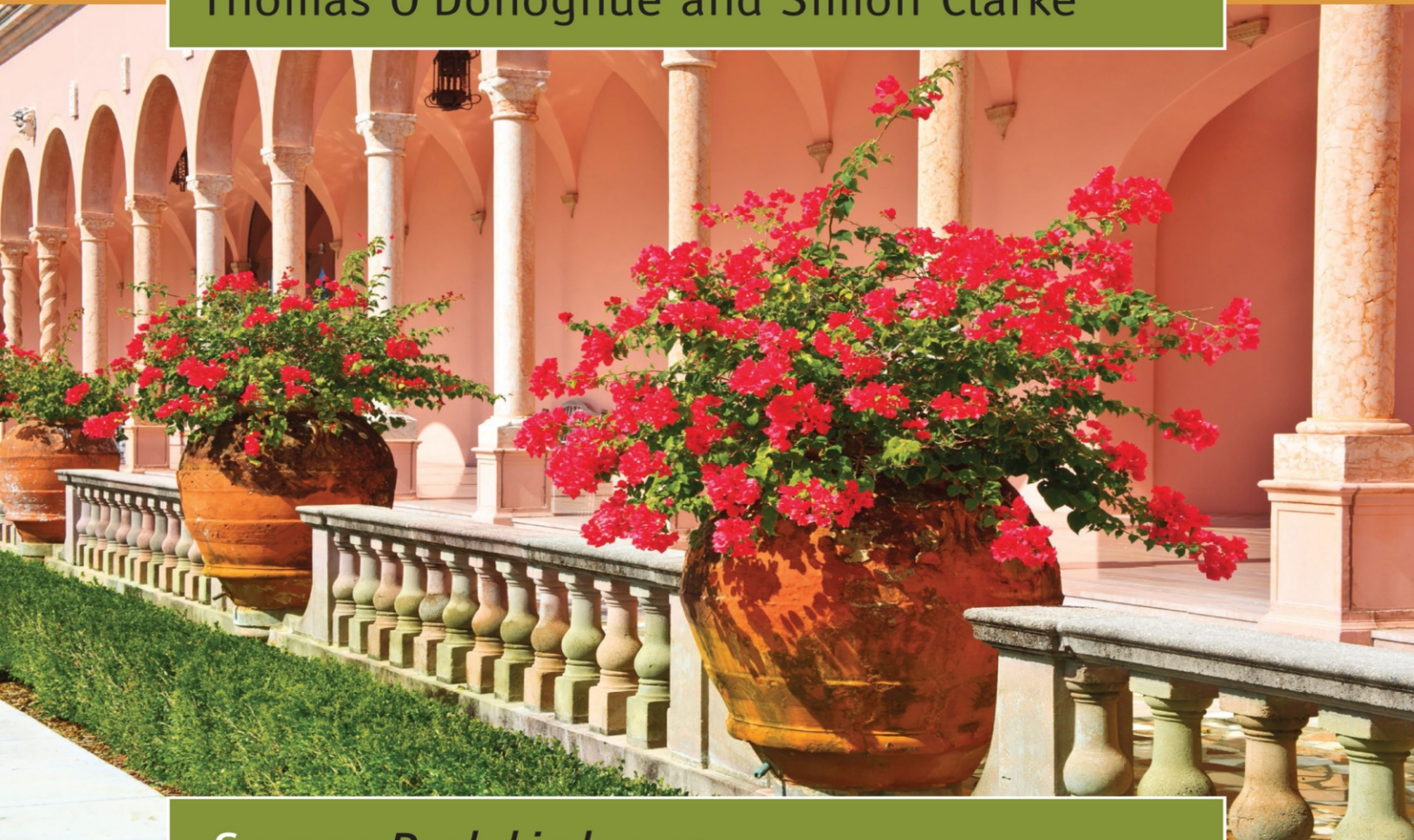


A Study of the Secondary School History Curriculum in Chile from Colonial Times to the Present

Carmen Gloria Zúñiga,
Thomas O'Donoghue and Simon Clarke



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THE ISSUES

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1990s and the 2000s, and into the present decade, the Chilean educational system has experienced change. After seventeen years of an authoritarian military regime, ending in 1989, five successive democratic governments identified education as a strategic tool to achieve economic development and a more just society. Between 1990 and 2012, major programmes for educational quality and equity improvement were implemented. These have been based on a set of reforms to the curriculum, to school hours and to institutional regulations. They have included initiatives in strengthening low performing schools around the country, improving schools in rural areas, reforming teacher preparation, and extending the length of the school day.

Chilean policy makers have placed the quality of educational opportunity among their main concerns. In particular, curriculum reform has been promoted as an important feature in the search for quality. In 1996, national curriculum guidelines were introduced for primary school education, while guidelines for the secondary school curriculum were introduced in 1998. Both sets of guidelines were intended to preserve the relevance and pertinence of the curriculum framework in all areas of learning, with the intention that this framework be subjected to continuous revision and analysis. The latest curriculum framework was designed in 2009, and again covers both primary school education and secondary school education.

Despite the extensive research and policy initiatives undertaken relating to curriculum reform, and associated research on the teaching of relevant school subjects in the curriculum in Chile, such as science and mathematics, there has been little research conducted on the teaching of history as a school subject. Accordingly, it was decided that, as a response, the study reported in this book would centre on the teaching of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile, focusing specifically on the historical background, current developments, and current issues of concern for secondary school history teachers.

Thus, the study had three main aims. First, it aimed to develop an understanding of the historical background to the secondary school history curriculum in Chile from colonial times to the present. To this end, it set out to describe and analyse continuities, changes, influences, advantages, and disadvantages of each curriculum framework implemented in Chile up until 2010. This approach also provided a basis for engaging in comparison with the current curriculum framework.

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Secondly, the study aimed to develop an understanding of the main characteristics of the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile. Again, the focus was on describing, interpreting, and analysing continuities, changes, influences, advantages, and disadvantages, with the intention of providing an understanding of the current situation. The government in power from 1991 until 2010, the ‘Group of Parties for Democracy’, initiated reforms in 1996, of which the current curriculum framework was the latest curriculum development.

Thirdly, the study aimed to develop an understanding of the current issues of concern for secondary school history teachers working in the region of Valparaiso, Chile. The decision to pursue this aim was premised on the view that teachers are extremely important in every curriculum reform process since they implement curriculum frameworks within classrooms. Thus, developing an understanding of their perspectives on the curriculum was considered to be crucial for informing considerations both for improvement and for teacher professional development.

The remainder of this introductory chapter presents an overview of the book. It opens with a summary of the international context within which the teaching of secondary school history can be considered. It then presents a brief overview of the related scholarly literature. Finally, there is an outline of the research approach adopted. While each of these areas is dealt with at a general level in this chapter, they are discussed in greater depth in later chapters.

CONTEXT

An understanding of the teaching of history as a school subject in Chile can be enhanced by an appreciation of the broader international context within which it occurs. Three countries, in particular, have influenced teaching in this area in Chile. Specifically, developments in England and Wales in the late 1960s and the response of teachers, academics, and the government, have been significant. Developments in the teaching of social studies in the United States of America over the last 30 years also had an influence in various ways, not only in Chile, but on the entire American continent. A third powerful influence on Chilean primary and secondary school education, including the teaching of history, has been the Spanish educational system. Chile was a Spanish colony for almost three hundred years and, since national independence, the Chilean education system has looked to Spain for educational models, especially in relation to curriculum objectives and pedagogy. This Spanish influence remains evident even now. For example, the education reform that had its origins in 1996 found inspiration in reforms introduced in Spain in 1991. The following section of this chapter now describes the general background to each of these influences.

History Teaching in England and Wales

Over the last forty years, history teaching in England and Wales has been influenced by what is called the ‘new history’ (Booth, 1996; Taylor, 2000; Zajda & Whitehouse,

2009), or the ‘alternative tradition’ (Husbands, Kitson & Pendry, 2007). The approach to which these terms refer became an alternative to the ‘great tradition’ (Sylvester, 1993) approach to teaching history, which was widely used in British history classrooms and was based on the acquisition of content knowledge. In the 1960s, this ‘great tradition’ approach was questioned by teachers and academics, who considered that it involved an excessive emphasis on factual knowledge (Booth, 1996; Dickinson, 2000; Husbands et al., 2007; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). The associated critiques have been described by Price (1968), who agreed with them, considering that history as a school subject was “in danger” of collapsing and becoming an “ingredient” of social studies, or civics (p. 342). She was convinced that the teaching of history in many schools was dull and had little significance for students (Price, 1968). Such critiques were well received by teachers, academics, and politicians, who started to seek solutions to address the situation. One potential source of answers was found in the work of Jerome Bruner (1960) and Benjamin Bloom (1956), both well-known American academics who presented new understandings of the teaching and learning process.

In 1971, two British educators, Coltham and Fines (1971), published *Educational Objectives for the Study of History: a Suggested Framework*. They used Bruner’s ideas of the structure and distinctive nature of each discipline, along with Bloom’s taxonomies, to set defined, measurable, and obtainable history objectives. They also succeeded in generating a debate about the purpose of history teaching at a time when its place as a school discipline was being contested (Booth, 1996). Several curriculum groups took these developments further. A well-known outcome of the movement was the *Schools Council History 13-16 Project* (Schools Council History 13-16 Project, 1976), introduced in Britain in 1976.

Coltham and Fines’ (1971) framework and the *Schools Council’s History 13-16 Project* inspired further developments in pedagogy which resulted in an increasingly skills-based approach being introduced in the teaching of history in most schools in England and Wales (Booth, 1996; Husbands et al., 2007; Taylor, 2000). This approach became known as the ‘new history’ and was considered to have revitalised the teaching of history, especially at the secondary school level (Husbands, 1996). However, the ‘new history’ was not free of detractors. For example, certain critics of the approach reported a decline in content knowledge among students and a loss of a sense of chronology and cultural affirmation (Elton, 1970).

The late 1970s and the 1980s also witnessed the emergence of a series of critiques about the education system in England and Wales more broadly. Within the context of these critiques, the nature of history as a school subject and its content became a topic of national debate about how and what history should be taught in British schools. The debates were promoted by Prime Minister Thatcher, “who increasingly trained the education system in her sights, as part of her agenda to reform the economy and society of Great Britain” (Allen, 2000, p. 28). The interest of the Government lay in the opportunity provided by history to accomplish cultural transmission and to attack ‘the new approach’ on the grounds that it was influenced

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by left-wing ideologies. This provoked heated confrontation between stakeholder groups (Ball, 1994; Hayden, Arthur & Hunt, 1997). The contest ended with the creation of a national curriculum in 1988.

The national curriculum for history was highly influenced by the ‘great tradition’ of history teaching (Husbands et al., 2007). Content prescriptions were specified in detail through a sequence of programmes of study arranged chronologically, with a common core of British history and optional units on European and World history. Skills and concepts were prescribed and specified according to three attainment targets which defined the organisation of content. In 1995, 1999, and 2007, the national curriculum was revised. Content and skills’ prescriptions were removed, allowing teachers to plan more creatively and flexibly (Husbands et al., 2007; Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 2007). According to Husbands, Kitson and Pendry (2007) and Dickinson (2000), the national curriculum by the beginning of the 21st century allowed for the coexistence of both approaches to the teaching of history, namely, the ‘great tradition’ and the ‘new history’.

History Teaching in the United States of America

The teaching of history in the United States of America (USA) is characterised by two key features. First, in contrast to England and Wales, where there is uniformity across the system, the subject content and teaching methods vary from state to state and from one school district to another, and debates on the teaching of history are usually related to content and not teaching methods (Taylor, 2000). Secondly, the history curriculum is part of a broader curriculum called social studies; the core disciplines of the social studies curriculum for secondary schools are geography, history, economics, anthropology, political science, civics, and psychology (Stockard, 2007). National debate about the social studies curriculum includes debate on all of the mentioned disciplines, resulting in less attention being given to history as a school subject than is the case in England and Wales (Taylor, 2000).

In the 1980s, conservative groups in the USA were highly concerned about the nature of the history content being taught in the nation’s schools (Allen, 2004). They were anxious that in the teaching of history as a school subject not enough attention was being given to such traditional content as the ‘War of Independence’, the ‘Framing of the Constitution’, the ‘Civil War’, and the ‘Emancipation of Slavery’. They considered that traditional content represented the American nation’s struggle for liberty and that, therefore, it was important to preserve it in the social studies curriculum (Allen, 2004). Yoder (1994), in considering this, has described the particular concern of President Reagan for the subject’s welfare in schools.

The *Bradley Commission on the Teaching of History in American Schools* (1988) was one of the outcomes of these concerns. However, it was not the only major contribution to national debate about what history should be taught at school level as several other commissions and new curriculum frameworks were generated in the late 1980s and the 1990s (Taylor, 2000). Notwithstanding these developments,

national debate about content knowledge in the social studies curriculum continued to be unresolved. For example, a group labelled ‘multiculturalists’ proposed new curricular content in American history during the last years of the 1990s (Taylor, 2000), concerned that attention should be given to content on such marginalised groups as the African Americans, Spanish Americans and indigenous Americans. Debate along this, and other lines, continues and is likely to continue for some time.

History Teaching in Spain

The teaching of school history in Spain, as with the teaching of all school subjects during the last thirty years, has been influenced by regular changes in educational laws made by the different governments in power in the nation. Moreover, in less than twenty years, two educational reforms (1991/LOGSE - 2007/LOE) approved by Parliament have been introduced. Each of these reforms has been underpinned by the political belief of the government in power (González-Anleo, 2002). Nevertheless, every educational project or reform presented to Parliament has also encountered strong obstruction from the political opposition.

In Spain, history is seen by politicians as an instrument to contribute to regional and national identity, to preserve national values, and to create political affiliation (Prats, 2000). In this regard, the situation in Spain supports Taylor contention that “history’s contentiousness lies in its close relationship with politics” (Talyor, 2000, p. 849). At the same time, during the last thirty years, Spain’s school history curriculum has shifted from being content-based to being more inquiry-based, in response to the government’s conception of the nature of history and of the role it should play at the school level. In 2006, for example, the government of the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party decided to modify the existing curriculum framework and to implement a new one, following the principles of the new *Ley Orgánica de Educación or LOE* (Organic Law of Education), which remains in operation at the present time.

The notion of history as an instrument to build student knowledge is included in the curriculum framework for the teaching of secondary school history in Spain, but priority is attached to learning factual knowledge. According to Prats (2000), for Spanish school students, learning history as an academic discipline is not possible; the view is that learning historical knowledge in this sense is suitable only for university students of history. Also, as students see it, history is not to be learnt, but memorised (Prats, 2000). This reflects similar findings on the views of students in the USA back in the early 1990s (Wineburg, 1991).

In terms of content, the secondary school curriculum for the teaching of history in Spain emphasises political-institutional facts regarding Spanish and European history. In addition, chronology has an important place in the organisation of content (*Ley Orgánica de Educación*, 2006). Although local history is included, it represents less than ten percent of the history curriculum content. Skills related to the development of historical methods of inquiry are only given a small proportion of class time, although the time allocated does increase a little over the four years

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of secondary school. Those skills are meant to be developed through interrogating newspapers, writing essays, and engaging in debates. The promotion of democratic values is also emphasised, with particular reference to how they were ignored in Spain's experience under the dictatorship of General Franco (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006).

To conclude, although the LOE reform in Spain is underpinned by a constructivist approach to teaching, including the teaching of history, the development of teacher-centred strategies are also recommended. Thus, teacher exposition and students' recitation continue to be common classroom activities. This is not surprising, of course, since Spain's history teaching tradition has long been centred on content coverage and chronology (Cercadillo, Prats, 2000; 2001; Valls, 2008).

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although history has been a school subject in many state and private educational systems since the nineteenth century, there have been differences in what has been taught, and how it has been taught around the world (Foster, 2008; Pellens, 1991; Taylor, 2000). These differences have depended mainly on the purpose attached to history as a school subject and the pedagogical approaches prescribed. In this regard, the objectives pursued in the teaching of history (Sylvester, 1993), curriculum content (Hernández, 2008), classroom activities (Carretero & Voss, 2004), and assessment tasks (Valls, 2008) have varied from country to country. In addition, debate on the nature of the history curriculum has been recurrent and has often not been without controversy (VanSledright, 2003). This section of the chapter now provides an overview of the literature on the history curriculum in these various areas under four sub-headings, namely, objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment.

Teaching History: Objectives

During the last two-to-three decades, in several countries, including the USA, the Russian Federation, Japan, and Italy, the objectives of the teaching of history as a school subject have been characterised by imperatives related to political, economic, cultural, and ideological factors (Pellens, 1991). The rationale behind these imperatives has been to reaffirm the nation-building process. This often includes the aim of cultivating a national identity within the globalised world.

Notwithstanding diversity across nations, there is widespread opinion amongst history educators on what should be the main objectives to be pursued through the teaching of history at the school level. One of these is to foster cultural continuity, also called 'citizenship transmission' (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). According to this vision, students must be taught society's rules and norms. This is especially important as related to it is the notion of history teachers motivating students to participate actively in society. This can be seen as part of the development of students' sense of place in a local, national, and global context (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

Another objective of the teaching of history as a school subject is the transmission of facts, concepts, and generalizations from history as an academic discipline (Rogers, 1987; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). History in this sense gives the school subject the underpinning knowledge to be adapted for teaching to young people. According to this vision, students should learn historical facts and concepts since they provide a basic cognitive lens needed to interpret and understand the historical process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001; Carretero, 2007).

Another objective yet again of the teaching of history is the promotion of critical thinking (Carretero & Voss, 2004; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; Wineburg, 2001;). This involves the learning of history for the development of such higher order cognitive skills as analysis, interpretation, and evaluation (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). This, it is held, is not a 'natural' process in psychological development (Wineburg, 2001). Rather, its achievement has to be promoted through the active participation of students in the learning process (Van Den Brink-Bugden, 2000).

Teaching History: Content

The nature of the history studied in schools in any country is related to that country's political openness and democratic strength. On this, Taylor (2000) makes a distinction between the study of history as an academic discipline and as an indoctrination process. Contemplating the distinction prompts one to ask: 'Who decided what history to teach?' (Foster, 2008; Pellens, 1991; Taylor, 2000). The decision-making process, which involves choosing the content, skills and values of history, can be undertaken at two main levels, namely, at central-governmental level, and the local-school level.

Decision-making in the first case has been called that of the 'state-didactic type' (Pellens, 1991) and is typical of totalitarian, or paternalistic, societies. In such societies, the government, or state, prescribes historical content, pedagogical resources and assessment methods. None, or very few, options are given to teachers to modify what is prescribed. Nazi Germany, the People's Republic of China, and Japan are examples of societies which, in the past, adopted this approach (Pellens, 1991). In the second case, called the 'liberal type' (Pellens, 1991), the state, or government, provides general guidelines related to objectives to be included in the curriculum framework. Specific areas of content, pedagogy, and assessment methods are chosen by society through the work done by schools and teachers.

The question of what historical events are significant enough to be taught has always been asked regarding the teaching of history as a school subject (VanSledright, 2003). Within this context, choosing what history to teach is a relevant task. According to Taylor (2000), history as a school subject can be both empowering and oppressive at the same time. It can be empowering because, through history, students can find an opportunity to develop a rational capacity for questioning evidence and, as a consequence, to comprehend the relationships between individuals, events, ideologies, and historical change. It can also be oppressive because history can promote political and religious self-justification. To summarise, history teachers can

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encourage students to think critically and to actively participate in society, or they can help the political regime in power through providing justifications for its main ideas (VanSledright, 2003).

The knowledge content. History knowledge content includes knowledge of various aspects of societies in the past, including knowledge of art, music, architecture, science, sport, and literature in different parts of the world (Pellens, 1991). This variety can be assembled to create coherent units of learning (Cooper, 2006). Also, the knowledge content can include content related to the learning of historical concepts, perception of time in history, issues related to causation and motivation, and identification of cultural spaces (Hernández, 2008; Prats, 2000; Taylor & Young, 2003).

The selection of knowledge content can vary across countries (Foster, 2008). Some educational systems include several topics about their national history, while others privilege the inclusion of the history of different civilisations (Carretero, 2007). School history teaching can also be undertaken through the study and interpretation of historical sources. Accordingly, Paxton and Wineburg (2000) state that although the knowledge of facts is very important, it should be considered to be only the beginning of the learning of history.

