*. In Trškan, D. (ed.). The Arab World in History Textbooks and Curricula, Slovenian National Comission

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Dr Laura Elena Căpiță is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Educational Sciences in Bucharest and lecturer at the Department of Teacher Training at the University of Bucharest. Her research interests are history teaching, curriculum development, curriculum enactment, initial and further teacher training. Selected publications: Laura Elena, Căpiță, *Creative Curriculum Delivery at School Level. Practioners' Perspectives.* In Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences, vol. 180, 2015; Laura Elena, Căpiță, *How Do History Students Cope with Different Kinds of Knowledge,* Management Intercultural, no. 34/2015; Laura Căpiță, *Didactica Istoriei*, Matrix Publishing House, Bucharest, 2013; Laura Căpiță, *Dealing with the Past: A Brief Introduction to the Romanian History Curriculum.* In Education 3-13, vol. 38, no. 3, 2010.

Dr. Meenakshi Chhabra is an Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences at Lesley University in Cambridge, Massachusetts in the United States. She is a scholar and practitioner in Peace and Conflict Studies. Her recent research focuses on the teaching and learning of historical events of conflict and mass violence, with an emphasis on the 1947 British India Partition. Her most recent publication includes, "A Social-Psychological Perspective on the Teaching of a Historical Event of Collective Violence – The Case of the 1947 British India Partition" in *History Can Bite: History Education in Divided and Post-War Societies* (forthcoming in 2016).

Brenda Gouws is a PhD candidate in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The topic of her thesis is *Investigating Holocaust Education through the Personal Stories of History Teachers.* Her research interests include Holocaust education, museum education, narrative, and history teachers' stories. Her most recent publication is: "Is the Holocaust Even My Story to Tell?" Portrait of Thandeka, a Black South African Holocaust Educator, in *Prism: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Holocaust Educators, 8* (Spring 2016), with Johan Wassermann. She is a qualified Holocaust museum guide and is currently working for a charitable foundation in Durban, South Africa.

Dr Paul Holthuis is a History Teacher Educator at the University of Groningen. His research focuses on students' subject-specific needs and the teaching and learning of history. Recent publications include Huijgen, T. & Holthuis, P. (2015) 'Why Am I Accused of Being a Heretic?' A Pedagogical Framework for Stimulating Historical Contextualisation. *Teaching History*, 158, pp. 56-61; Huijgen, T. & Holthuis, P. (2014) Towards Bad History? A Call for the Use of Counterfactual Historical Reasoning in History Education. *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education*, 1(1), pp. 103-110.

Tim Huijgen, MA, is a History Teacher Educator and Researcher at the University of Groningen. Huijgen is also a history teacher at a secondary school. His research interest centres on the teaching and learning of history, educational measurement, and curriculum design. His PhD research focuses on how history teachers can promote historical contextualization in their classrooms. Huijgen has published in various national and international journals. Recent publications include Huijgen, T., Van de Grift, W., Van Boxtel, C. & Holthuis, P. (2016) Teaching Historical Contextualization: The Construction of a Reliable Observation Instrument. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, pp. 1-23; Huijgen, T., Van Boxtel, C., Van de Grift, W. & Holthuis, P. (accepted). Toward Historical Perspective Taking: Students' Reasoning When Contextualizing the Actions of People in the Past. *Theory* & *Research in Social Education*; Huijgen, T., Van Boxtel, C., Van de Grift, W. & Holthuis, P. (2014) Testing Elementary and Secondary School Students' Ability to Perform Historical Perspective-Taking: The Constructing of Valid and Reliable Measure Instruments. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 29(4), pp. 653-672.

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