The skills content. The concepts of historical thinking (Booth, 1996; Cooper, 1994; Drake & Drake, 2004; Wineburg, 2001; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009), historical understanding (Husbands, 1996; Whelan, 2006), or both (Taylor, 2000; VanSledright, 2003), are used in the literature to name the process which allows students to elaborate on their own historical interpretations. Thus, according to this view, students should become ‘historians’ using the historical method of inquiry and interpretation in order to construct historical knowledge. This is consistent with the constructivist pedagogical approach which claims that knowledge is constructed by students through their interaction with the social environment (Carretero & Voss, 2004). The approach indicates that conclusions generated by students need not necessarily be the same as the ones presented by teachers. The argument is that students themselves are capable of generating well-constructed historical explanations (Carretero & Voss, 2004).

The values content. The teaching of history as a school subject can reflect many of the values perceived to be important by a given society (Pellens, 1991; Phillips, 1999), especially political and ideological values (Carretero, 2007). According to De Keyser (1994), the kind of values included in every curriculum framework depends on the values developed by each society. In this regard, school history teaching can promote the creation of a certain scale of values among students.

This approach has developed over time (De Keyser, 1994). Past societies perceived history teaching as an instrument to transmit an intended scale of values to students. Nowadays, history teaching in some countries adopts a rather passive

role in assisting students to develop their own system of values (De Keyser, 1994), which is often related to democracy, justice, and human rights (Hernández, 2008). Carretero (2007) indicates that school history teachers have to encourage students to question and to think carefully about the values present in the historical events taught. Also, he argues, teachers should teach different versions of the same historical event so that students can generate their own perspectives on it (Carretero, 2007).

Teaching History: Pedagogy

Two main approaches to the teaching of history at the school level can be identified as existing throughout the twentieth century. The first one is a fact-based approach, also called the ‘great tradition’ approach (Dickinson, 2000; Sylvester, 1993). The second one considers history to be a form of knowledge. This is called the ‘new history’ and its main feature is the promotion of historical thinking (Booth, 1996; Cooper, 2006; Foster, 2008; Husbands, 1996; Pellens, 1991; Prats, 2000; Taylor, 2000; VanSledright, 2003; Wineburg, 2001; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). The process of transforming history as an academic discipline into a school subject can influence both the learning process and students’ conceptions about history. Accordingly, each approach can have different objectives and teachers have to use different methodologies to implement one, or the other.

The ‘Great Tradition.’ Sylvester (1993) explains the main characteristics of the fact-based approach through the study of history teaching in England and Wales since 1900. He starts his definition of what he calls the ‘great tradition’ by explaining the role of teachers and students. Teachers play an active role consistent in both transmitting historical facts to their students and ensuring the learning of them through short tests. Students have a rather passive role, learning history as a received subject (Sylvester, 1993). In this approach, teachers should interpret past events and explain them to students in an understandable way (Husbands et al., 2007). Usually, they give oral descriptions of the main events of the past and write notes on a blackboard (Sylvester, 1993). Then, students copy and repeat the factual knowledge written by their teachers. Also, they are required to assimilate, organise, and reproduce teachers’ interpretations.

According to Sylvester (1993), knowledge content taught is clearly defined. It usually consists of political facts, with a minor emphasis on economic and social events. Taylor (2000) agrees, indicating that one of the main features of the ‘great tradition’ is the primacy of factual knowledge (Taylor, 2000). Content is organised on a chronological frame whose main components are British political events. Wilschut (2010) indicates that within this tradition “attention was almost completely limited to British, or rather English, history, and Scotland and Wales remained out of sight most of the time” (p. 698). Also, a pivotal role is given to the use of textbooks (Booth, 1996). Therefore, school history teaching along these lines can be defined

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as a chronological enumeration of historical events, where political facts and the names of great characters comprise the main content taught. Within this context, an important concern of the ‘great tradition’ approach is the selection of events that can justify the political organisation set by the dominant political culture (Phillips, 1999; Taylor, 2000).

Assumptions made by those espousing the ‘great tradition’ have been regularly contested (Husbands et al., 2007). For example, in the 1970s and 1980s the teaching of history in England was influenced by a new pedagogical approach which stressed the importance of student thinking, as well as encouraging the development of memory, in the teaching of history as a school subject (Dickinson, 2000). In fact, the Schools Council, created in 1963, started developing projects which generated pivotal questions about the organisation and structure of the history curriculum for primary and secondary school students (Husbands et al., 2007). The Council questioned issues related to teaching and pedagogy introduced by the ‘great tradition’, especially those concerned with the role of teachers and the selection of objectives and content (Husbands et al., 2007). A new approach to teaching history, which was known as the ‘new history’ was then promoted.

The ‘New History.’ The ‘new history’ approach is based on a constructivist model of learning that promotes a real engagement with the past (Carretero, 2007). This approach encourages students to conceive of history as a form of knowledge, leaving behind the conception of history as a compilation of facts and dates. Students have to develop the historical thinking process of being aware that history represents a constant investigation that can lead to the generation of multiple historical truths (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

The objectives of the teaching of secondary school history within the ‘new history’ approach are defined through its contribution to the general process of education (Husbands et al., 2007). It stresses the importance of preparing students for working life, promoting the development of higher order cognitive skills, and encouraging the development of citizenship attitudes and historical awareness (Husbands et al., 2007). The approach also challenges the teaching practices that characterise the ‘great tradition’ (Foster, 2008). The view is that the teachers’ role should not be one of transmitting historical knowledge to students. Instead, they should be responsible for managing and monitoring students’ learning activities. Accordingly, students’ participation in their learning should be very active. They should be encouraged to build historical knowledge through inquiry and interpretation of historical sources (Husbands et al., 2007).

The curriculum structure promoted by this approach is not centred on chronological national history. On the contrary, the ‘new history’ divides learning units into themes and structures, instead of focusing on time divisions (Foster, 2008). Selection of content can emphasise world and local history. Also, it can include the experiences of different groups that go to create multicultural and pluralist societies (Husbands

et al., 2007). Thus, for the ‘new history’, learning about a wide range of historical events is of great significance.

Teaching History: Assessment

Research about assessment in history teaching is often related to testing and external examinations (Alleman & Brophy, 1999; Grant & Salinas, 2008; Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). Mathison and Fragnoli (2006) argue that in the USA, research about history and social studies assessment is primarily about large-scale standardised tests (Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). In agreement, Grant and Salinas (2008) indicate that research on this topic has not been extensive, especially when compared to what has been undertaken in relation to other school learning areas such as literacy and mathematics (Grant & Salinas, 2008).

Research conducted on assessment and the teaching of history as a school subject has reported that assessment tasks, especially external examinations, do not contribute positively to the construction of historical knowledge and also are quite often focused on low-level cognitive skills (Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006; Dicksee & Hunt, 2007). Strong criticism of such tests emphasise their failure to measure students’ understandings about history and social studies (Alleman & Brophy, 1999). Another problem with these tests is that they do not provide teachers, or students, with evidence on how to improve students’ learning (Black & Wiliam, 2005).

Research conducted in secondary schools in Spain (Trepát & Comes, 2006) shows that history assessment often consists of using tests that measure memorisation and repetition. Although there is a growing trend to advocate the use of assessment tasks which promote higher-order cognitive skills such as the elaboration of historical maps, use of methods of historical enquiry, and interpretation and analysis of historical sources, it is still unusual to have this practice adopted (Trepát & Comes, 2006). Accordingly, in Spanish secondary schools, assessment tasks are failing to provide opportunities for students to think about the way historical knowledge is constructed (Trepát & Comes, 2006).

By contrast, research in England and Wales concluded that history classroom assessment has witnessed a shift from memorisation and repetition of factual knowledge (Burnham & Brown, 2004; Cottingham, 2004; Fullard & Dacey, 2008). Teachers themselves have implemented assessment tasks that are consistent with classroom activities. These are related to the historical method of inquiry, which promotes the development of higher order cognitive skills. Phillips (2008) indicates that advantages of this approach include the promotion of “good history teaching and good assessment practices” (p. 139). According to this approach, in order to learn history students have to understand the nature of evidence and causation. The approach helps teachers to identify the way students become better learners by knowing how they understand these concepts (Phillips, 2008). In addition, teachers can share their perspectives with students and help them to acknowledge the way they learn and to understand how to improve their learning.

THE RESEARCH PLAN AND METHODOLOGY

Several studies have explored curriculum reform in Chile, including the consequences of reform for teachers' practices (Arredondo, Beas, Carranza, Gomez & Thomsen, 2009; Cox, 2006a; Valverde, 2004). Also, studies have been conducted on the current curriculum framework and its implementation at the classroom level (Milos, Ossandón & Bravo, 2003; Oteiza, 2003). However, there has been very little research conducted on teachers' perspectives on teaching in primary and secondary school. Moreover, very few studies have focused on secondary school history teachers' perspectives on curriculum reform. In addition, although it is possible to find studies focused on the teaching of history and the use of textbooks (Bravo, 2008; Gazmuri, 2008; Lira, 2008; Olivares, 2008; Sagredo & Serrano, 1996; Villalon & Zamorano, 2008), few studies relate specifically to the history of history teaching as a school subject in Chile.

The study reported in this book was conducted in response to the above mentioned deficit. In doing so it was also responding to O'Donoghue's argument that "there is a great need to engage in studies which allow one to gain a broad overview on educational problems" (O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 182). In particular, it is expected that the findings of this research will inform initiatives aimed at improving secondary school history teachers' practices.

The latter assumptions led to the development of the following interrelated research questions regarding the secondary school history curriculum in Chile:

- What is the historical background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile?
- What are the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile?
- What are the issues of concern for secondary school history teachers in Chile?

The theoretical framework associated with these central research questions is now outlined.

Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework is the "philosophical stance lying behind a methodology" (Crotty, 2003, p. 66). It provides a context for the research by delineating the researcher's 'view of the world'. The study reported in this book was an enquiry into the historical background to the teaching of secondary school history curriculum in Chile, the current development of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile, and the issues of concern for Chilean secondary school history teachers. This called for an investigation that would facilitate the interpretation of social phenomena. To this end, the interpretivist paradigm was chosen.

The interpretivist paradigm was selected to underpin the study because it is aimed at revealing the different meanings constructed by people in a social context

(Gubrium & Holstein, 2005). Schawandt (2003) states that from an interpretivist point of view, human and social actions are inherently meaningful. In order to unearth that meaning, the interpretivist inquirer has to interpret in a particular way what actors think and what they are doing. To put it in another way, the interpretivist paradigm allows the researcher to comprehend what people understand, and consequently do, concerning a phenomenon (Litchman, 2010).

The pursuit of the first and second research aims necessitated interpreting the historical background and current development in the teaching of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile largely from key government reports and documents produced centrally by the Chilean Ministry of Education, supplemented by interviews. The current perspectives of Chilean secondary school history teachers on the curriculum, by contrast, were investigated by means of interviews only.

For each of the central research questions a set of guiding questions was developed. Such guiding questions were not specific questions to be answered. Rather, they were those that suggested themselves at the beginning of the study as being the most productive guides to generate data relevant to the central areas of interest. From these guiding questions, a further more detailed set of questions was developed to initiate document interrogation and conversations. For the latter, an ‘aide memoire’ (Burgess, 1984; Punch, 2005; O’Donoghue, 2007) was developed. Further questions evolved through interaction with the data, while others developed in the initial stages of the study became redundant as the study progressed.

Grounded theory methods of data collection and analysis, which are consistent with the principles of interpretivism (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), were employed in the study. The essence of grounded theory is to describe and understand human action within its social context (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). It is a process based more on induction than deduction; enabling propositions to be generated from the data collected (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

In accordance with the grounded theory approach, data gathering and analysis were undertaken simultaneously in this study (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). When it came to interviews, this enabled the present writers to choose participants on the basis of emerging themes and to validate the concepts developed (Merriam, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The Three Research Questions

The first research question. The first research question in the study addressed in this book was aimed at developing an understanding of the historical background to the teaching of secondary school history in Chile. The question is historical in nature. As a result, data were identified primarily through a review of a wide range of public and private records and documents. These are two common types of documents used in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). In examining the data, insights from the interpretivist paradigm were applied by the researcher. On this, Greene (1994)

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explains that document review is a method that offers great consonance with the interpretivist approach to research.

The study focused particularly on such public records as government documents, school textbooks, historical accounts, statistical reports, samples of syllabi of study, and former curriculum frameworks. An interpretation of these sources was required to understand official perspectives on programmes, administrative structures and other aspects of organisation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Data were gathered from such public libraries and archives as the Chilean National Library, the Chilean National Congress Library, and the Library of the Chilean Ministry of Education. Following procedures laid down by Richards and Morse (2007), the researcher gathered the data and made copies for more detailed analysis.

The second research question. The second research question in the study addressed in this book aimed at developing an understanding of the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile. In addressing this second research question the interpretivist paradigm was again applied, this time with the objective of examining and interpreting a wide range of contemporary and official records. Data were gathered by the same method outlined for the previous research question. However, as the related questions were related to recent changes in the curriculum framework, discussion of educational issues and the bills of congress were also included.

The third research question. The third research question in the study addressed in this book was aimed at developing an understanding of the current issues of concern for secondary school history teachers in Chile. In this regard, ‘concerns’ were considered to be matters that affect individuals in their everyday working lives; they are matters that represent participants’ interest and attention.

Once again, the interpretivist paradigm guided the investigation. A series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with secondary school history teachers. The use of semi-structured interviews involved the development of a general set of questions which was posed for all participants (Litchman, 2010). This approach was chosen because it allows the researcher to collect specific data required from all respondents. Thus, a large number of topics were explored (Merriam, 2009).

The sampling strategy for the selection of participants for interviewing in relation to research questions two and three was based on two notions, that of purposeful sampling and maximum variation sampling (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009). Participants were history teachers from several schools from the region of Valparaiso, Chile. Schools were divided according to size and administration category. Individual interviews were conducted in each school selected. Thirty individual interviews in all were conducted. Identification of individual participants was related to their potential to generate further insights about teachers’ perspectives on the changes introduced by the current secondary school history curriculum framework. The individual interviews provided significant data for analysis.

CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a brief overview of the study outlined in this book. Seven more chapters follow. Chapter Two depicts the broad context of secondary school history teaching in the international setting. The main features of school history teaching in three countries, namely, England and Wales, the United States of America, and Spain, are reviewed because of their influence on the Chilean context of history teaching. Chapter Three reviews the main bodies of literature relating to the curriculum components of history teaching, namely objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. Chapter Four outlines the qualitative research approach that facilitated the investigation of the three research aims. Chapters Five, Six and Seven report the findings of the study. Chapter Eight concludes the book. It consists of a summary of the study and a discussion of the findings. Implications for future practice and for further research are also considered

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CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

History as a school subject has been taught in Chilean schools for over 150 years. An understanding of its broad developments can be enhanced by an appreciation of the international context within which it has been located. As the previous chapter indicated, three countries in particular have strongly influenced development of the teaching of history in Chile. First, developments in the teaching of history as a school subject throughout the twentieth century in England and Wales, especially in the late 1960s, and the response of teachers, academics, and the government in Chile, have been significant. Developments in the teaching of social studies in the United States of America over the last 50 years also had an influence in various ways on the entire American continent, including Chile. A third powerful influence on Chilean primary and secondary school education, including the teaching of history, has been the Spanish educational system. This is not surprising since Chile was a Spanish colony for almost three hundred years, and since Independence, has looked to Spain for educational models, especially in relation to objectives and pedagogy.

The remainder of this chapter describes the background to each of these influences. The analysis presented does not attempt to be exhaustive. Rather, it is provided as a general context for understanding the contemporary situation regarding the teaching of secondary school history in Chile.

HISTORY TEACHING IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Through the 19th century and up until the last decades of the 20th century, there was no national curriculum in Britain (Haus, 2009). Primary and secondary schools were, in the early decades, controlled mainly by private institutions and the Christian churches (Phillips, 1999; Wilschut, 2010). During the 20th century, the national government published guidelines on the content of the curriculum for elementary and secondary schools, which were regularly revised. These guidelines were suggestions that gave teachers a great amount of freedom to tailor their work for different school situations (Haus, 2009). This changed dramatically with the introduction of a national curriculum in 1988 by the Education Reform Act, promoted by Margaret Thatcher's government.

The introduction of the national curriculum meant that the British educational system became centralised with regard to educational process (Haus, 2009; Wilschut, 2010). The national curriculum has been revised periodically and the current one

gives teachers more initiative and autonomy than they had initially (The Historical Association, 2008). As with the educational system as a whole, the teaching of history as a school subject has also changed in England and Wales over time. This change will now be considered under a number of separate headings.

The 'Great Tradition'

The teaching of history as a school subject in England and Wales was promoted by the creation of 'schools' of history in British universities, including Oxford and Cambridge, in the 1870s (Wilschut, 2010, p. 697). Even though they were not involved at the time in preparing teachers, the universities contributed to outlining objectives for the teaching of history at the school level. These objectives were to serve national-political aims and to promote morality and responsibility among students (Wilschut, 2010).

By the beginning of the 20th century, history was already a school subject with a stable position in the school curriculum (Aldrich, 2005; Wilschut, 2010). The main ideas to be taught were outlined in a series of national Board of Education publications (Dickinson, 2000), which gave pre-eminence to the 'great tradition'. This was a fact-based pedagogical approach to the teaching of history as a school subject and was extensively accepted in British schools over the first six decades of the 20th century (Dickinson, 2000; Husbands et al., 2007; Sylvester, 1993).

The main characteristics of the fact-based approach are explained thoroughly by Sylvester (1993). He commences by detailing the role of teachers and students. Teachers are expected to play an active role in both transmitting historical facts to their students and ensuring the learning of them through short tests. Students, on the other hand, are expected to have a rather passive role, learning history as a received subject (Sylvester, 1993). To put it another way, teachers, it is held, should interpret past events and explain them to students in an understandable manner (Husbands et al., 2007). Usually, they should give oral descriptions of the main events of the past and write notes on a board (Sylvester, 1993). Then, students should copy and repeat the factual knowledge written by their teachers. Also, they should assimilate, organise, and reproduce their teachers' interpretations. As Husbands (1996) indicates, only in exceptional occasions would students get to reinterpret the explanation given by teachers.

In the 'great tradition', knowledge is seen as consisting mainly of political facts, with only a minor emphasis on economic and social events (Sylvester, 1993). According to Taylor (2000), one of the main features of the approach is the primacy of factual knowledge. Content is organised on a chronological frame whose main components are British political events. In this regard, Wilschut indicates that in its implementation in England and Wales, "attention was almost completely limited to British, or rather English history, and Scotland and Wales remained out of sight most of the time" (Wilschut, 2010, p. 698). Also, the expectation was that a pivotal role would be given to the use of textbooks (Booth, 1996). In summary, the 'great

tradition' of school history teaching can be defined as a chronological enumeration of historical events, where political facts and the names of great actors are the main content taught. Within this context, an important concern is the selection of events that can justify the political organisation established by the dominant political culture (Phillips, 1999; Taylor, 2000).

For much of the early half of the 20th century, British school history teaching was mainly based on academic historical study and practical classroom experience, leaving little room for the influence of general education theory, or for engaging in specific educational research (Aldrich, 2005). What was prescribed was mainly British constitutional history which was non-controversial and widely accepted (Phillips, 1999). The governments in power found no reason to interfere with this situation (Phillips, 1999).

The 'New History'

The 'great tradition' became of concern for several groups of people in the British educational system in the 1960s and 1970s (Crawford, 1995). First, teachers and scholars were concerned about the teaching of history as an act of repetition, with excessive emphasis on factual knowledge. Also, little attention, they argued, was paid to making the teaching of history interesting for students (Dickinson, 2000). Furthermore, an increasing number of graduate history teachers questioned the monocultural emphasis within the subject, especially given Britain's increasingly multicultural society (Husbands et al., 2007).

During this period, the study of academic history was influenced by such new methodologies as those of oral history, sociology and anthropology, and by interest in the experiences of such unknown actors as the dispossessed, the oppressed, and women (Burke, 2001). This led to a change in thinking on the conceptual bases of knowledge taught by new teachers. For them, the content covered by the history curriculum contrasted with the invigorating curriculum they had experienced at university (Husbands et al., 2007).

Generations of school students were also critics of the emphasis on facts, especially political facts (Taylor, 2000). All of these concerns were outlined in works published by Price (1968) and Booth (1996). Making a severe diagnosis of the teaching that developed based on the great tradition in England and Wales, Price considered that history as a school subject was 'in danger' of disappearing and becoming an 'ingredient' of social studies, or civics (Price, 1968, p. 342). As Booth (1996) highlights, Price also considered that the teaching of history in many schools was dull and of little significance for students.

While Price's book was based on experience rather than research, her words were strong enough to promote reflection among teachers and scholars. Booth went further, producing results from research in different schools, from which he concluded that in order to safeguard the existence of school history, as it was known, it was necessary to change not only the syllabus content, but also the teaching

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methods (Booth, 1996). He argued that if changes were produced only in content, students would still not have the possibility to develop “creative, divergent thought” (Booth, 1996, p. 31).

Even though the claims made by these two scholars about history being in “danger” were well received by politicians and teachers, it was not clear what the psychological or epistemological foundations needed to generate the requested changes in the curriculum should be. One source of answers was found in the work of Jerome Bruner (1960) and Benjamin Bloom (1956), both well-known American academics who presented new understandings of the teaching and learning process. In general, their work provided a framework that would be suitable for any school subject. In *The Process of Education* (Bruner, 1960), Bruner claimed that any subject could be taught effectively to most students if its defining structures were well known and made explicit. He emphasised two features. First, teachers should know the principles of the structure of any given discipline. Second, any discipline can be learnt by young students as long as it is taught according to its structure (Booth, 1996; Taylor, 2000; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). Bruner’s contribution provided guidance for the teaching of history as a school subject at a time when it was thought that young students were cognitively incapable of understanding complex and abstract historical knowledge.

Nevertheless, several influential historians still considered the transmission of dates and facts to be the only purpose of school history. For example, the well-known British historian, Geoffrey Elton, in *What Sort of History Should we Teach?* (Elton, 1970), claimed that serious work in history could only be undertaken in universities. In his view, history is the study of the past world made by adults and because of its complexity and abstraction, it cannot be understood by young people. However, Bruner’s ideas were drawn upon to confront this argument, especially through his notion of the ‘spiral curriculum’ (Bruner, 1960), which proposed that concepts within disciplines should be taught from the beginning of the educational process in their simplest form and then in more complex ways with each passing year. This notion also emphasised that work in school subjects, including history, could be undertaken by students through deduction and inference. Also, the learning process should be viewed as a progression, not as an aggregation of historical facts. Topics should be presented as units, each constructed in the foundations of the other (Cooper, 2006).

The notion of a spiral curriculum allowed teachers to justify the introduction of what were conceived as adult activities in school subjects, including history. Equally significant was the influence of the *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (1956) created by Bloom and his associates, who believed that at the school level too much attention was being paid to the development of such low-level cognitive activities as recall and memorisation. Concurrently, the promotion of such high-level cognitive skills as analysis and synthesis, and the affective attitudes outlined as objectives in syllabi, were being neglected (Booth, 1996). The taxonomy presented hierarchical frameworks of cognitive and affective objectives. It was deemed to be applicable

to all school subjects and provided a common language for educators, teachers and students (Booth, 1996). This was a major contribution because it provided the world of education with a set of universally accepted principles that could also contribute to the construction of school syllabi. Also, it promoted teachers' capacity to structure the knowledge and skills to be developed in the classroom and allowed students to understand better the classroom activities (Taylor, 2000). Although it lacked disciplinary specificity and implied a linear development of cognitive and affective skills in all subjects, the taxonomy influenced the use and treatment of historical sources in classrooms. For example, in using the cognitive domain it became possible to classify questions according to their complexity (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

Even though the contributions of Bloom and Bruner were not specific to the teaching and learning of school history, they caused some to realise the urgency of developing a systematic approach to the teaching of the subject which would confront the 'great tradition'. During the last 50 years, this confronting in England and Wales was also influenced by what is called the 'new history' (Booth, 1996; Taylor, 2000; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009), or the 'alternative tradition' (Husbands et al., 2007). This approach became an alternative to the 'great tradition' (Sylvester, 1993). It emphasises a constructivist model of learning through real engagement with the past (Carretero, 2007) by encouraging students to conceive of history, not as a compilation of historical facts, but as a form of knowledge. Students have to develop the thinking process of being aware that history represents a continuous investigation which leads to multiple historical truths (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). What is sought is that students create a 'method of inquiry' based on their independent use of historical evidence. As Wilschut (2010) indicates, it is "expected that students could build their own image and interpretation of the past" (p. 717).

In the early 1970s, two British educators, Coltham and Fines, followed the ideas of Fenton, Bruner and Bloom in their *Educational Objectives for the Study of History: A Suggested Framework* (Coltham & Fines, 1971). They used Bruner's ideas of structure and the distinctive nature of each discipline, along with Bloom's taxonomies, to set defined, measurable and obtainable objectives for school history. Objectives were divided into four categories; attitudes, nature of history, skills and abilities, and educational outcomes. The framework, however, was severely questioned, especially by Gard and Lee (1978). They did recognise beneficial contributions of the framework for teachers because of its potential to stimulate arguments and debates for future teachers at university to help them define their perspectives about the teaching of history, and for those committed to the revitalisation of history in schools through contesting the traditional approach. Then, however, they proceeded to argue that the work's "rather vague analysis results in a number of contradictions" (Gard & Lee, 1978, p. 137). Finally, they suggested that the analysis of what is involved in historical understanding should be undertaken more carefully. Also, they claimed that more empirical research was necessary to discover both students' capacity in the area and what teaching practices would promote historical understanding.

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Notwithstanding critiques like those of Gard and Lee (1978), the framework was very influential. The strongest promoter of this new history teaching approach was the Schools Council through the Schools Council History Project: 13-16 (SCHP, 1976). Its mission was to develop a history curriculum for students from 13 to 16 years of age. It aimed to clarify the disciplinary aspects of history for students so that they would engage with the purposes, methods, and content of history. By doing that, it was held, they would become capable of developing historical thinking (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). In this process, the use and interpretation of evidence was very relevant. The project was also underpinned by the ideas of Bruner and Bloom, which were presented in documents providing the definition and clarification of the structural aspects of history to teachers and students. In particular, the implementation of the historical method of inquiry, the use of precise assessments objectives, and the outline of affective and cognitive skills, were emphasised (Booth, 1996).

The project offered several justifications for the teaching of history as a school subject. Among them was the argument that history can help one to acquire and develop cognitive skill, analyse the contemporary world and the students' place in it, promote self-knowledge and awareness through the study of the past, and understand social change and evolution (Dickinson, 2000). The justifications varied widely from those offered for the 'great tradition'.

The SCHP had a great influence as almost every school history department in England and Wales was in some way inspired by its philosophy (Booth, 1996; Taylor, 2000). According to Wineburg (2001), although its original task was to reconsider the nature of history and its value as a school subject, the project also offered a model of the psychology of the subject matter. Nevertheless, the project was not free from contestation. Hallam (1970), for example, presented the results of his research which aimed at discovering children's capacity to develop historical thinking. Following Piaget's stages of development, he concluded that only adolescents aged above 16.5 years of age are capable of operating at the stage of formal operations in the subject. In his conclusion, he argued that implementing a curriculum with a strong emphasis on working with evidence is of no use since young students are unable to perform the complex task of historical inquiry and interpretation (Booth, 1996; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). However, Booth (1987), who followed Bruner's ideas about the possibility of teaching young students any discipline as long as its structure is made clear, took a different stance in an article in which he critiqued the validity of the questions posed by Hallam in his study, and argued that he failed to define historical thinking in a proper way.

Shemilt (1987) was in charge of the evaluation of the SCHP. His research supported Booth's conclusions, showing that adolescents are able to understand the complexity of the historical method and are capable of developing historical thinking (Booth, 1996; Shemilt, 1987; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). Later, Cooper (1994), reported research that supported these findings. Both researchers were pivotal in promoting the implementation of the new approach to the teaching of

history. However, over the 1970s the impact of the approach was reduced as the number of teachers implementing it was itself reduced (Crawford (1995).

It would be remiss to leave this section without mentioning the argument of Aldrich (2005), who has stated that the ‘new history’ “does not appear to be new at all” (p. 161). Students’ active role in classes, the use of historical sources, and methods of historical inquiry, he holds, have existed in the tradition of teaching history in England and Wales throughout the 20th century. He does concede, however, that its impact was limited (Aldrich, 2005). What is significant is that its growth since the latter half of the century meant that the chronologically-ordered political British-facts approach to teaching was no longer preeminent. This, in turn, expanded the variety of possible topics for students to learn (Wilschut, 2010).

The National Curriculum

The late 1970s and the 1980s witnessed a series of critiques about the broader educational system in England and Wales. These came particularly from politicians. They alleged that the system in general was mediocre, being characterised by underachievement and declining standards (Crawford, 1995). Within this context, the nature of history as a school subject and its content became a topic of national debate which revealed ideological tensions and conflicts. As Crawford (1995) indicates, “the focus was not upon whether history should be taught, but *what* should constitute the history curriculum, *how* it should be taught and, crucially, *why* it should be taught” (p. 433). The debates were particularly promoted by Prime Minister Thatcher, “who increasingly trained the education system in her sights, as part of her agenda to reform the economy and society of Great Britain” (Allen, 2000, p. 28).

Thatcher relied on the Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, to supervise the creation of a national curriculum for history. It could be argued that it represented right-wing ideologies. In Dickinson’s (2000) words, it was a new history curriculum with “more emphasis upon chronology, British history, historical knowledge and its assessment” than what had gone before (p. 88). The interest of the Government lay in the opportunity provided by history to accomplish cultural transmission and to attack the ‘new history approach’ on the grounds that it was influenced by left-wing ideologies (Crawford, 1995).

Baker realised that to get the support of the electorate, the new curriculum content would have to be expressed in a traditional way so that it could be easily understood by the British people (Crawford, 1995). Also, he was in charge of selecting the proposals for the new History National Curriculum 5-16, developed by the History Working Group (Booth, 1996). One important feature that this new history curriculum was expected to include was the reinforcement of the dominant cultural hegemony (Crawford, 1995; Wilschut, 2010). This provoked heated confrontation between stakeholder groups (Ball, 1994; Hayden et al., 1997).

Every stage of the debate was accompanied by incisive comments in the press (Wilschut, 2010). Right-wing ideologies were promoted through newspapers,

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magazines, pamphlets and reports. The argument in them was that the content knowledge of the history taught in British schools should focus on the achievements of the British nation and its cultural heritage (Wilschut, 2010). Concurrently, they attacked the ‘new history’ approach, pointing to its emphasis on Developing Third World cultures, which, in their view neglected the teaching of British history. Also, they claimed that politically motivated teachers used this approach as a tool to damage traditional social values and institutions (Crawford, 1995). The contest ended with the creation of the national curriculum in 1988 (Aldrich, 2005).

The national curriculum for history was highly influenced by the ‘great tradition’ of history teaching (Husbands et al., 2007). Thatcher’s (1993) view was that “history is an account of what happened in the past (p. 595). Learning history, therefore, requires knowledge of events”. Content prescriptions were specified in detail through a sequence of programmes of study arranged chronologically, with a common core of British history and optional units on European and world history. Historical thinking skills and concepts were prescribed and specified according to three attainment targets, which defined the organisation of content (Wilschut, 2010).

In 1995, 1999, and 2007, the national curriculum was revised. Content and skills’ prescriptions were removed, allowing teachers to plan more creatively and flexibly. Also, the attainment targets were modified (Husbands et al., 2007; QCA, 2007). Nichols (2007) indicates that these revisions were promoted by the decreasing importance of history as a school subject. This was reflected in the low priority given to it in school development plans (Nichols, 2007, p. 60). Also, the great amount of curriculum time given to British history meant that the teaching of world history, local history, and black or multi-ethnic history, was neglected. This was accompanied by neglect in opportunities to teach historical interpretations (Nichols, 2007). Eventually, it was considered that some reform was necessary.

The current national curriculum for history presents less prescribed content than the previous versions and comes much closer to the ‘new history’ pedagogical approach. A new ‘Importance Statement’ was created with the objective of clearly enunciating why it is important for students to learn history (The Historical Association, 2008). Content knowledge about personal, family, and local history now have more curricular time than previously and movement between topics is advocated in order to promote a sense of chronology. Also, the concepts and processes of historical inquiry and the use of ICT have an increased emphasis in the curriculum (QCA, 2007). According to Husbands, Kitson and Pendry (2007) and Dickinson (2000), the national curriculum by the beginning of the 21st century allowed for the coexistence of both major approaches to the teaching of history, namely, the ‘great tradition’ and the ‘new history’.

HISTORY TEACHING IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The teaching of history in the United States of America is characterised by two key features. First, in contrast to the national curriculum in England and Wales,

the subject content and methodology varies from state to state and from one school district to another. Also, debates on the teaching of history are usually related to content and not methodology (Taylor, 2000). Secondly, the history curriculum is part of a broader curriculum called social studies. The core disciplines of the social studies curriculum for secondary schools are geography, history, economics, anthropology, political sciences and civics, and psychology (Stockard, 2007). In this context, national debate about curriculum includes all the mentioned disciplines. This, as a result, and in contrast to England and Wales, dilutes the political influence of history as a school subject (Taylor, 2000).

The Origins of the Social Studies Curriculum

There has, for some time, been a widespread consensus about the origins of the contemporary social studies curriculum for secondary schools in the United States of America (USA) (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; Patrick & White, 1992; Ross, 2006). The term ‘social studies’ began to be used extensively after the appearance of the 1916 report, *The Social Studies in Secondary School Education* (1916), which was produced by the ‘Committee on the Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary Education of the National Education Association’ (NEA). The Committee defined social studies as “those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society and to a man as a member of groups” (Committee on Social Studies of the National Education Association, 1916, p. 9).

The report made recommendations about the scope and sequence of the social studies curriculum. The Committee recommended a two-cycle program of social studies from Years 7-9 and Years 10-12. The first cycle should give students a basic understanding of social studies and the second one should give students the mastery to undertake undergraduate studies in the field. This ordering proposed by the Committee remains today (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992, Ross, 2006). Thus, it can be considered to be one of the most influential reports in the history of social studies education (Patrick & White, 1992) in the country. It gave the term ‘social studies’ its legitimacy and concurrency (Patrick & White, 1992). Also, it emphasised the development of values related to thoughtful citizenship and social efficiency (Patrick & White, 1992, Ross, 2006).

History retained its integrity as a distinctive discipline in the social studies curriculum, while becoming a tool to achieve the goals of the social studies (Patrick & White, 1992). People immersed in the school system were concerned about the huge number of immigrants arriving in the country at the time and considered it necessary to “socialize them into American customs” (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992, p. 833). Social studies teachers emphasised the relationships between historical events. The interest of students was stimulated by applying historical knowledge to understand current social concerns (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). Overall, however, in history teaching, education for citizenship seemed to be considered more urgent than preparation for undergraduate studies.

The New Social Studies Movement

Since its creation, the social studies curriculum has been the subject of debate, commissions and panel studies (Ross, 2006). These have been related to the nature, purpose, and organisation of the curriculum. For example, over the 20th century, progressive educators promoted reform ideas aimed at implementing a student-centered and issues-centered social studies curriculum (Caron, 2004), thus reflecting an orientation that also had its origins in the 1916 report (Caron, 2004). One of the most influential reform movements was that called the 'new social studies', which originated with social studies academics during the 1960s.

According to Fenton (1991), the new social studies movement intended to change the teaching style and curriculum content for social studies in both primary and secondary school education in the USA. Specifically, it focused on two main goals, namely, helping students in learning "the inquiry techniques used by scholars and identifying a structure of disciplines that could be taught to students in the schools in an attempt to catch up with the Russians" (Fenton, 1991, p. 84). The movement was developed in the early 1960s by university scholars who were funded by grants from private institutions and the US government.

The new social studies movement also was an answer to the problem posed by the idea of an on-going changing modern world where history, as a school subject, was losing its former perceived relevance. The argument was that, to regain its influence, history should become one of the social sciences (Wilschut, 2010). Within this context, the learning of inquiry methods to understand social reality was considered more important than reproducing fact-based knowledge (Wilschut, 2010). Fenton, who was a leading actor in the movement, wrote *The New Social Studies* (Fenton, 1967). In this work, he argued that the teaching of social studies, as well as the teaching of history, should have an enquiry-based emphasis. This, he held, would promote the development of students' understanding of historical facts and historical concepts (Taylor, 2000).

Fenton (1967) fostered a change in the tradition of teaching social studies by claiming that the teaching of methods of interpretation was pivotal. In his words, "students must learn the rules by which historians collect evidence and use and interpret the past if they are to read or write history intelligently [...] Unless students are taught to interpret they are not taught history at all" (p. 150). This approach to teaching encouraged students to develop skills which are characteristic of the social sciences, as well as to learn the specific knowledge and associated values. His thoughts gave strength to the importance of history as a school subject.

The curricular material produced by the movement, which was usually organised in the form of "packages" (Thornton, 2008, p. 25), was published by commercial companies and reached the general public very rapidly. However, by the late 1970s, the movement declined, largely because 'typical' teachers were unable to implement associated curricula (Fenton, 1991). Nevertheless, some of its ideas can still be found in the current social studies curriculum in parts of the USA. Also, it had a

major impact on the international literature on the teaching of social studies and history (Wilschut, 2010).

The Teaching of History and the Social Studies

The current teaching of secondary school history in the USA has been described by Whelan (2006). He indicates that, in general, students are “expected to consume” (Whelan, 2006, p. 41) history taught in classrooms, reproducing conclusions made by others without producing answers, or knowledge, that could be meaningful for them. Caron (2004, p. 4) describes the critiques of social studies in a similar way, specifying that they represent a view that the content taught is “fragmented and expository”, being organised in a curriculum which privileges memorisation over the promotion of in-depth analysis which would allow students to understand the subject. Whelan (2006) also claims that, most commonly, history lessons are teacher-centered, characterised by the use of textbooks and guided discussions. Unfortunately, this kind of lesson usually fails to promote the development of higher-order cognitive skills.

Social studies teachers in the USA often rely on textbooks to organise their course structure and teaching methods (Caron, 2004). Textbooks usually present extensive content knowledge, with few opportunities to study problems in-depth. As a result, the study of controversial, or debatable, issues is not regularly practiced by students (Caron, 2004). Also, discussions on assessment tasks given by teachers demand the reproduction of textbook content.

This teacher-centered approach in social studies has been stimulated by the current influence of the standards and testing movement, which is intended to improve students’ achievements. The movement has characterised the American educational system since the 1980s (Cuban, 2006). In an attempt to cover all content included in standardised tests, which is often an overwhelming amount of information, teachers of history within the social studies learning area focus their attention mostly on teaching events, facts, and dates (Caron, 2004), neglecting issues related to historical understanding, or historical methods of inquiry. Overall, the fact-based approach to the teaching of history seems to be a common practice within American classrooms.

Considering the general situation, Caron (2005) argues it is understandable that students in the USA often rate social studies as one of the least preferred subjects among school disciplines. Secondary school students also affirm that social studies lessons give them fewer opportunities to learn new knowledge than do other school subjects (Caron, 2005). This is consistent with the results presented in a review by the Thomas Fordham Institute, in 2011, of States’ standards assessments (Stern & Stern, 2011). According to this review as it relates to USA history standards, “the majority of States’ standards are mediocre-to-awful” (p. 1). In other words, the standardised tests’ results indicate that American students in the USA do not know much about their own nation’s history.

The Social Studies Battleground

The history of the social studies' curriculum in the USA, from its beginnings until today, has been surrounded by constant arguments, discussion, and conflicts between competing movements. In fact, social studies' academics refer to this as the 'social studies war' (Evans, 2004; Evans & Passe, 2007), or the 'social studies battleground' (Ross, 2006). According to Evans (2004), these conflicts are intended to "either retain the control of social studies, or influence its direction" (p. 1). Every associated pedagogical movement has proposed its own social studies curriculum, which has been inspired by particular leaders, a special philosophy, and a certain pedagogical approach (Evans & Passe, 2007). These movements include the progressive education movement, the life adjustment movement, social reconstructionism, and the nationalist history movement (Ross, 2006).

The constant debate about the social studies' curriculum can be explained by the complexity involved in defining its boundaries (Ross, 2006). To put it another way, issues arise because the social studies' curriculum must include several different disciplines in one school subject. Thus, defining its nature, purpose, and content implies making decisions about the most relevant knowledge, skills, and values that can be acquired by students. This is not an easy task in a multi-cultural and democratic society (Ross, 2006).

The 1980s was one decade when the national debate on the social studies curriculum increased. Criticism and concern over the secondary school curriculum in general, and over the social studies' curriculum in particular, were aired in the public arena (Patrick & White, 1992). It was pointed out that there was a lack of agreement about subject content priorities, low expectations regarding students achievement, inappropriate coverage of relevant content knowledge in history, geography, civics, and economics, and lack of integration of the different disciplines within school years and between them (Patrick & White, 1992). Reformers claimed that student under-achievement and the fragmentation of the curriculum were consequences of these failures. They reached consensus by demanding a common curriculum that all students should be taught across the nation. Also, they agreed that the goal of social studies education should be the promotion of citizenship in a constitutional democracy (Patrick & White, 1992). However, educators and teachers did not participate much in these debates and there were critics who did not agree on the content that should be included in the curriculum (Wilschut, 2010). The teaching of history as a school subject, within this context, was viewed from a political and ideological standpoint.

Politicians from both sides in the USA, both traditionalist and progressive, felt compelled to participate in the national debate about the content that should be included in the social studies curriculum, especially in relation to history (Wilschut, 2010). Conservative-traditionalist groups felt that the teaching of history as a school subject was not giving the attention needed to such traditional content as the 'War of Independence', the 'Framing of the Constitution', the 'Civil War', and the

'Emancipation of the Slaves' (Allen, 2004). They considered that traditional content represented the American nation's struggle for liberty. It was important, they argued, to preserve this content in the social studies curriculum (Allen, 2004). Accordingly, Yoder (1994) indicated the concern of the Reagan Administration for the subject's welfare in schools.

The Bradley Commission on the Teaching of History in American Schools (Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, 1988) was one of the outcomes of such concern. The Commission proposed that the States' social studies curriculum for grades 7 to 12 should contain at least four years of compulsory history. It also recommended that all students in secondary schools be required to study American history, world history and the history of Western civilisation. However, because of the differences between curriculum boards in the USA, the proposals were implemented to varying degrees. Also, the Bradley Commission was not the only body proposing answers to the national debate about what history should be taught at school level; several other commissions on this matter were also active and new curriculum frameworks were generated in the late 1980s and the 1990s (Taylor, 2000).

One set of answers was offered by The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), which developed standards that provide guidelines for teaching social studies (Ediger, 2004). These standards help teachers to improve the quality of their teaching through making good decisions on curricular issues within their classroom (Ediger, 2004). While they are not mandatory, they have been well accepted all around the country and have become a foundation for the teaching of the subject.

The standards created by the NCSS are a consequence of a more widespread standards' movement aimed at promoting curriculum centralisation for all school subjects. Related efforts have succeeded in modifying the formal curriculum in all curricular areas, social studies included. (Ross, 2006). Every state produces its own curriculum frameworks and creates associated standardised tests to supervise students, teachers, and school achievement. Even though such frameworks are not often mandatory, they have a strong influence in defining what should be taught in classrooms (Ross, 2006). Also, standardised tests are used to force teachers to align their practices with a State's framework. The standard and testing culture radically increased its influence with the passing of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* (No Child Left Behind Act, 2001), which associates Federal funding with test results in reading and mathematics. As the social studies are not included in this Federal law, the curricular importance of the teaching of social studies has been minimised at the school level (Ediger, 2004).

National debate in the USA on creating a centralised national education system with common goals and content has intensified over the last few years (Ross, 2006). There is associated debate on the decision-making process regarding what content should be taught in social studies' classrooms. This debate is likely to continue over the next decade in a democratic society that has to take into account the views of large minorities in order to try to reach consensus.

HISTORY TEACHING IN SPAIN

History as a school subject for secondary schools has been taught in Spain for over 150 years. During this time, the central government has created more than 30 syllabi of study for the subject, all of which have sought to adapt the teaching of history to the current times (Valls, 2008). The history of the subject has been characterised by its close relation to political and economic settings, thus being similar to the situation in other European countries, including England, the Netherlands, and Germany (Wilschut, 2010). On this, Prats (1997) indicates that the selection of content knowledge to be taught in history in Spanish classrooms has not been related to advances in history as an academic discipline, or to students' educational needs. Rather, politicians and policy makers have perceived the teaching of history as a powerful tool to promote changes in society, both centrally and locally

Developments in the Teaching of History as a School Subject

The first official curriculum framework for secondary school history in Spain was elaborated by the national Ministry of education in 1846 (Valls, 2008). It included the definition and purpose of the teaching of history, as well as the knowledge content to be taught. At this time, history was conceived of as a tool for social distinction because public schools were accessible only to social elites. Content was described as a chronological outline of facts and dates that included Spanish and European history. Also, there were no references to teaching methods (Sierra, 2008).

By the late 1880s, Spanish education had become open to the general public and the nature and the purpose of the teaching of history experienced several changes. History was now conceived of as being essential to the promotion of national values and national memory. The teaching of national history was viewed as helping to develop a national 'middle class' which would create the foundations of a new liberal nation (Valls, 2008). Even though the purposes were very different to what they were in the previous stage, the knowledge content remained almost the same, with no change taking place in the textbooks used (Valls, 2008; Sierra, 2008). Also, under the influence of positivist history, the teaching methods still promoted were those of memorisation and repetition of great amounts of facts and dates.

By the late 1930s, the political context had changed dramatically with the advent of the military regime of Francisco Franco. The regime's ideas about the teaching of history were orientated in two main directions (Valls, 2008). First, they were intended to break away from the former liberal ideas of progress and middle class development. Also, in order to justify the political structure of the regime, it was necessary to promote national history and patriotic heritage through a traditional and Catholic-oriented curriculum framework (Sierra, 2008). The syllabi of study and textbooks published during the military regime rarely changed, but towards its end it increasingly started to cover additional content knowledge. However, the emphasis in all content related to the Second Republic and the Civil War remained intact.

The end of the regime brought new educational laws oriented towards promoting democracy and a more inclusive history. During the last 40 years, the teaching of history as a school subject has been influenced by continual changes in educational laws by the different governments in power. In less than 20 years, three educational reforms (1991/LOGSE -2001/LOCE -2007/LOE) have been approved by Parliament, although only two of them have been implemented. Each educational reform was underpinned by the political belief of the government in power (González-Anleo, 2002). In addition, every educational project, or reform, presented to Parliament has encountered strong obstruction from the political opposition.

In Spain, over the last 40 years, history has been seen by politicians as an instrument for contributing to national, or regional, identity, to preserve national values, and even to create political affiliation (Prats, 2000). The teaching of the subject in schools is closely related to politics in contemporary Spain. The curriculum in the field has shifted from being content-based to being more enquiry-based. In 2006, the government of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party maintained this approach to the teaching of history when deciding to modify the existing curriculum framework and to implement a new one called the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* or LOE (General Law of Education), which remains in force today.

According to Valls (2008), since the end of Franco's dictatorial government in the mid-1970s, the educational changes introduced in the teaching of history were produced at several levels. First, new syllabi with a less Catholic-patriotic emphasis were implemented. Secondly, new history teachers were being influenced by such new historical approaches as the French Annales School of History. As a result, social, local, and oral history began to share a place with political history in Spanish classrooms. Thirdly, textbooks were being influenced by the 'new history', which placed the student in the active role of building historical knowledge through the interpretation of historical sources (Valls, 2008).

By the mid-1980s, the government was planning a curriculum reform which it began to implement in 1992. The initiative was centred on the *Ley Orgánica General del Sistema Educativo* or LOGSE (General Law of the Educational System). It gave great flexibility, in terms of time allocation and content to be taught, to educational institutions when applying the new curriculum framework. Also it emphasised the use of pedagogical approaches that would enable the construction of knowledge through the use of the methods of investigation belonging to each discipline (Domínguez, 1989). However, the changes were only partially implemented. As Valls (2008) explains in relation to history, for example, while new textbooks promoted the use of different sources and the historical method of enquiry, teachers tended to use only one part of the activity presented, or simply did not use the textbooks at all (Valls, 2008).

Although in practice changes were not significant, politicians and historians complained about the curriculum structure and content. In 1996 and 2000, the Minister of Education (from the government of the People's Party) and the Royal Academy of Spanish History published documents that criticised three features of the changes.

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First, they rejected the importance given to the use of the historical method because, in their opinion, it resulted in the neglect of global comprehension of the historical process. Secondly, they criticised the stress on local history, claiming it did not help in promoting national identity and patriotism. Thirdly, they questioned the emphasis on contemporary history. Rather, they stressed the relevance of political-institutional facts (Prats, 2000; Valls, 2008). The ensuing debate ended with the approval of a new curriculum framework in 2001, which was named the *Ley Orgánica de la Calidad de la Educación* or LOCE (Law of Educational Quality). However, this was never implemented (Prats, 2000). Instead, in 2006, the government of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party decided to modify the existing framework and pass the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* or LOE (General Law of Education), which remains in force today (Prats, 2000).

Secondary schools in Spain aim at ensuring equity for all students. This makes the elaboration of a curriculum framework a very complex task. In the case of history, its construction takes socio-cultural and epistemological issues into consideration. The socio-cultural considerations are related to the promotion of students' active citizenship and the epistemological consideration are related to the place of history within a social science curriculum. It is recognised that some of the difficulties associated with an interdisciplinary curriculum are that it could neglect the construction of historical knowledge and that the methods of historical scholarship could end up being confused with those of the other social science disciplines, including economics, and sociology (Prats, 2000). These matters are addressed in the curriculum framework by considering history to be the integrating discipline for social studies and to be at the centre of the curriculum (*Ley Orgánica de Educación*, 2006).

The Current History Curriculum Framework

The objectives of the current secondary school history curriculum are related mainly to the promotion of historical awareness and knowledge of past events. Indeed, six out of the eleven objectives have such an orientation. Two of these relate to the development of historical thinking and the use of historical method, and three of them advocate the development of such democratic and citizenship values as respect, tolerance, equity, and freedom (*Ley Orgánica de Educación*, 2006). The notion of history as an instrument to build knowledge is included in the curriculum framework, but it is not deemed as important as the acquisition of factual knowledge. This is consistent with students' perspectives about history (Prats, 2000). According to Prats, for Spanish students the construction of historical knowledge is only suitable for historians and those who have a good memory. Also, students consider that history is not to be learnt, but memorised (Prats, 2000). This situation, as has already been pointed out, is not only representative of the situation in Spain, since the work of Wineburg indicates that USA students also share this belief (Wineburg, 1991).

In terms of content, the Spanish curriculum emphasises political-institutional facts related to Spanish and European history. Although local history is included, it represents less than ten percent of the content of the curriculum. In addition, chronology has an important place in the organisation of content (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006). Skills related to the development of historical methods of inquiry are given a small amount of attention, although it increases somewhat over the four years. Those skills are to be developed through examining newspapers, writing essays, and having debates. Democratic values are considered with reference to Spain's recent history of dictatorship (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006). The pre-eminence of political-institutional national history is due to some extent to the long history of the fact-based teaching approach which existed before Franco's military regime and which prevailed for over 70 years during the 20th century (Valls, 2008). The current national framework, by contrast, gives autonomy to the schools in its implementation (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006).

Although the General Law of Education (LOE) is underpinned by a constructivist approach to teaching and learning, the use of teacher-centred strategies is still common (Prats, 2000; Valls, 2008). Teacher exposition and students recitation are the most common classroom activities. While methods of historical enquiry are included in the current curriculum framework, these are not strongly emphasised. This, as has already been indicated, should not be surprising since Spain's history teaching tradition has been centred on content, coverage and chronology (Prats, 2000; Cercadillo, 2001; Valls, 2008). In fact, research undertaken between 1993 and 2003 (Martinez, Miralles & Alfageme, 2008) on students' views on their history teachers' teaching approaches in Murcia, led to the following conclusion:

The methods and strategies used by history teachers in our context are primarily expository, formal "lectures" being accompanied by dictation, reading the textbook, blackboard outlines and student questions. These are appropriated methods for transferring passive knowledge, covering the syllabus and maintaining order. (Martinez, Miralles & Alfageme, 2008, p. 74)

Summative assessment in the form of multiple-choice questions and essay-type exams are included. Assessment results are used to approve students' promotion to the next school year. Also, the current history curriculum prescribes mandatory diagnostic evaluation as a way of monitoring students' progress. This is to provide feedback about students' knowledge so that teachers can decide what strategy to use to promote their students' learning. In addition, it outlines evaluation criteria for each objective so that teachers can plan and develop classroom assessments which are in accord with the objectives and the content taught (Ley Orgánica de Educación, 2006). These features have their origin in a growing conception of assessment as a way to promote and improve students' knowledge.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an outline of the history of the teaching of history as a school subject in countries (England and Wales, the USA, and Spain) that have strongly influenced the current situation in Chile. First, the teaching of secondary school history in England and Wales was presented. In a brief historical review, its origins and early developments were described. Then, three main developments in the teaching of history - 'the great tradition', 'the new history' and the national curriculum - were considered in chronological order. History teachers, educators and policy makers around the world, including Chile, have taken cognisance of the British developments.

Secondly, an overview of the history of the teaching of history and social studies in the United States of America was presented. The origins of social studies for secondary schools, the new social studies movement, and the development of the teaching of history within the social studies curriculum, were considered. Attention was given to the constant conflicts and debates about the social studies curriculum. The influence of the standards-and-testing movement was also described. Because history in the USA has been included in the social studies curriculum since its beginnings, its purpose has been strongly aligned with the social studies objectives, particularly the promotion of citizenship and democracy. Associated reform movements, especially the new social studies, have influenced the development of social studies curricula worldwide, including those adopted by Chilean policy makers.

Thirdly, the teaching of secondary school history in Spain was considered. A brief historical review and a description of the current curriculum framework for secondary school history were presented. A distinctive feature of the teaching of history in Spain has been its close relationship to political change within the country. The Spanish influence on the Chilean educational system has been significant. For example, the current Chilean curriculum framework for primary and secondary schools has been inspired by the Spanish curriculum reform law entitled LOGSE.

The considerations of this chapter help to contextualise the present situation regarding the teaching of secondary school history in Chile. It is now necessary to provide a review of the relevant literature on the teaching of history. This is the focus of the next chapter of the book.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

For many centuries the concept of history has had several meanings. For example, it has been conceived of as the story of the past, written or spoken. It has also been conceived of as a genuine discipline with a special methodology for its study. In this regard, it has also been conceived of as a scientific discipline that takes account of popular opinions and common views of people (De Keyser, 1994). In addition, history has been seen as past unchangeable events and also as the knowledge and interpretations of these past events. A further notion is that there is a distinction between the facts of the past and the understanding and interpretation of them. This was elaborated upon by Carr (1986) almost fifty years ago. There is, however, no universal agreement about such matters. Instead, there are controversies about what history is and, consequently, how it should be taught (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

Although the answer to the question ‘What is history?’ remains controversial, there is, at the same time, consensus about certain matters. In particular, there is consensus that history is an academic discipline with its own purposes, content, and modes of inquiry (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). This explains why history has existed as a school subject for more than 100 years in such countries as the United States of America, and England and Wales (Foster, 2008).

For the purpose of the study reported in this book it was decided to adopt Foster’s (2008) notion that history as a curriculum subject refers to the status, place, and organisational structure accorded to the study of the past in formal educational settings (Foster, 2008). This chapter now provides an overview of the literature on the history curriculum understood in this way. It is organised under the sub-headings of objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment.

LITERATURE ON THE OBJECTIVES OF TEACHING HISTORY

Teaching History: Objectives

The teaching of history as a school subject is usually considered in relation to the subject’s aims and objectives. There is widespread opinion among researchers on what these aims and objectives should be. The most general purpose of teaching history and other social sciences regularly outlined is to prepare students to participate actively in society (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; Yilmaz, 2008). The practice of collecting, processing, and analysing historical evidence is one of the ways used

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by schools to prepare students to deal with the huge amount of information they will face in their adult life (Husbands et al., 2007). Also, teachers can encourage students to make informed and reasoned decisions about their social environment. These aims will now be considered in more detail.

The teaching of history as a school subject can foster the transmission of facts, concepts, and generalisations which have been generated by the academic discipline of history (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). History as a school subject is often different from academic history, but the latter provides the former with the underpinning knowledge to be adapted in order to be taught to young people. In order to understand history, students have to know historical facts and concepts. This is a basic cognitive skill needed, in turn, to develop interpretation skills and understanding of the historical process (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001; Carretero, 2007). Within curriculum frameworks for history, teachers have to select facts and concepts to be taught and they have to choose specific teaching methods for transmission purposes. Such methods are known in Spanish as *didáctica de la historia* (didactic of history) (Hernández, 2008).

The teaching of history as a school subject can be oriented to promote critical thinking (Carretero & Voss, 2004; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992; Wineburg, 2001), which involves the development of such higher-order cognitive skills as analysis, interpretation, and evaluation (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2001). This development is not something that takes place naturally, or during psychological development (Wineburg, 2001). Rather, its achievement is promoted through the active participation of the students in the learning process (Van Den Brink-Bugden, 2000). In history classrooms, critical thinking is oriented to develop such historical methods of inquiry as the use of historical information from multiple perspectives in a critical manner (Yilmaz, 2008). Yilmaz (2008) points out that this process allows students to understand the past from different angles and helps them to make decisions outside the school walls.

The historical method of inquiry cannot be developed without the student having some knowledge of the historical context of the topic under consideration. Also, historical knowledge is cumulative. That is to say, the more one knows the more one is able to learn. The problem, however, is that students usually do not have the skills needed to develop the historical method of inquiry (Rogers, 1987) and secondary school history teachers may not focus their teaching on developing this feature of the history curriculum (Barton, 2004).

The development of critical thinking is also related to the development of historical awareness which, as Zajda and Whitehouse (2009) indicate, seems to be a principal requisite to participate actively in society. When developing historical awareness, students, it has been found, may identify with a particular place in a local, national, and global context (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). Also, this feature can be understood as the people's consciousness of the fact that their personal and social existence is the result of present and past events, as well as the consciousness that their way of living may affect the life of future generations (De Keyser, 1994). If

students are able to develop historical awareness they may come to understand that they live in a society which is continuously changing, that they have a certain role to play in it, and that their actions will have consequences for the future. However, it is not an easy task to stimulate historical awareness. Such awareness is grounded in the knowledge of historical facts and in the capacity to apply the historical method of inquiry (DeKeyser, 1994). In other words, it requires interpretation of the facts of the past. In order to engage in such interpretation, students have to evaluate the relevance of these facts and find multiple connections among them (Rogers, 1987). This, however, is only possible when students can generate questions about the past (Husbands, 1996).

The teaching of history in many societies seeks a conservative cultural continuity, also called 'citizenship transmission' (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). During the last several decades, in a number of countries, including the USA, the Russian Federation, Japan, and Italy, the objectives of the teaching of history as a school subject have been characterised by imperatives related to political, economic, cultural, or ideological dimensions (Pellens, 1991). The rationale behind these imperatives can be to reaffirm the nation-building process, or to cultivate a national identity within the global world (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009), to be achieved especially through the teaching of national history (Pagés, 1994, VanSledright, 2003). In this regard, Seixas (1999, p. 21) has observed that when a school system chooses to teach students only one true history, or as he calls it, "the best story of the past", the purpose of teaching history as a school subject is to provide identity, cohesion, and a social purpose. According to these objectives, students have to learn society's rules and norms because they determine how history is understood in a certain time and place. Thus, the kind of history taught in schools can become closely related to the cultural aspects of society.

Who Decides What History to Teach?

The objective of the teaching of history as a school subject differs across various countries and can be closely related to the level of each country's political openness and democratic strength. In this regard, the teaching and learning of history can be considered as varying on a spectrum from the study of the academic discipline of history adapted for school students, at one extreme, to engaging pupils in an indoctrination process at the other extreme (Taylor, 2000). On this, different approaches have been provided by scholars to answer the question: 'Who decides what history to teach?' (Foster, 2008; Pellens, 1991; Taylor, 2000). As Pellens (1991) alerted us over twenty years ago, the action of choosing the content, skills, and values to be taught in history classrooms is usually taken at two main levels. The first one is the central-government level and the second one is the local-school level.

The decision-making process conducted at central-governmental level is typical of totalitarian, or paternalistic, societies. In these settings, the government centrally determines the historical content, resources, and assessment methods to be

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implemented within classrooms. None, or very few, options are given to students, or teachers, to modify the elements of the curriculum. Nazi Germany, the People's Republic of China, and Japan are examples of countries that have followed this mode of implementation. On this, Taylor pointed to a difference between paternalistic and totalitarian societies, namely, that they differ in the opportunities given to show discretion (Taylor, 2000). In both of them, however, schools and teachers have little involvement when it comes to elaborating and implementing curriculum frameworks. Cooper (2010) sums up this situation in stating that a great amount of power is not allowed in "history education to manipulate or enhance our understanding of who we are" (p. 219).

In the second situation, where the decision-making process is undertaken at the local-schools' level, the government provides general guidelines on the areas to be covered in the curriculum framework, while the specific types of content, pedagogy, and assessment methods are chosen by teachers and, sometimes, other personnel in the school (Pellens, 1991; Taylor, 2000). Pellens (1991) tells us that we should remember that in pluralistic societies different kinds of agreements are also sometimes made with minority groups about what history to teach.

The problem of what events to include in the history curriculum framework is another one that has accompanied the teaching of history since its beginnings (VanSledright, 2003). Taylor (2000) indicates that history as a school subject can be empowering and oppressive at the same time. It can be empowering because, through history, students have the opportunity to develop a rational capacity for examining evidence and comprehending the relationships that exist between individuals, events, ideologies, and historical change. Concurrently, it can be oppressive because history might become a way to promote political and religious positions (Taylor, 2000). Thus, the role of the history teacher can range from promoting among his, or her, students the development of critical thinking and their active participation in society, to providing justifications for societal beliefs.

LITERATURE ON THE CONTENT OF TEACHING HISTORY

The content of the history curriculum is often classified into three categories; the knowledge content, consisting of facts and events selected from the past; the skills content, consisting of abilities to be developed by the student through the teaching and learning process; and the values content, consisting of the attitudes and values promoted by the history teaching (DeKeyser, 1994; Foster, 2008; Hernández, 2008). A broad overview of the literature on each of these three categories is now considered in turn.

The Knowledge Content

There are several ways to organise the content to be included in the history curriculum; chronologically, where the organisational principle is the succession of

facts over time; geographically, where a particular geographical unit is taken and the focus is on the study of its history; thematically, where one particular theme is the focus of the study; or typologically, where the aim is to study the main features of different societies throughout time (De Keyser, 1994). In classrooms, two or more of these organisational principles are usually combined, with priority being given to one of them. The most common format used, it appears, is to teach history based on the chronological principle (De Keyser, 1994; Foster, 2008; Hernández, 2008).

On the chronological principle, time is measured and subdivided into different periods, or ages. As a result, people, facts, and events are associated with a specific period of time. Often, courses begin with the Stone Age, or with ancient civilisations, and then progress through to the modern era (De Keyser, 1994; Foster, 2008). History, according to this approach, is typically taught progressively, or in terms of moving forward in time. Within the chronological format, it is possible to find two different approaches, one named the synchronic approach and the other named the diachronic approach. The first of these refers to the study of history by focusing on one period of time and emphasising its main components. The second approach implies studying one main component of different societies throughout the course of history (De Keyser, 1994; Hernández, 2008; Pagés, 1994).

Each one of the latter organisational principles has advantages and disadvantages. For example, the synchronic approach gives the student a thorough perspective on a particular time in history but, if used constantly, the teaching of history could become a recitation of facts that bear no relation to other periods of history. The diachronic approach is very useful when it is necessary to highlight history's longitudinal dimension and to introduce young students to some historical phenomena, but its implementation tends to be difficult in secondary school history courses because there is often a special need to comprehend specific historical situations in depth (Hernández, 2008).

As indicated in the previous section of this chapter, there are also difficulties when it comes to choosing what history to teach. In this regard, the knowledge content of history should cover several aspects of societies in the past, such as art, music, architecture science, sport, and literature in different parts of the world. This could contribute to creating coherent units of learning (Cooper, 2006). Usually, teachers consider two criteria when selecting the content knowledge to be taught. First, they determine the relevance of a specific event, or period of time. Then, they determine the knowledge that should be learnt by students in order to create a historical framework about the subject (Husbands, 1996). At the same time, however, teachers could be reluctant to identify certain historical knowledge that they believe students should know. As a result, they could rely on prescriptions given by a curriculum framework, or take their guide from textbooks, curriculum guidelines, or syllabi of study. In line with this argument, Barton (2004) indicates that one very common way of explaining instruction is to argue that it means that one should cover the curriculum; "principals expect it, parents support it, and teachers themselves accept coverage as their chief duty" (p. 252).

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It is a common practice among history teachers to rely on textbooks as the main source of teaching activities (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992). Textbooks comprise a body of content knowledge, present a range of pedagogic methods and process, and reflect external, or imposed, sets of social purposes (Marsden, 2001). Therefore, they often transmit the so-called 'official' historical version that societies have built about their past (Carretero, Jacott & López, 2002). The problem raised by this practice is that books can be overloaded with facts and dates (Pellens, 1991), while neglecting the development of critical thinking and the conception of history as a form of knowledge.

Selection of knowledge content varies in education systems across the world. For example, some education systems decide to include several topics about their national history, while others privilege the inclusion of history of different civilisations and international events (Carretero et al., 2002). However, it is arguable that there are certain concepts related to historical knowledge that should be known by all history teachers and students, regardless of the knowledge content taught. This is because such concepts can help one to understand the way historical knowledge is built up. Among these concepts are perception of time, causation, and identification of cultural spaces (Hernández, 2008; Prats, 2000; Prats & Santacana, 2001; Taylor & Young, 2003).

The use of historical concepts is a complicated issue because most of them can have different meanings in relation to different time periods (Levstik, 2011; Prats, 2000). For example, a king's duties are now different from what they were in the thirteenth century. Another problem is the use of specific historical vocabulary such as 'feudalism', 'mercantilism', and 'bourgeois revolution' (Prats, 2000). To deal with these alternative meanings, teachers must pay attention to the different meanings of historical concepts over time. Also, they have to try to make sure that their students apply them appropriately in a proper context.

Issues related to perception of time need to be treated in depth (Trepát & Comes, 2006). For example, the distinction between chronological and historical time could generate confusion among students if they are not explained properly. Chronological time has a continuous progression, whereas historical time could be discontinuous if there are regressions in the process involved. Also, social perceptions and distortions of the collective memory could influence the conception of historical time (Prats, 2000). This area should be treated carefully by teachers, who need to recognise that certain elements could complicate the comprehension of historical phenomena related to time.

Another problematic issue in teaching history as a school subject is the concept of causation, which is often misunderstood by students (Hernández, 2008; Prats, 2000). According to Prats (2000), misunderstanding can happen because students often do not consider structural causes as elements which explain historical events. Instead, they look for direct causes as a way of explanation. It can also occur because historical explanations can be composed of abstract elements that are not well understood when students are exposed to traditional approaches which emphasise

history teaching as an act of repetition (Prats, 2000). This problem could be addressed if teachers promoted the use of historical sources among their students.

Conceptions of space can also create difficulties when it comes to teaching history. Prats (2000) indicates that students can have problems localising spaces in historical contexts when they live in relatively distant zones from these spaces. For example, a Spanish student could have trouble finding a place located in Asia, or America. Students can also have problems identifying cultural spaces and the changes produced in them over time (Prats, 2000). To deal with these problems, teachers could promote the construction of maps by students. This is a simple strategy that could help to improve greatly the knowledge of students about historical spaces.

History teaching should also take place through the study and interpretation of historical sources (Hernández, 2008). This is because access to the past is indirect, mainly through the study of artefacts and evidence left behind by the people who lived in the past. Such evidence is also called sources. Historians divide sources into two types: primary sources, or evidence that comes directly from the period studied, such as diaries, personal journals written by witness of the facts, buildings, and everyday artefacts; and secondary sources, or evidence that was written through the study and interpretation of primary sources. Such secondary sources include history textbooks and historical narratives (VanSledright, 2003). A pivotal component of history teaching, it is often argued, should be working with authentic historical documents and artefacts. This should encourage the development of analysis and interpretation, both skills being required in order to make judgments about the past (Paxton & Wineburg, 2000). Although the knowledge of facts is very important, this should be considered only the beginning of the learning of history, not its conclusion (Paxton & Wineburg, 2000).

The Skills Content

The words historical thinking (Booth, 1996; Cooper, 1994; Drake & Drake, 2004; Havekes, Aardema, & De Vries, 2010; Wineburg, 2001; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009), historical understanding (Husbands, et al, 2007; Whelan, 2006), or both (Taylor, 2000; VanSledright, 2003), are used in the literature to name the process which allows students to elaborate on their own historical interpretations. In Spain and Chile, the term used is *procedimiento histórico* (historical procedure), which refers to the stages that students should go through in order to construct historical knowledge (Valls, 2008). Although the given names are different, there is agreement among scholars about the complexity of this task (Prats, 2000, Wineburg, 2001; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). In order to construct historical knowledge, students should become historians and work using the historical method of inquiry and interpretation (Vanderstel, 2002). Whelan (2006, p. 40) explains that this task “requires someone to bring the facts to ‘life’ through the animating power of interpretation”.

The construction of historical knowledge by students is consistent with the constructivist pedagogical approach. According to this approach, knowledge is

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constructed by students while they interact with their social environment (Carretero & Voss, 2004). Conclusions generated by students should not necessarily be the same as those presented by teachers because, it is argued, students are capable of generating well-constructed historical explanations. Bruner's conception of a spiral curriculum (Bruner, 1960), along with the findings of other researchers (Cooper, 1994, Havekes et al., 2010; Seixas, 1999), have promoted an approach to the teaching of history through the historical method of inquiry with all age groups.

There are several skills related to the historical method of inquiry and they can be classified in different ways. For example, Valls (2008) provides a three level categorisation. The first level is comprised of those skills needed to understand and use key historical ideas, facts, and concepts. It includes recognition of dates, comprehension of concepts as causation, change and continuity, interpretation of linkages between facts, and deduction of inferences from facts. The second level includes activities related to the development of the historical method of inquiry, such as search, collection, analysis, and interpretation of different sources or evidence, elaboration of conclusions, development of empathy, and use of analogies. The latter kinds of procedures have been largely incorporated into many history syllabi because they enable students to build historical knowledge. Finally, the third level described by Valls relates to activities that make evident the knowledge constructed. This, among others, involves working with maps, newspapers, oral expositions, and debates.

Taylor (2000) indicates that historical thinking, or historical understanding, can be promoted through the use of different kinds of skills. These involve development of knowledge and appreciation of different sources, comprehension of causation, understanding of the links between different facts, comprehension of change and continuity throughout time, ability to show empathy or to perceive events from the point of view of others, capacity to search through evidence, and elaborating on possible explanations and generating conclusions. They also involve developing the capacity to report and write conclusions, and localise events in the correct historical context (Taylor, 2000). The promotion of these skills requires time, patience and repetition, but they can ensure that students will engage actively in classroom activities and avoid the simple memorisation of historical events (Havekes et al., 2010).

The Values Content

School history teaching is not free of values (Pellens, 1991). In fact, it is closely related to issues of values and cultural transmission because it reflects many of the values perceived to be important by a given society (Phillips, 1999), especially political and ideological values (Carretero, 2007). According to De Keyser (1994), the kind of values included in every curriculum framework depends on the values of each society. Therefore, it is argued school history teaching can promote the creation of a student's own scale of values.

The intensity of the promotion of values at school has changed through time. Past societies perceived history teaching as an instrument to transmit an intended scale of values to students. Nowadays, history teaching in some countries adopts a rather passive role in assisting students to develop their own system of values (De Keyser, 1994). This system is often related to democracy, justice, and human rights (Hernández, 2008). In this regard, Carretero (2007) indicates that school history teachers have to encourage students to question and to think carefully about the values present in the historical events taught. Also, there is the argument that students should learn different versions of the historical events taught so that they can build their own perspectives on the matter (Carretero, 2007).

In the 1960s, Fenton (1966) expressed his concern about the teaching of values in social sciences and history. According to his perspective, values should not be taught as the transmission of a certain ideology, but by way of promoting reflection between pairs to produce their own conclusions about the subject. He differentiates between three types of values - behavioural, procedural, and substantial - that can be taught at school. Behavioural values are taught by teachers and classmates through their own acts. For example, teachers are expected to be on time for classes and students have to remain silent while the teacher speaks. These can have an effect on one's values. Procedural values promote the development of critical thinking and the certainty that arguments should be based on evidence and not merely on emotions. As Fenton (1966, p. 42) indicated, "[students] must be willing to look at evidence for their position and to accept the method by which social scientists and historians arrive at conclusions". Finally, substantial values are those held and promoted by a given society. In this regard, he made a distinction between 'teaching values' and 'teaching about values'. Teachers, he argued, should not tell students what to think. For example, they should not claim that democracy is better than a totalitarian system. However, teachers should teach about values so that students have the opportunity to think critically, create their own system of values, and think about the importance of having values of their own.

A different perspective was provided by Benejam (1997), who argued that there are certain values that should be taught through history and the social sciences at school. These are related to the exercise of citizenship in a democratic system, including liberty, equity, and participation. Benejam (1997) stated that school students should build their own system of values, but always in accordance with respect for human dignity, considering the relevance of participation within society, identification, comprehension and appreciation of the distinctive features of the local community, and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage received as a legacy of their own community.

Both perspectives, it was argued, should be considered by teachers when they are in front of a class. Teaching values should not be indoctrination. It should be encouraging students to use critical thinking to create their own scale of values according to society's rules and norms. Students should be aware of the importance of having values to establish judgements about historical facts and their relevance in

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the contemporary world. This also should be done with empathy, defined by Portal (1987) as “a way of thinking imaginatively which is needed to be used in conjunction with other cognitive skills in order to see significant human values in history” (p. 172). He considered that having their own values and being able to comprehend what other people did in the past are important characteristics that a history student should have.

LITERATURE ON THE PEDAGOGY OF TEACHING HISTORY

History, as with every other school subject, has been taught in different ways. This section now considers the way history has been taught during the twentieth century. This is a pivotal matter because it represents the way teachers have adapted the disciplinary knowledge of history to constitute suitable school-level knowledge to be learnt by young students. Seixas (1999) highlighted the importance of ‘pedagogical content knowledge’, which can be defined as “the choices of topics of potential historical significance to students, the knowledge of students’ capacity to understand difference, and selection of documents appropriate for students’ levels of interest and understanding” (p. 332). The tasks involved are not easy as they imply that teachers should know how to use different sorts of knowledge in order to promote learning among their students. This knowledge, Shulman (1987) held over a quarter of a century ago, should include historical knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, curriculum knowledge, knowledge of the educational context, and knowledge of the characteristic of the students (Shulman, 1987).

Two main approaches to the teaching of history at the school level, as has already been pointed out in Chapter One, can be identified. The first one is a fact-based approach, also called the ‘great tradition’ approach (Dickinson, 2000; Sylvester, 1993). The second one sees history as a form of knowledge. This has been called the ‘new history’ and its main feature is the promotion of historical thinking (Booth, 1996; Cooper, Foster, 2008; 2006; Husbands, 1996; Pellens, 1991; Prats, 2000; Taylor, 2000; VanSledright, 2003; Wineburg, 2001; Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). The process of transforming history as an academic discipline into a school subject can influence both the learning process and students’ conceptions about history. Accordingly, each approach has different objectives and teachers have to use different teaching methods to implement one, or the other.

The ‘Great Tradition’

Sylvester (1993) outlined the main characteristics of the fact-based approach through the study of history teaching in England and Wales since 1900. He started his definition of what he called the ‘great tradition’ by explaining the role of teachers and students. Teachers, in this view, play an active role in both transmitting historical facts to their students and ensuring the learning of them through short tests. In contrast, students have a rather passive role, learning history as a received

subject (Sylvester, 1993). According to this approach, teachers should interpret past events and explain them to students in an understandable way (Husbands et al., 2007). Usually, they give oral descriptions of the main events of the past and write notes on a blackboard (Sylvester, 1993). Then, students copy and repeat the factual knowledge written by their teachers. Also, they are required to assimilate, organise, and reproduce teachers' interpretations. As Husbands (1996) has indicated, only in exceptional occasions would students get to reinterpret the explanation given by teachers.

Knowledge content taught according to this approach, Sylvester (1993) argued, is clearly defined. It usually consists of political facts, with a minor emphasis on economic and social events. On this, Taylor (2000) agrees, indicating that one of the main features of the 'great tradition' is the primacy of factual knowledge. Content is organised on a chronological frame whose main components are political events (Booth, 1996). In the case of England and Wales, Sylvester indicated that before the School Councils History Project (1972), British history was the main focus of the history curriculum, followed by some European history. On this, Wilschut (2010, p. 698) indicates that "attention was almost completely limited to British, or rather English, history, and Scotland and Wales remained out of sight most of the time". The same perspective was shared by Booth (1996), who established that there was a primacy of British and imperial history. Also, great emphasis was given to the causes of historical events (Sylvester, 1993).

According to the latter approach, school history teaching can be defined as a chronological enumeration of historical events, where political facts and the names of great characters are the main content taught. An important concern of the 'great tradition' is the selection of events that can justify the political organisation set by the dominant political culture (Phillips, 1999; Taylor, 2000). A pivotal role is given to the use of textbooks. Students have to learn historical facts as a definite product, where content is defined by textbooks in an authoritarian manner. The problem here is that textbooks provide information that is hardly questioned by students, or teachers (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). They are read to comprehend historical events and are used by students to take notes (Sylvester, 1993).

The purposes of the 'great tradition' approach could be characterised as cultural and political. History teaching is conceived of as the transmission of knowledge about an "assumed shared national political culture" (Husbands et al., 2007, p. 9). Connections between the content of school history syllabi and the political perspective about democratic development and prosperity are very strong. Following this argument, one of the main concerns of the 'great tradition' approach is to select events that could justify, in a civic manner, the dominant political culture (Taylor, 2000). Also, within 'the great tradition' approach it is possible to find a purpose called "hand-over-your-heart". This purpose conceives of history mainly as a self-congratulatory compilation of facts whose main objective is to promote values related to nationalism and patriotism (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009). Although the examples given above relate to the teaching of history in England and Wales, this

approach has also been widely implemented elsewhere (Taylor & Young, 2003). VanSledright (2003) indicates that in several countries around the world during the twentieth century, school history teaching has been characterised by teachers' storytelling and textbook recitation.

Assumptions made by those espousing the 'great tradition' have never been uncontested (Husbands et al., 2007). For example, in the 1970s and 1980s, the teaching of history in England was influenced by a new pedagogical approach which stressed the importance of thinking, as well as encouraging the development of memory to learn history as a school subject (Dickinson, 2000). In fact, the Schools Council, created in 1963, started developing projects which generated pivotal questions about the organisation and structure of the history curriculum for primary and secondary school education (Husbands et al., 2007). The Council raised questions about issues related to teaching and pedagogy associated with the 'great tradition', especially those concerned with the role of teachers and the selection of objectives and content (Husbands et al., 2007). A new approach to the teaching of history then ended up being promoted. This came to be known as the 'new history'.

The 'New History'

The 'new history' approach emphasises a constructivist model of learning through engagement with the past (Carretero, 2007). It encourages students to conceive of history, not as a compilation of historical facts, but as a form of knowledge. Students have to develop the historical thinking process of being aware that history represents a continuous investigation which leads to multiple historical truths (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

The purpose of history teaching as a school subject is defined through its contribution to the general process of education (Husbands et al., 2007). This pedagogical approach stresses the importance of preparing students for working life, promoting the development of higher order cognitive skills, and encouraging the development of citizenship attitudes and historical awareness (Husbands et al., 2007). The approach challenges the teaching practices that characterise the 'great tradition' (Foster, 2008). Thus, the teachers' role is not an active one in transmitting historical knowledge to students. Instead, they are responsible for managing and monitoring students' learning activities. Students actively participate in the learning process as they are encouraged to build historical knowledge through inquiry and interpretation of historical sources (Husbands et al., 2007).

This approach offers an alternative curriculum structure not centred on chronological national history. It divides up learning units so that the focus is on themes and structures, rather than on time divisions (Foster, 2008). Selection of content emphasises world and local history. Also, it includes the experiences of different groups who create multicultural and pluralist societies (Husbands et al., 2007). Accordingly, learning about a wide range of historical events is of paramount significance within the 'new history'.

Although each of the traditional history teaching approaches subsumes different classroom practices, it is possible in viewing the daily interaction between teachers and students to appreciate the frequent borrowing and the complementary uses of both of them. In this way, the teaching of history nowadays has gone beyond these two approaches using elements present in both (Husbands et al., 2007). Elements of the ‘great tradition’ remain in schools because of political influences. An example is the case of England and Wales. When the national curriculum was introduced in 1988, the British Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, expressed the view that history as a school subject should help students to understand the development of a free and democratic society. To achieve this goal, the teaching of history, he argued, should stress the importance of the nation’s past, especially its constitutional, cultural, and political heritage (Husbands et al., 2007). Twenty years later the English Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, promoted similar ideas, emphasising the celebration of what he saw as the distinguished role of the United Kingdom in world history (Higgins, 2011).

Although a new way of teaching history was developed during the twentieth century, governments still emphasise reproducing political facts. However, the ‘new history’ approach had influenced the teaching of history in its concern about developing special skills to understand the past. This was made possible mainly by the work undertaken by researchers in the cognitive-psychology tradition of investigation in teaching history. They succeeded in demonstrating that young students are capable of constructing complex and abstract historical knowledge (Zajda & Whitehouse, 2009).

LITERATURE ON ASSESSMENT IN THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

The Concept of Assessment

There is no internationally agreed definition of assessment (Black & Wiliam, 1998). Indeed, the concepts of assessment and evaluation have different meanings. As O’Donoghue and Clarke (2010) indicate, assessment implies the interpretation of information gathered about students through performances in tests and other means, while evaluation designates the elaboration of judgements about the interpretation made in the assessment process. In the Spanish tradition, however, there is no such distinction between these two concepts. Evaluation and assessment are joined in the concept of *evaluación*. This is a very broad process that has several properties, from the gathering of information in classrooms to external examinations.

As Sanmartí (2002) explains, because *evaluación* is a very wide concept, its meaning has to be explained according to the context in which it is used. It has three common features. First, it requires gathering of information about students’ performance through tasks, tests, assignments and class observations. Secondly, it involves analysing the gathered information and making judgments about the results. Finally, it requires making a decision.

The decision-making process has two defined functions (Sanmartí, 2002). First, it has the social function of tracking students' achievements, certification, accreditation and selection. This function is also known as summative assessment (Harlen, 2009). Secondly, it has the pedagogical function of regulating the teaching and learning process, and acknowledging the changes that should be implemented in the classroom in order to promote student learning. This latter function is known as formative assessment (Tiknaz & Sutton, 2006). Related concepts that have been developed in the last number of decades are the concepts of assessment of learning, assessment for learning (Black, Harrison, Lee, Marshal, & Wiliam, 2002; Black & Wiliam, 1998; Stiggins & Chappuis, 2002), and assessment as learning (Earl, 2003).

The concept of assessment for learning was created in response to the work undertaken by test publishers, who began to relate formative assessment and summative assessments in order to determine when students have not met standards' requirements (Stiggins & Chappuis, 2002). Assessment for learning was also elaborated on with the intention of distinguishing it from assessment of learning, which is oriented to generate accountability, ranking, or certification (Black et al., 2002). Finally, Earl (2003) defines assessment as learning, as the approach that pursues self-assessment practices with the objective of promoting self-motivated learners who are able to perform self-reflection and self-feedback activities.

History Teaching and Assessment

Research about assessment in history teaching mostly relates to testing and external examinations (Alleman & Brophy, 1999; Grant & Salinas, 2008; Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). For example, Mathison and Fragnoli (2006) argue that in the USA research about history and social studies assessment is primarily about large-scale standardised tests (Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). Also, Grant and Salinas (2008) indicate that research on this topic has not been significant, especially when compared to what has been done on such other school subjects as literacy and mathematics (Grant & Salinas, 2008).

Studies conducted on assessment and the teaching of history as a school subject have reported that assessment tasks, especially external examinations, bear little relationship to the construction of historical knowledge and also often tend to focus on low-level cognitive skills (Dicksee & Hunt, 2007; Mathison & Fragnoli, 2006). Strong criticism of these tests emphasises their failure to measure students' understandings about history and social studies (Alleman & Brophy, 1999). Another problem is that they do not provide teachers, or students, with evidence on how to improve students' learning (Black & Wiliam, 2005). This situation is also illustrative of classroom assessment.

Research conducted in Spanish secondary schools (Trepát & Comes, 2006) indicates that history assessment tasks often consist of tests that measure memorisation and repetition of what has been taught in class. Difference in progression between school levels is often indicated by the amount of knowledge content covered (Trepát

& Comes, 2006). Although there is a growing trend to conduct assessment tasks which promote such higher order cognitive skills as elaboration of historical maps, use of methods of historical inquiry, and interpretation and analysis of historical sources, this is still an unusual practice (Trepát & Comes, 2006). Rather, in Spanish secondary schools, assessment tasks emphasise repetition of factual knowledge and do not provide opportunities for students to think about the way historical knowledge is constructed. Therefore, the search for, and interpretation of, historical evidence are often not addressed in most assessment tasks (Trepát & Comes, 2006).

On the other hand, recent research conducted in England and Wales concluded that history classroom assessment has shown a shift from memorisation and repetition of factual knowledge (Burnham & Brown, 2004; Cottingham, 2004; Fullard & Dacey, 2008). Teachers themselves have implemented assessment tasks that are consistent with classroom activities. This is related to the historical method of inquiry which promotes the development of higher-order cognitive skills. According to Phillips (2008), advantages of this approach include the promotion of “good history teaching and good assessment practices” (p. 139). For example, in order to learn history, students have to understand the nature of evidence and causation. This approach helps teachers to identify the way students become better learners by knowing how students understand these concepts (Phillips, 2008). In addition, teachers can share their perspectives with students and help them to acknowledge the way they learn and to understand how to improve their learning. In this regard, the assessment process should be aligned to the learning objectives, students should know the assessment criteria before they begin the task, and assessment activities should be consistent with the learning activities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an outline of the literature on the history curriculum under the sub-headings of objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. First, the objectives of school history teaching were presented. History teaching pursues objectives that are related to the political and social circumstances of each country. It is usually possible among these objectives to find an emphasis on the transmission of facts and historical events, the development of critical thinking, and the promotion of a conservative cultural continuity. The way each country decides what history to teach was briefly explained, the argument being that the decision-making process is closely related to a country’s political openness.

Secondly, a very general overview of the content of the history curriculum internationally was presented, considering its classification into three categories (knowledge content, skills content, and values content). The knowledge content involves the selection of relevant facts and events from the past. The actual final selection and organisation of knowledge content depends on the teachers within classrooms, who usually rely on the guidance provided by curriculum frameworks. The skills content relates to abilities that have to be developed by students through

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the teaching and learning of history. Normally, it is expected that these should promote the development of the historical method of inquiry, thus going beyond memorisation and repetition. The values content relates to the attitudes and values to be promoted by the history teaching. In this regard, history teaching can assist students in creating their own scale of values.

Thirdly, two approaches to the teaching of school history were identified. One is the fact-based approach, also called the 'great tradition'. The other one is called the 'new history'. This approach understands history as a form of knowledge that can be built up by students through engaging in the historical method of inquiry. Finally, an overview of the concept of assessment was presented, followed by a brief review of assessment practices related to the teaching of history at the school level.

The considerations of this chapter will help later to contextualise the situation regarding the secondary school history curriculum in Chile, with particular reference to the historical background, current developments and issues of concern for secondary school history teachers. Before proceeding to considering the findings of the study undertaken on these areas, however, it is necessary to provide an overview of the research methodology used in conducting the study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The overview of the literature related to the teaching of history as a school subject presented in the previous chapter indicated that, in the past, not many studies have been conducted on the teaching of history in the Chilean context. Moreover, almost no studies have been conducted which focused on the perspectives of secondary school history teachers on the teaching of their subject. The study reported in this book was conducted in response to the deficit. Three aims guided the research. The first aim was to develop an understanding of the historical background to the teaching of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile. The second aim was to develop an understanding of the current development of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile. The third aim was to develop an understanding of the issues of concern for secondary school history teachers in the nation. It was intended that, when viewed in combination, the responses to these three aims would provide a detailed understanding of the everyday work of Chilean history teachers and contribute new insights on their role.

The argument for the three research aims was presented in Chapter One. Briefly, it will be recalled that the mission of the Chilean Ministry of Education is to assure quality and equity within the educational system. With this rationale, the national curriculum framework was modified in 2009. The new curriculum framework relates to both primary schools and secondary schools. Despite the extensive research and policy initiatives relating to curriculum reform and research about the teaching of other school subjects such as the sciences and mathematics in Chile, there has been little research undertaken on the teaching of history as a school subject.

This chapter is concerned with the research design and methodology of the study. First, the nature of the interpretivist paradigm and the associated theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism that underpins the study are outlined. Secondly, an overview of the Chilean context of history teaching, the selection of study-participants, and the methods of data collection and analysis used in the study, are presented. Thirdly, the manner in which the interpretivist paradigm was adopted in relation to each of the three research aims is considered. This is followed by an outline of the strategies that were implemented to ensure the quality of the data collected. Finally, the ethical issues associated with conducting the study are discussed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Interpretivism

The interpretivist paradigm was selected to underpin the study because it was aimed at revealing the different meanings constructed by people in a social context (Gubrium & Holstein, 2005). Schawandt (2003) states that, from an interpretivist point of view, human and social actions are inherently meaningful. In order to discover and understand that meaning, the interpretivist researcher has to interpret in a particular way what actors are doing. The interpretivist paradigm allows the researcher to gain an understanding of what people understand concerning a phenomenon.

Within the interpretivist paradigm, reality is viewed as a social construction, which means there can be multiple realities, or interpretations, of any event (Merriam, 2009). As Crotty (2003) states, its goal is to “understand and explain human and social reality” (p. 67). This is achieved by revealing the meanings constructed by individuals in their interactions within a social context (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Researchers are not supposed to find knowledge, but to construct it (Merriam, 2009). As O’Donoghue (2007) indicates, in order to construct knowledge, the researcher has to use “his or her skills as a social being to try to understand how others understand their world” (pp. 9-10). Also, this construction depends on the social interaction and negotiation that occurs in a particular context (O’Donoghue, 2007).

The interpretivist paradigm does not pursue the generation of universal laws. Rather, it focuses on understanding a particular and specific situation (Willis, Jost, & Nilakanta, 2007). This enables the researcher to understand how one event can be viewed in varied ways by different individuals (Creswell, 2007; Keedy, 1992). In keeping with that notion, the researcher has to set aside prejudgements about the nature of the event and look for reality as perceived by individuals. In other words, the researcher should represent the voices of individuals (Litchman, 2010) and act as a translator of people’s words and actions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). As Corbin and Strauss (2008) comment, this should be done very carefully as it “is not easy to convey meaning” (p. 49), especially because words can have different meanings in different languages.

According to Blackledge and Hunt (1985), there are five major assumptions that underpin the interpretivist approach to qualitative research. These assumptions involve everyday activity, freedom, meaning, interaction, and negotiation. As each of these assumptions has influenced the study reported in this book, they need to be considered briefly.

First, Blackledge and Hunt (1985) state that “everyday activity is the building block of society” (p. 234). Basically, every aspect of society can be linked to the way people act in everyday life. For example, the education system keeps on functioning due to the everyday activities of teachers, students, administrators, inspectors and other educational professionals (O’Donoghue, 2007). According to this vision, changes in society, or education, are a product of alterations in the day-to-day

activities. Thus, in order to comprehend the teaching of history as a school subject in Chile, the everyday activity of its staff must be first understood.

Secondly, there is the notion consistent with Blumer's work (1969) that everyday activity is never totally imposed; there is always some autonomy and freedom. To some extent, people can and do create their own activity. However, it should be recalled that there are constraints on the way people act. Also, people are influenced by their background (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). Accordingly, everyday life for secondary school history teachers in Chile is produced by them and by their colleagues within the school system, acting together and creating their own roles and patterns of action.

Thirdly, in order to understand everyday activities, individuals have to understand the meanings that other people give to their behaviour (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). On this, the work of Blumer (1969) indicates that meanings can be considered as social products created during interaction. They are personal to the individual who creates them and they are not given by culture, or society (Blumer, 1969). Following this notion, Woods (1992) points out that meanings are constructed through social interaction, where the individual is continuously interacting with the world. In this view, Chilean secondary school history teachers construct meanings during their daily activities.

Fourthly, Blackledge and Hunt (1985) assert that everyday activity consists of interaction with other people, which again is consistent with Blumer's work (1969). Day-to-day activities rarely involve a person acting in isolation. During this interaction, people give meaning to their own actions and also they give meaning to other people's activities. The process of interaction involves a mutual interpretation of behaviour, which means that people interpret their own behaviours as well as other people's behaviours with whom they interact (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). This brings us to realise that Chilean secondary school history teachers construct meanings during their daily activities and through the interaction occurring among them.

Finally, Blackledge and Hunt (1985) express the view that everyday activity involves a process of modification of meaning. This is a continuous process, where people negotiate their understandings and views. As Blackledge and Hunt (1985) explain, negotiation is "not something that happens once and is finished. It occurs in subtle ways, with modification to the actors' understanding of what is going on" (p. 236). Therefore, it is suggested that, over time, people who work in the Chilean context of secondary school history teaching, can come to elaborate a shared understanding of a phenomenon.

A consideration of these five assumptions clarifies the importance of developing an understanding of how individuals define, interpret and explain any given situation. In the study reported in this book, it was necessary to develop an understanding of participants' perspectives on the topic of interest. This is a central issue because, as Corbin and Strauss (2008) point out, in a "qualitative inquiry, it is important to obtain as many perspectives on a topic as possible" (p. 26).

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Woods (1983) defines perspectives as “frameworks through which people make sense of the world” (p. 7). Similarly, O’Donoghue (2007) indicates that the concept of perspectives “captures the notion of a human being who interacts, defines situations, and acts according to what is going on in the present situation” (p. 31). A major assumption underpinning the study reported here is that an examination of perspectives is the key to developing an understanding in relation to the three central research aims.

Symbolic Interactionism

The theoretical perspective within the interpretivist paradigm which was deemed appropriate to assist in understanding meaning in this study is symbolic interactionism. It provided the starting point for the research through its fundamental assumption that individuals attribute a subjective meaning to their activities and their environments (Flick, 2009). According to Chenitz and Swanson (1986), symbolic interactionism is both a theory about human behaviour and an approach to the study of human conduct and human group life. It focuses on the meaning of people’s events as they occur in everyday settings. As Crotty (2003) explains, symbolic interactionism “explores the understandings abroad in culture as the meaningful matrix that guides our lives” (p. 75). This is an approach which refers to the way individuals see, define, interpret and react to a certain situation (Woods, 1992). In this view, objects, people, and events do not possess their own meaning. Rather, meaning is conferred on them.

Meaning is transferred to objects through an interaction process that takes place between the individual and the object. The value of an object will depend on the meaning given by the individual. This meaning is essential and constitutive. People construct it by interpreting their social interactions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). In order to interact with each other, individuals have to convey and share meaning as group action is essential for social life (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). The mechanisms that allow meanings to be shared are the communication process and the use of a common language (Crotty, 2003). As Crotty (2003) states, “only through dialogue can one become aware of the perceptions, feelings, and attitudes of others and interpret their meanings and intents” (p. 75). Meaning is created by individuals’ experiences. Meaning guides individuals’ lives because it leads them to action. Those actions then have consequences as they influence future actions (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986).

In other words, the symbolic interactionist approach emphasises social interaction as the basis for knowledge. Also, it aligns with the interpretivist view that interaction between individuals is essential to understand meaning (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985; Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Crotty, 2003). This approach was chosen to underpin the study reported here because it allows the researcher to unveil people’s perspectives on a phenomenon. On this, O’Donoghue (2007) explains:

A researcher adopting a symbolic interactionist theoretical approach when conducting a research within the interpretative paradigm is concerned with

revealing the perspectives behind empirical observations, the actions people take in the light of their perspectives, and the patterns which develop through the interaction of perspectives and actions over particular period of time. (p. 20)

O'Donoghue (2007) also emphasises that in this approach the investigator is "the primary data-gathering instrument" (p. 20). In order to understand the studied phenomenon, the researcher elaborates guiding questions that are used to conduct open-ended, or semi-structured, interviews. Also, the researcher gathers data through the examination of documents and on-site observations. During this process, the researcher can gather a vast amount of rich and detailed data about a small number of individuals (O'Donoghue, 2007).

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS METHODS

Context

The first and second aims of the study involved analysis of documents produced centrally by the Chilean Ministry of Education, supplemented by interviews. The third aim was investigated specifically for the region of Valparaíso, Chile, by means of interviews only. The republic of Chile is a unitary state divided into fifteen regions. To focus on a particular region was justified as the policies and procedures of secondary school education are the same all over the country. However, constraints of time, finance, and accessibility also meant that the study had to be limited to the area called Great Valparaíso, which is the metropolitan area of the region of Valparaíso. The selection of secondary schools situated in this area was justified in terms of their representation of diverse practices which had the potential to ensure the investigation of a wide range of perspectives. It found further justification in the researcher's familiarity with the district. Thus, the researcher was able to get close to the subject of study in order to unveil the participants' subjective understandings of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

According to their administrative and funding status, Chilean schools are divided into categories: public schools, private-subsided schools, and private-paid schools. Public schools are administrated by the 371 Chilean municipal governments. These schools are government-funded (Departamento de Estudios y Desarrollo, 2010). Private-subsided schools are administrated privately and are funded by two sources. They receive a government subsidy based on the daily attendance of each student and they are funded by students' monthly fees (Departamento de Estudios y Desarrollo, 2010). Private-paid schools are funded by students' monthly fees and they do not receive any government funding (Departamento de Estudios y Desarrollo, 2010). Each of these three categories of schools was included in the study. This ensured that a diverse and comprehensive range of teaching experiences would be illustrated by the participants.

Study Participants

The approach to the analysis of documents will be considered later in this chapter. At this point, however, it is important to note that the teachers selected for the interviews were purposefully chosen in order to obtain varied perspectives, as it is considered important that qualitative researchers strive for diversity within the population under study (Flick, 2009). The sampling strategy was based on two notions, that of purposeful sampling and maximum variation sampling. Both have influenced approaches used in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2007). The first notion was addressed by the researcher selecting participants and sites for study that were able to purposefully “inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study” (Creswell, 2007, p. 126). The second notion was addressed by the researcher determining in advance some criteria that distinguished the sites and participants. Then, participants as diverse as possible were selected within these parameters (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009).

Maykut and Morehouse (1994) describe the strategy of maximum variation sampling as a researcher’s attempt to understand a phenomenon by looking for participants and contexts that represent the greatest differences in that phenomenon. This concept is also defined by Flick (2009) as the integration of “only a few cases, but those which are as different as possible, to disclose the range of variation and differentiation in the field” (p. 70). As mentioned above, this strategy was chosen because it increased the possibility of generating data reflecting different perspectives (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh & Sorensen, 2009; Creswell, 2007; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Merriam, 2009).

In harmony with the two notions of the purposeful sampling and maximum variation sampling, three main criteria were considered in selecting the study-participants. First, as was previously described, the study was restricted to the region of Valparaiso because of constraints related to time and funding. Specifically, it was conducted in the metropolitan area called ‘Great Valparaiso’, which has a population of approximately one million. The cities of Valparaíso, Viña del Mar, Quilpué, Villa Alemana, and Peñablanca comprise Great Valparaiso. Participants were chosen from across these cities.

Secondly, the study focused on secondary schools because the research aims were oriented to the teaching of secondary school history. In terms of students’ gender, coeducational schools were selected since most Chilean schools belong to this category. In terms of size, secondary schools were classified into three categories: large (with more than 400 students), middle (with between 150 and 400 students), and small (with fewer than 150 students). In relation to the administrative category of the schools selected, the study included public schools, private state-subsidised schools, and private-paid schools.

Thirdly, participants selected were senior secondary school history teachers who were working at the schools selected. They were chosen because of their responsibility to implement the new curriculum framework. They were teachers of

Year 9 and Year 10 students. This was because at the time interviews were conducted the new curriculum framework was being implemented only with students enrolled at those levels. Also, it was important that teachers who had a number of years of experience as secondary school history teachers and those who were in their first year were interviewed. It was furthermore considered crucial, in the light of the exploratory nature of this research that there should be a selection of full-time and part-time teachers, as well as male and female teachers.

As has been mentioned already, the interview participants were history teachers from several schools. Schools were divided according to their size and administration category. A total of thirty individual interviews were conducted in twenty six schools. Teachers interviewed were male and female, had different lengths of experience in their jobs, attended to different universities across the country, and worked as part-time or full-time teachers. Thus, an extensive range of perspectives was canvassed.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

Grounded theory methods of data collection and analysis were chosen because, as Charmaz (2006) states, they serve “as a way to learn about the worlds we study and a method for developing theories to understand them” (p. 10). Also, grounded theory methods of data gathering and analysis are consistent with the interpretivist approach (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). As Punch (2005) explains, the objective of grounded theory is to generate theory through the systematic gathering and analysis of data; “theory therefore will be grounded in data” (p. 163). In addition, it is a process based more on induction than deduction, and enables sets of propositions to be generated from the data collected (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

In accordance with the grounded theory approach, data gathering and analysis were undertaken simultaneously (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This enabled the researcher to choose participants on the basis of the emergence of concepts and to validate those concepts developed (Merriam, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first stage in this analytic method involved gathering data, sorting it, and placing it into categories (Flick, 2009). In doing this, data were read thoroughly and intensely. Analysis began immediately after the reading of the first set of primary source data was collated and after transcription of the first interview. Also, appropriate notes, comments, observations were made, and questions were raised (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

As further data were gathered, they were constantly compared for similarities and differences, and were subject to questioning on such matters as ‘what might this be an example of?’ A constant comparison and questioning of the data allowed for the emergence of insights (Merriam, 2009). The main purpose was to generate concepts consistent with the data. The activity involved using the ‘theoretical sensitivity’ of the researcher, explained by Corbin and Strauss (2008) as his or her ability to recognise what is important in data and giving it meaning.

The process described above is known as ‘open coding’. Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 101) define open coding as an “analytic process through which concepts

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are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data". In this regard, open coding was aimed at producing concepts and propositions that fitted the data (Strauss, 1987). Also, through the open coding process, assumptions made by the researcher were analysed, questioned, and explored (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Later on, the generated concepts were sorted into categories to describe and integrate the data.

Codes, theoretical memos, and diagrams were used by the researcher to illustrate the relationship between concepts and categories as they were generated from the data. In other words, they were used to support the coding process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). On this, Miles and Huberman (1994) indicate that such documents can be used to record ideas about the data and that they represent the development of the codes from which categories are derived. Codes, notes, and diagrams became increasingly refined and detailed as the analysis proceeded and the data were reduced (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, as Corbin and Strauss (2008) explain, memos and diagrams are very important aspects of analysis.

Rather than proceeding on to the two other steps of the grounded theory approach (axial coding and selective coding) the 'open-coded' data were further analysed using the mode of analysis termed 'analytic induction'. This involved the formulation of propositions in a systematic way. The steps involved are described by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 234). The final stage in the process is known as 'member checking'. Following the advice of Merriam (2009), in this stage emergent categories were taken back to the participants and they were asked if the interpretations made by the researcher were plausible. This was undertaken because it enabled the development of more precise and specific propositions that could be further developed and related (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

ADAPTING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE THREE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The First Research Question

The first research question of the study reported in this book was aimed at developing an understanding of the historical background of current history curriculum for secondary school history in Chile. The question is historical in nature. As a result, data were primarily identified through a review of a wide range of public and private records and documents. Public records and personal records are two common types of documents used in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). On this subject, Greene (1994) explains that document review is a method that offers great consonance with the interpretivist approach to research.

Data gathering. Documents were located concerning the background to, and current developments in, the teaching of secondary school history in Chile. The complexity involved in the task reflects the situation explained by Krathwohl

(1998) when he indicates that the researcher of historical events “is responsible not only for finding but also authenticating evidence and then determining its worth and contribution to the problem” (p. 579). In this view, authenticity is a necessary condition, but it must be complemented with arguments supporting the worthwhile contribution of the evidence gathered.

The study reported in this book focused on such public records as government documents, historical books, historical accounts, statistical reports, samples of syllabi of study, and former curriculum frameworks, among others. The study of these materials was required to understand official perspectives on programmes, administrative structures and other aspects of organisation (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Data were gathered from public libraries and such archives as the Chilean National Library, the Chilean National Congress Library and the Library of the Chilean Ministry of Education. Following procedures laid down by Richards and Morse (2007), the researcher gathered the data and made copies of them for more detailed analysis.

As the study reported here was exploratory, it was not possible from the outset to know the sum total of sub-research questions needed to guide the research with regard to the first research question. However, some guiding questions were developed. Such guiding questions were not specific questions to be answered. Rather, they were those that suggested themselves at the beginning of the study as having the greatest potential to generate data relevant to the central area of interest.

Based on the guiding questions, an *aide-memoire* (O’Donoghue, 2007; Punch, 2005) was developed. Burgess (1984) indicates that an *aide-mémoire* or ‘agenda’ is useful to ensure that similar topics are covered in the data collection process. These questions were considered as a starting point for exploring the phenomenon. As unforeseen issues emerged, giving rise to new questions, these were pursued until the subject was ‘exhausted’.

Data analysis. According to Ary et al. (2009), “content or document analysis is a research method applied to written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specified characteristics of the material” (p. 457). The total body of written data consulted were analysed systematically and logically by the researcher using the grounded theory methods described earlier in this chapter. In particular, general ideas, themes, or concepts were sought and used as the basis for making generalisations.

The Second Research Question

The second research question of the study reported in this book aimed to develop an understanding of the current development of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile. In addressing this second research question the interpretivist paradigm was again applied, this time with the objective of examining and interpreting a wide range of contemporary and official records.

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Data Gathering Data were gathered by the same method outlined for the previous research question. However, as the related data-collection questions were related to recent changes in the curriculum framework in Chile, discussion of educational issues, information given to teachers in the webpage of the Ministry of Education, and the bills in the Congress records were also included. As with the first research question, this aspect of the study was also exploratory. Again, it was not possible from the outset to know the entire set of the sub-research questions required to guide the research on the second research question. However, some guiding questions were inferred from the second central question and were posed.

As previously stated in relation to the first research question, such guiding questions were not specific questions to be answered. Rather, they were those that suggested themselves at the beginning of the study as having the greatest potential to generate data relevant to the central area of interest.

Data analysis. As with the previous central research question, the grounded theory methods described earlier in the chapter were again used. The researcher systematically and logically analysed the documents gathered in the course of the research. Again, particular and general ideas, themes, and concepts were sought and were used as the basis for making generalisations.

The Third Research Question

The third research question of the study reported in this book was aimed at developing an understanding of current issues of concern for secondary school history teachers in Chile. In this regard, ‘concerns’ were considered to be matters that affect individuals in their everyday working lives; they are matters that represent participants’ interest and attention.

Data gathering. As with the first and second research question, this aspect of the study was also exploratory. Thus, it was again not possible from the outset to know the sum total of sub-research questions needed to guide the research on this question. However, some guiding questions were deduced from this central question. Also, as previously noted in the case of the first and second research question, such guiding questions were not seen as specific questions to be answered. Rather, they were those that suggested themselves as being productive guides to generate data pertinent to the central areas of interest.

Data analysis. Grounded theory methods of open coding, described earlier in this chapter, were used to logically and systematically analyse the total body of the transcribed interviews. The purpose of this analysis was to understand the issues of concern for Chilean secondary school history teachers while they were dealing with the implementation of a new curriculum framework prescribed centrally by the

national Ministry of Education. General ideas, concepts, themes and categories were generated. They were then used as the basis for generating propositions.

OVERVIEW ON THE QUALITY OF THE DATA

It is important for the qualitative researcher to employ an organised and efficient system for the storage of the research data (Creswell, 2007). Interviews were recorded on an mp3 device and stored in electronic format. Back-up copies were made of all electronic data. Interview recordings were transcribed, coded and filed in a locked cabinet. Data from documentary sources were also coded and filed. As codes, categories, and themes were merged they were also filed. Memos and diagrams were referenced and filed in a way which ensured they were easily retrieved for sorting and cross referencing.

The orderly management of the data helped to ensure its veracity. The efficient analysis of the data, the coding of transcripts and documents, and the systematic storage of memos, diagrams, and categories, ensured that all categories, themes, and sub-themes could be traced back to the data. This approach to the organisation of documentation is known as the development of an ‘audit trail’ (Burgess, 1984; Flick, 2009). It ensured that all data associated with the study presented in this book were readily accessible.

Quality of the Data

The concepts of making valid inferences from data and the consistency of the data are important issues in qualitative research (Ary et al., 2009). In fact, if research studies are designed to have an effect on theory or practice, they must be considered to be trustworthy. In this regard, Merriam (2009) explains that the insights and conclusions generated from a research study must be perceived as true to readers, educators, and other researchers. For this reason, it is of paramount importance that the reported study represents an honest portrayal of the concerns raised by the study-participants in relation to their functions as secondary school history teachers in Chile and the issues that exist for them.

In order to ensure the quality of the research it was considered appropriate to use ‘trustworthiness’ criteria instead of using the positivist criteria of validity, reliability and objectivity. Although the basic notions related to rigor in qualitative and quantitative research are similar, there are differences in the nature of the data and the philosophical assumptions on which both approaches are based (Ary et al., 2009). On this, Guba and Lincoln (1985) indicate that the criteria of trustworthiness in qualitative research can be ensured by responding to the notions of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Because each of these criteria has influenced the study reported in this book, they are considered briefly in the following paragraphs.

Credibility Credibility concerns the truthfulness of the data. This involves how well the investigator “has established confidence in the findings based on the research design, participants and context” (Ary et al., 2009, p. 498). In other words, it refers to whether data can be believed or not. Guba and Lincoln (1985) recommend a number of strategies to accomplish credibility, including the use of multiple sources of data, multiple methods of data gathering, member checking, and regular peer debriefing sessions with colleagues.

In the study reported in this book, it was considered that a rigorous analysis of relevant documents, combined with semi-structured individual and group interviews, would enable the researcher to provide a rich and detailed description (Creswell, 2007). In this regard, it was expected that this combination of multiple sources of data and multiple methods of data gathering would promote a holistic understanding of the teaching of secondary school history in the region of Valparaiso, Chile.

Another strategy used to increase the credibility of a study is the one known as ‘member checking’ (Merriam, 2009). As was already mentioned, this procedure involves taking the data and interpretations made by the researcher back to the study-participants with the objective of asking them if the findings are credible. The trustworthiness of the work is enhanced if, in the view of the participants, a recognisable reality has been produced (Merriam, 2009). This is especially important since the researcher has the obligation to represent participants’ realities as accurately as possible (Ary et al., 2009). Considering this issue, the secondary school history teachers interviewed in this study were asked about the concepts and understandings as they were generated from the analysis of the data.

Transferability. Transferability can be defined as the extent to which the product of the research can be applied, or generalised, to other similar contexts (Ary et al., 2009; Guba & Lincoln, 1985). As the aim of this reported study was to develop an understanding of the historical background, recent developments, and issues of current concern for secondary school history teachers in Chile, the elaboration of a product that could be generalised and applied to other contexts was not a concern. Interpretivist studies, such as the one reported here, aim to represent the perspectives of certain people who are unique to their particular context. In other words, because circumstantial uniqueness is an important feature of an interpretivist study, it is considered inappropriate to address issues of transferability as they are understood by positivist researchers (O’Donoghue, 2007).

The researcher “has the responsibility to provide a sufficiently rich, detailed, thick descriptions of the contexts so that potential users can make the necessary comparisons and judgments about similarity and hence transferability” (Ary et al., 2009, p. 502). In this regard, Geertz (1973) indicates that the development of a detailed exposition of the phenomenon studied would enhance the trustworthiness of the data. Geertz (1973) explains that a ‘thick description’ of the contexts and process involved in the research would allow others to consider if the findings could be applied to their own context. In the study reported in this book, a detailed analysis of

interviews transcripts, memos, notes, and documents provided the ‘thick description’ needed to enhance transferability.

Dependability. In qualitative studies, variability is expected because the context of studies always changes. Consequently, dependability is conceived as the extent to which variation can be tracked, or explained (Ary et al., 2009). The notion of dependability requires the researcher to ensure that the process of research is logical and clearly documented (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The main technique for enhancing dependability of findings is through the elaboration of a thorough ‘audit trail’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Flick, 2009).

As already mentioned, an audit trail is a “qualitative researcher’s documentation of how a study was conducted, including what was done, when, and why” (Ary et al., 2009, p. 636). This technique allows an external auditor to examine the study from beginning to end and to judge the trustworthiness of its outcomes (Ary, et al., 2009). Thus, in the study reported in this book the researcher had to make explicit the stages of the research from the beginning to the end, with the objective of clarifying the process which led to the elaboration of findings. In order to fulfil the requirements of an audit trail, the following materials relevant to the study reported here were collected and stored: interview recordings, historical documents, theoretical memos, and diagrams. All of them were utilised to establish connections between categories. Also, and in keeping with Guba and Lincoln’s (1985) suggestion, the researcher kept a personal journal where her methodological decisions were recorded and, therefore, could be made available for public scrutiny.

Confirmability. Qualitative researchers are concerned with whether the data and the findings generated by them can be confirmed by other researchers in the same situation (Ary et al., 2009). The notion of confirmability is used to know “the extent to which the research is free from bias in the procedures and the interpretation of results” (Ary et al., 2009, p. 504). In other words, it requires that the researcher explains how interpretations were arrived at (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). This notion requires that the data can be traced back to their original source and can be confirmed by an expert other than the researcher (Creswell, 2007). In order to fulfil this requirement, the elaboration of an audit trail was considered convenient (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). As was mentioned above, the researcher conducting this study produced an audit trail with the objective of enhancing its trustworthiness.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The proposal for the study reported in this book was approved by The University of Western Australia’s Human Research Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the project. Because of its nature, the fieldwork involved in this study placed the researcher in intimate contact with the lives of the study-participants. The researcher had to face decisions such as what to record and how to handle privileged and

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sometimes sensitive information. Reflection on these issues was an important part of the study. Also, it enabled the researcher to manage emerging concerns about the data collection, analysis, and findings.

The main concern in the reporting of the study was to preserve the privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality of the participants. To this end, the researcher has been careful not to name the participants. All participants were advised that there would be anonymity in the final document and possible subsequent publications. To accomplish this objective, coding was used for all the data collected. It was also used for what emerged during the analysis process.

Approval for secondary school history teachers to participate in the study was initially obtained from the managing directors of the schools selected. The purpose of the interviews and the relevance of documents to the study were explained to all participants before the interviews were conducted. In addition, an assurance was given to all participants that any one of them could withdraw from the study at any time of the research, without prejudice. Finally, documents were consulted after consent had been obtained from their custodians.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered the research design and methodology of the study reported in this book. First, the nature of the theoretical framework was outlined. The interpretivist paradigm and symbolic interactionism were explained, followed by a description of the context of the teaching of secondary school history in Chile. Next, the selection of the study-participants was explained and an overview of the methods of data collection and analysis was presented. Following this, the manner in which the theoretical framework was applied in relation to each of the three research questions was outlined. Then the provisions that were made to ensure the trustworthiness of the data were explained. Finally, a brief review of some of the ethical issues that were considered in conducting the study was presented. Chapter Five will now present the understandings generated in relation to the first research question.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CHILE

INTRODUCTION

The Chilean education system has faced multiple changes since its establishment in the mid-nineteenth century. In relation to curriculum, several curriculum frameworks have been implemented in the nation's schools over time. This has meant regular modification and change of school subjects in terms of objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. The latest of these modifications, for both primary and secondary school education, took place in 2009.

Although a considerable number of research projects and policy initiatives have been undertaken relating to the latest curriculum reforms noted above, and specifically related to the associated teaching of such school subjects as science and mathematics in Chile, there has been little research undertaken on the teaching of history as a school subject. To contextualise this situation, the first research question of the present study was posed, namely, 'What is the historical background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile?' The exposition on the research undertaken in relation to this question is the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

The chapter is in four parts. The first part is a general consideration of the development of the secondary school history curriculum before the establishment of the Chilean republic. The second part is concerned with the developments of the history curriculum in Chile during the nineteenth century. The third part of the chapter deals with the same matter for the first half of the twentieth century. The fourth, and final, part of the chapter focuses on the history curriculum in Chile during the second half of the twentieth century.

COLONIAL TIMES AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

Developments before the Arrival of the Spanish Conquerors

Before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors in the sixteenth century, the territory of what is known today as The Republic of Chile was populated by several groups of indigenous people. They are not as well-known as other Latin-American tribes such as the Incas and the Aztecs (De Ramón, 2010). The general view is that the Chilean aboriginal tribes did not have the same level of hierarchical organisation or as complex a social system, as their more well-known neighbours (Villalobos, 2001).

Amongst the indigenous peoples located in the Chilean territory who had reached a somewhat complex cultural stage are the *Atacameños* and the *Diaguitas*. They practiced agriculture, raised livestock, and were able to create pottery, basketry, and wooden tools. Others, such as the *Changos* and the *Onas*, lived by hunting and gathering (Barrientos, 2007). An indigenous tribe located in the south of the country that made a strong impact on Chilean history is the *Mapuche* tribe, also known as *Araucanos*. They had a strong connection with nature and considered the land to be sacred (Barrientos, 2007). Also, they strongly resisted any kind of foreign domination, including that of the Spanish conquerors, against whom they initiated a guerrilla war that lasted for three hundred years (Flores & Rivera, 2003; Jara, 1971).

There are no records available indicating that any kind of formal education was developed by the indigenous peoples before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors, or during the first decades of the settlement (Barrientos, 2007; Labarca, 1939). Initially, also, the provision of education was not a priority of the Spanish monarchy. The main aim was to pacify the territory in order to consolidate the settlement as its occupation of Chilean land was not total, was scattered, and was unstable (Jara, 1971). Thus, most of the royal budget was devoted to war (Aguirre, 1904; Labarca, 1939; Flores & Rivera, 2003).

Educational Developments during the Colonial Times

Educational developments during colonial times were limited. A number of reasons for this situation present themselves. Many of the Spanish conquerors who went to Chile did not have a solid education foundation themselves. Indeed, they were often not able to write their own names (Becerra, 1983; Labarca, 1939). They were interested in finding a better quality, of life, wealth and power as quickly as possible (De Ramón, 2010). Therefore, developing an educational system was not among their priorities.

The Spanish colonies in Latin-America did not progress in education at the same rate as Spain itself, notwithstanding the Spanish monarchy's censorship of all European books that were not in accord with the Catholic faith, including those inspired by the enlightenment movement (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1965). In the Chilean territory there was no printing press in the early colonial period, and people were ignorant of issues related not only to Spanish history, but also to Latin-American history and geography (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1965). The Spanish monarchy promoted the view that it was colonising the American territories to extend Catholicism, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Soto, 2000). In line with this aim, education was mainly conducted by religious orders, particularly the Jesuits and the Dominicans (Soto, 2000).

During colonial times there were three different levels of education, and they correspond to the levels that exist nowadays in Chile (Becerra, 1983; Soto, 2000). First, there were the *Escuelas de Primeras Letras* (literacy schools). These were a type of primary and middle schools that taught literacy, numeracy, and the Catholic

religion. Then, there were the *Escuelas de Gramática o Latinidad* (grammar schools). These were a type of secondary school where Latin was the language of teaching and where students could learn grammar, theology, sacred history, and philosophy. Finally, there were the *Estudios Superiores* (tertiary studies). These were a type of undergraduate school where Latin was the language of teaching and students could learn liberal arts, logics, philosophy, and metaphysics (Becerra, 1983; Soto, 2000).

History as a school subject was not taught at any of the levels of education mentioned above. In the various schools, the curriculum emphasised religion and good manners. They encouraged “fear of God and obedience to the double majesty” (Labarca, 1939, p. 27), namely, the priesthood and the monarchy, to help maintain the established political and religious order. The practical professions such as those of the medical doctor and the engineer were not promoted as they were considered to be the preserve of the coloniser.

Although most schools were dedicated to educating those located at a relatively high socio-economic level, colonial times also witnessed the initiation of rudimentary systematic education for those at the lower levels (Soto, 2000). Indigenous people, it was felt, had to be evangelised and integrated into what was considered to be the ‘civilised’ Spanish way of living, especially in terms of habits and language. Spanish settlers had to be able to communicate with their slaves and workers to make sure they understood what was requested of them. Also, they had to follow God’s commands. Beyond such parameters, however, education was considered to be dangerous (Soto, 2000).

The colonial conception of education began to change around the mid-eighteenth century under the influence of the Spanish monarchy. The House of Bourbon governed the Spanish territories from 1700, promoting in the colonies its ideas of progress and wellbeing, which emanated from the enlightenment movement (Soto, 2000; De Ramón, 2010). As a consequence, some well-known Chilean scholars became aware of the relevance of scientific knowledge and reasoning. Criticising the type of education provided in the Chilean territories, they asked the Spanish monarchy for help to create academies that were similar to the ones created in Spain under King Charles the Third. The monarchy, however, did not give priority to the request and did not seek to address the deficit (Labarca, 1939; Soto, 2000). Nevertheless, by the end of the century, a small number of educational institutions in the colonies were training engineers and lawyers.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT

The Consolidation of the Educational System

As previously mentioned, during colonial times history was not taught in secondary schools. The independence movement, initiated in 1810 and influenced by the ideas of the French revolution, emphasised the relevance of education for forming a new

type of person. This new person would achieve happiness and freedom through the use of reason (Campos, 1960; Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). Plans for different projects in harmony with this idea and dependent on the creation of a national system of education controlled by the state, were sent to the National Congress. However, because of the political instability produced by the independence movement and the organisation of the Chilean republic, they were not accepted at that time. An exception was the creation in 1813 of the *Instituto Nacional* (National Institute), a prestigious secondary school institution that would become the prototype for the structure and operation of the secondary schools to be established throughout the country (Campos, 1960; Soto, 2000).

The Chilean republic, founded in 1818, achieved national and international political stability after 1830 (De Ramón, 2010). The slow process of creating national institutions then started. The institutionalisation of a national system of education helped the development of a sense of nationality (Campos, 1960). It created a distance from the Spanish monarchic government and contributed to legitimise and give foundation to the country's new organisations (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). At the school level, there was an effort to standardise the types of learning pursued and to include new subjects in schools all around the country. These initiatives, it was believed, would help to develop both the use of reason and a sense of unity that would transcend regional differences (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

The final outcome was the creation of a strongly centralised system of education, which was also inspired by French educational influences and the unitary structure of the Chilean state (Núñez, 1997). A very significant step was the creation of the *Universidad de Chile* (University of Chile) in 1842. This was the first Chilean university and assumed the functions of a Ministry of Education in providing teachers and controlling the functioning of primary and secondary schools (Soto, 2000). Also, it was conceived of as an institution responsible for transmitting scientific knowledge to the school (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

The Implementation of History as a School Subject

In 1843, history was included as a school subject in the curriculum prescribed for secondary schools in Chile (Soto, 2000). Secondary school education was, for the first time, conceived of not only as a foundation for tertiary education, but also as a tool to train erudite people who would make a positive contribution to the country. In particular, it was argued, the teaching of history would prepare people to be patriots and citizens (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996), and thus help in the consolidation of the Chilean state and nation. Also, there was a view that knowledge of the past could assist in the making of decisions for the present, especially in the political realm (Reyes, 2002). Therefore, it was held, history as a school subject would have a strong influence on the destiny of the nation.

The amount of emphasis placed on history as a school subject created concern among parents, educators and politicians (Reyes, 2002; Woll, 1975). As historical

facts could be interpreted in different ways, the outcome of the learning of history, it was felt, could be either pure wisdom, or a real danger to the Chilean state (Reyes, 2002). On this, some recognised that history teaching could be a platform for misconceptions, and even indoctrination, which, in turn, could seriously damage the nation's well-being. Politicians claimed that scholars and textbook authors had a major responsibility in shaping students' political beliefs. This led to several confrontations taking place between representatives of the country's Liberal and Conservative parties, as representatives of both believed that history was being used to promote the ideologies of the other (Woll, 1975).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the teaching of history in Chile had changed insofar as it became related to the idea of progress. This progress, in turn, was related to the enlightenment movement and the power of reason. Great importance was attached to story-telling about significant historical events, about political history, about military history, and about the great characters who contributed to the idea of progress (Reyes, 2002; Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). The main focus of content knowledge was the history of Western Europe. In particular, it included the history of ancient Greece and Rome, and Medieval and Modern history. Attention was also given to Latin-American and Chilean history (Campos, 1960). Although there was recognition of the history of aboriginal people, it was not emphasised as it was not related to the enlightenment movement (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). The practice of story-telling involved students listening, copying and repeating (Soto, 2000), thus, resembling the 'great tradition' of history teaching.

The Curriculum of 1889: A Concentric Approach

The 1880s brought an economic boom as a result of developments in the mining industry located in newly-incorporated territories gained in the War of the Pacific. This conflict took place between 1879 and 1883, bringing Chile into conflict with Peru and Bolivia. After the war, Chile incorporated territories in the northern part of the country (Arica and Antofagasta), which led to the development of a mining industry that was still very important to the Chilean economy at the beginning of the 21st century (De Ramón, 2010). The government in power decided to invest in education by building schools, introducing new pedagogical strategies, and establishing a curriculum for secondary schools inspired by the German system of education (Campos, 1960; Labarca, 1939; Soto, 2000). The *currículum concéntrico* (concentric curriculum) was implemented in 1889, with the assistance of German educators. It specified six years of secondary school education, divided into two cycles of three years each.

The definition of *currículum concéntrico* indicated that the teaching of every school subject should gradually involve increasing its depth and complexity from one school year to the next. According to this conception, all school subjects should follow similar paths and the focus should be on the core subjects of Spanish language and mathematics. History, which was not a core subject, was allocated three hours of teaching a week (Campos, 1960).

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The foundation of the concentric curriculum was a particular conception of teaching, it was held, that would lead to the discovery of universal laws by the students themselves, progressively unveiling scientific knowledge (Campos, 1960). This promoted inductive learning as it was considered the most suitable way for students to come clearly to understand phenomena studied. It was expected that at their end of the sixth year of schooling, students would be able to understand universal laws (Soto, 2000).

The associated pedagogical strategies and curriculum organisation promoted by the concentric curriculum were completely different from those promoted previously. Teachers were expected to deal with concrete matters during the early years of schooling and deal with more abstract matters in successive years. Therefore, knowledge of isolated facts was to come first, followed by the establishment of relations, similarities, and differences (Soto, 2000). As this approach was totally unknown to scholars and educators in the country, it was highly criticised from the beginning of its implementation. However, it persisted for over twenty years (Campos, 1960).

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Curriculum of 1901: An Independent Approach

The twentieth century started with several critiques in Chile of the concentric method of teaching. Adapted from the German education system, critics argued, that it was implemented without considering the features and needs of the Chilean educational system, especially with regard to technical education. The main complaint was that teaching was not oriented towards developing a more efficient industrial and economic environment (Campos, 1960). Another complaint related the large amount of content knowledge to be covered throughout the school year. Critics also argued that the encyclopaedic content of the syllabus of study neglected students' learning (Soto, 2000). Accordingly, some teachers created their own syllabi of study with the intention of implementing them in their own schools.

Regarding the latter, Julio Montebruno, a history teacher at the National Institute of Santiago, created syllabi for history education in secondary schools in 1901. This proposal was entitled *Proyecto de Programa de Geografía e Historia* (Proposal of Geography and History Syllabi) (Montebruno, 1901, p. 2). Its implementation required that three hours of teaching be conducted every week and its structure did not follow the concentric approach in teaching. However, it did follow the six-year division of secondary schooling. The content to be covered in the first two years was explained in detail, while that for the other four years was listed more generally, yet in a very concise manner.

The proposal can be defined as having been a list of content knowledge only. Three substantive topics were outlined, namely, world history (which was mostly

Western European history), American history (which was understood as the history of the entire American continent and not just the history the United States of America), and Chilean history. The organisation of content followed a chronological order; events were listed and described according to the time in which they occurred. In this regard, every history topic included was not perceived as being isolated, but, rather, as being part of the ongoing history of humankind. For example, the first year outline stressed the teaching of matters from European, Asian, American, and Chilean history from ancient times until the thirteenth century, the second year deal with the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, and so on (Montebruno, 1901).

Even though Montebruno did not follow the concentric method of teaching, his proposal was a very long one and replicated the largely criticised encyclopaedic approach. It provided a very detailed account of the facts that were related to a certain period of time. Political issues were dominant, probably because they were deemed useful for organising content in a chronological sequence. However, economic, social, religious, and cultural issues were also included.

There were no major references to objectives, pedagogy, or classroom assessment. In some cases Montbruno (1901) suggested the use of images and maps when teaching specific content, although he did not explain his reason for this. He did, however, indicate the amount of time to be spent on every unit of content and he argued that two hours at the beginning of every school year should be dedicated to reminding students of the content taught the previous year. His proposal reflected the main objective of secondary school education in Chile at the beginning of the twentieth century, which was to give cultural, abstract, and theoretical knowledge to students and to prepare a future generation to govern the country (Labarca, 1939). Also, inspired by the curriculum organisation of the nineteenth century, Montebruno inserted Chilean and American history into the content prescribed for the history of civilisation.

The Curriculum of 1915: The Crisis Awareness

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, ‘crisis awareness’ began to spread around Chilean society. Critics came from certain political parties, cultural traditions, religions, and groups of various socio-economic origins, all agreeing that the country was experiencing a major crisis (De Ramón, 2010; Soto, 2000). Many proposed different solutions to solve the problem. However, they all had in mind that it had its origins in multiple issues, such as the erratic functioning of the Chilean economy, a very unbalanced social structure, an unstable political direction, and an education system that was not responding to the needs of the time.

Critiques of the education system were presented to the National Congress of Secondary Schools in 1912. The general demand was that the secondary schools needed to adapt to the needs of the country (Campos, 1960; Labarca, 1939; Soto, 2000). According to the critics, this would require orienting the objectives of

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secondary school education towards the reality of life in Chile, abandoning the German influence on the curriculum, abolishing the perception of secondary school education as a preparation phase for undergraduate degrees, creating new technical schools, and reviewing the syllabi of study in the humanities (Soto, 2000).

History as a school subject, particularly with regard to Chilean history, did not escape attention. New objectives and pedagogical strategies were sought (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). The intention of the Council of Public Instruction (whose successor today is the Ministry of Education) was that students would not only get to know about governments, wars, and political facts, but they would also study the Chilean context more broadly. The problem was that at that time there were not many published studies detailing Chile's economic, social, and cultural history (Serrano & Sagredo, 1996). Under these circumstances, the Counsel of Public Instruction created a new curriculum for history and geography in 1914, and it was implemented in 1915.

The Counsel of Public Instruction developed syllabi of study for history for each secondary school year. These were published as one document entitled *Programa de Historia i Jeografía* (history and geography syllabi) (Universidad de Chile, 1915). It started by describing the general objectives of history teaching for secondary school. Then, it presented a preparatory course divided into two years of work. The content of this course related to recent events in Chilean history and to people involved in them. The main objectives were the promotion of virtue among students and the appreciation of history as a school subject. This was followed by a description of the content to be covered in every school year. At the end of the third year there was a section included called *observaciones* (notes) that can be interpreted as pedagogical indications. However, there was no reference to the number of hours to be dedicated to this school subject every week, or to classroom assessment.

The document presented five general objectives for history teaching. One of them was “preparar a la recta comprensión de la sociedad contemporánea i [*sic*] especialmente de la sociedad chilena bajo sus aspectos político, intelectual i [*sic*] económico” (“to prepare for the correct comprehension of the contemporary society, and especially of the Chilean society, in their political, intellectual, and economic components”) (Universidad de Chile, 1915, p. 1). This objective, emphasising knowledge and comprehension of Chilean society and turning one's back on foreign influences, was in accord with the new purpose of secondary school education. In this regard, the promotion of patriotism and faith in the Republic's destiny was also considered. These were supposed to be developed through the teaching of national values and the exaltation of national heroes.

The encouragement of patriotism and national values was related to the role given to history as a tool to shape students' personalities in order to promote political, social and economic development and set an example for future generations. However, it was also possible to find objectives that continued the tradition of the nineteenth century, especially the unveiling of the most important features of human progress and the development of character and general culture for the spirit (Universidad de

Chile, 1915). Finally, all objectives were written as indications to teachers of the behaviours and knowledge to be taught to students.

The structure of the curriculum divided the teaching of history into two cycles, each of three years duration. The first cycle included world history, which was mostly Western European history, American history (the history of the entire continent), and Chilean history from ancient times until the end of the nineteenth century. The second cycle covered mostly the same content, but in a wider and deeper manner (Universidad de Chile, 1915). As with Montebruno's proposal, the organisation of content followed a chronological order. Instead of studying the history of a certain place from its beginnings until current time, historical facts from around the world were listed according to the time to which they related.

The first cycle, as already indicated, emphasised Chilean and American history, with a large amount of content knowledge dedicated to them in comparison to that for world history (Universidad de Chile, 1915). This can be explained by the perceived need for the time to promote national values and patriotism through the study of the indigenous peoples, the values brought by the Spanish conquerors, and the origins of the Chilean Republic. The second cycle started with the study of history as an academic discipline, introducing students to the use of historical sources. This was the first time such an approach had been introduced in Chilean schools. The cycle emphasised world and European history. It took into account the fact that similar content had already been taught in the first cycle, with the objective of giving students a general historical education, but sought a deeper comprehension of the world. However, the latter was not helped by the emphasis on a vast amount of content knowledge to be studied, especially in the sixth year. If teachers attempted to teach all of the content knowledge included in the syllabus it is unlikely that they would have been able to help the students to develop a real comprehension of the past. Indeed, the content of the sixth year was so detailed that it included the history of countries from all over the world, including Paraguay, Australia, Belgium, and Japan (Universidad de Chile, 1915).

The syllabus also indicated that history had to be taught orally to students. In other words, teachers had to tell a story in order to make their students appreciate history, especially during the first cycle of secondary school. In addition, the Council of Public Instruction also ordained as follows:

La acción del profesor tenderá a dar calor i [*sic*] vida a los sucesos históricos, i [*sic*] al referir las biografías de los héroes i [*sic*] hombres ilustres procurará interesar al niño, excitando en él el deseo de imitar sus cualidades i [*sic*] virtudes, especialmente las que mas [*sic*] contribuyan a la grandeza del individuo, como ser el dominio de sí mismo i [*sic*] la rectitud moral. (Universidad de Chile, 1915, pp. 27-28)

(Teachers' actions should bring to life historical events. When studying biographies of heroes or important men, teachers should encourage every child

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to imitate their good qualities and virtues, especially those that contribute to achieve greatness, for example, self-control and moral rectitude).

It was believed that knowledge should be memorised through conversation and constant repetition. Therefore, the most important pedagogic strategy was to encourage dialogue among students and to make them recite repeatedly whatever the teacher said. In other words, knowledge was to be acquired, memorised, and then related to new knowledge. Students had to know historical facts and learn national values.

The use of images was suggested in some cases to help students appreciate the main features of an historical event. Students were not supposed to take dictation, or to write extensively in their notebooks. Textbooks were regarded as tools to help students in their learning process, but they were not deemed to be essential. Although the syllabus did indicate that there should be some progress beyond memorisation of facts (Universidad de Chile, 1915), the few recommendations about comprehension appear not to have been enough to facilitate the development of higher-order skills. In this regard, the components of the curriculum seem to have been very similar to those in the 'great tradition' approach to the teaching of history.

The Curriculum of 1935: The Rise of the Middle Class

By the 1920s, the Chilean educational system was trying to adapt to the needs of the times. The country was witnessing a political system that had been run by the same oligarchic class during the nineteenth century. The development of an industrial economy was desired as there was an over-dependence on mining (De Ramón, 2010). The middle class was consolidating itself as a potential alternative to govern the country. Concurrently, this class was aspiring to take over the educational system, with the objective of promoting national, democratic, and modernising development (Núñez, 1984). Meanwhile, the working class was fighting for more political participation nationally (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). In a public speech given in 1924 by the President of the Republic, the responsibility of the system of education to develop students' mental, physical, and moral features was emphasised. In doing that, it was argued, it should consider the country's social and economic needs (Soto, 2000). As a response, the Ministry of Public Education and the General Ministry of Secondary Schools were created in 1927. The latter was created to promote the development of technical education and to break the control of the University of Chile over the secondary school curriculum.

Between 1928 and 1932, several changes were implemented in the system of education, with the intention of consolidating the rise of the middle class. A basic idea was that, through consideration of social and economic needs, it would be possible to move away from the past, which was thought to be to be oligarchic and decadent. One important modification was the division of secondary school education into two cycles of three years each (Campos, 1960; Labarca, 1939; Soto, 2000). The

first cycle had a common core of subjects for all year groups, while the second was divided into three parallel sections, namely, humanist, scientific, and technical education. New teaching methods started to be used in some public schools, but because of the national context of political instability, which was a consequence of the world economic crisis at the time, they were not implemented widely (Dirección General de Educación Secundaria, 1930).

In 1935, the General Ministry of Secondary Schools approved and published new syllabi for both secondary school cycles. The document emphasised that the purpose of secondary school education was to give youth a moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic training in order to create healthy citizens who would contribute to social wellbeing (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). This main purpose reflected the idea of the *Estado Docente* (state policy that promoted the primary role and responsibility of the state in providing a general education), a policy that had its origins in the mid-nineteenth century and was most popular in the mid-twentieth century. The document outlined a list of content to be covered in every school year, but there was no fixed order in which it should be taught and no hierarchy of content was identified. Teachers were given the responsibility of choosing what they thought was the most appropriate content, given the context of their schools. Also, teachers were encouraged to use new teaching methods whose efficiency had been demonstrated already within classrooms (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). However, the document did not offer any suggestions with regard to what these new approaches to, or methods of, teaching might be.

The General Ministry of Secondary Schools prescribed the teaching of history under the *Programa de Historia y Geografía* (history and geography syllabi) (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935, p. 23). The main objectives of history teaching were described as being the improvement of students' intellectual and moral features. The document did not elaborate on the type of moral features envisaged, but it emphasised the educational value of the teaching of history. In this regard, it gave freedom to teachers to offer interpretations of historical events according to their own values. At the same time, it proposed the use of chronology to organise content knowledge, with the objective of promoting discipline in students' mental structures (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). It was believed that only through an organised memorisation of content knowledge would it be possible for students to interpret, and place value on, historical events. It also encouraged the development of logical thinking through the understanding of cause and effect. Furthermore, it sought to promote cognitive skills through the establishment of associations throughout time.

Although the document claimed that the amount of content knowledge to be taught was not paramount, its organisation and coverage, especially in the second cycle, showed a clear maintenance of the 'great tradition' approach to the teaching of history. In general terms, the content knowledge organisation was very similar to that proposed in 1915. It advocated three hours of history teaching per week throughout the six years of secondary school education. Organised in a chronological

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manner, both cycles covered the same topics, but varied in coverage and depth. Topics included European, Chilean, American, and Latin-American history. Also, some features of the ancient Eastern civilisations were included. The second cycle, particularly in the sixth year, presented a final unit about the construction of historical knowledge, which included historical, political, economic, and cultural concepts. The main objective of this unit was to unveil some key features of historical science (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). However, the teaching of this unit was not compulsory. Also, while the syllabi stated that there was an attempt to avoid an encyclopaedic accumulation of facts and dates, the outline of an extensive amount of historical knowledge to be learnt by students in the second cycle contradicted this.

The first cycle emphasised the memorisation of historical events and the understanding of some historical concepts. The teacher was to have an active role in making history interesting for students, especially through the storytelling of particular events. The use of narration, it was argued, would help to develop memory and imagination, which was considered to be the first step towards the understanding of historical knowledge (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). The second cycle attempted to prepare students for understanding the current problems of society through relating them to past events, especially in Chilean and Latin-American history. Also, while it acknowledged the relevance of the Spanish heritage, this was always to be in relation to Chilean history (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1935). Teaching in this cycle, teachers had the additional responsibility for awakening a scientific curiosity among students which would lead to an understanding of historical knowledge.

Although the main objective of history teaching was declared to be the improvement of students' intellectual capacities, the chronological structure of what was outlined in the document and its emphasis on political facts did not facilitate this. At that time, however, such structure and storytelling about great characters and major military events, were considered to be part of an excellent teaching approach (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). History was conceived of as material to be taught orally by the teacher (Lira, 2008), with facts to be related through identifying causation. On the other hand, no attention was given to the importance of classroom assessment.

The Curriculum of 1952: The Consolidation of the Middle Class

The political instability brought about by the 1929 world economic crisis ended in the mid-1930s. The middle class went on to govern the country for more than thirty years. The declared intention of successive governments was to provide political stability, a strong and independent economy, and improved social welfare (De Ramón, 2010). The political stability achieved after 1938 gave them an opportunity to focus on such educational issues as access to education and the introduction of new teaching methods. These years witnessed the consolidation of the *Estado Docente* policy that emphasised the primary role of the state in standardising and regulating the educational system. The state assumed the social responsibility of

providing public education at the primary and secondary school level, which was administrated by the Ministry of Education (Federación de Educadores de Chile, 1958). This policy benefited the growing middle and working classes, as the state was responsible for increasing their access to education (De Ramón, 2010).

However, by the 1950s, critiques of the encyclopaedic methods of teaching in secondary schools became widespread (Núñez, 1997). Secondary school education, it was argued, should aim to provide a more comprehensive education in order to contribute to the country's economic development (Núñez, 1997). Although several attempts to adapt the system of education to the needs of the times were made during the first half of the century, curriculum objectives, content, and pedagogy were still very similar to those of the previous century (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). These emphasised information to be received by the students and neglected issues related to the development of character and the preparation needed to actively participate in the country's economy. In addressing these matters, the General Ministry of Secondary Schools implemented new syllabi for all school subjects, including history, in 1952 (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952).

The new syllabi were introduced in an attempt to adapt the objectives and methods of teaching to the needs of the country. The document stated:

Consecuencia de la profunda transformación espiritual y económica que experimenta la sociedad, se hace indispensable incorporar a la formación humanista tradicional, valores, situaciones y actividades propias de la época y adecuadas a las generaciones jóvenes. (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952, p. 8)

As a consequence of society's deep spiritual and economic changes, it is essential to adapt the traditional humanist education to the current values, situations, and activities that are more suitable to younger generations.

(In reality, however, the main objectives of secondary school education were the same as those that inspired the syllabi implemented in 1935, which emphasised the development of students' moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic capacities).

The syllabus of study for history was titled *Historia* (History) and consisted of two compulsory weekly hours of teaching. Both cycles covered the same content knowledge, but varied in coverage and depth. For every school year, the content of the document was divided into sections, or units, named *parte* (part). These 'parts', or sections, included European, Latin-American, and Chilean history. Each 'part' comprised three elements (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952). The first element was named *finalidades*, or purposes of the teaching of history. These purposes were mainly oriented to the role of the teacher. They usually used infinitive verbs such as 'to explain', 'to show', 'to promote interest', 'to highlight', and 'to initiate the knowledge'. Each was followed by a description of specific content knowledge to be covered. To a lesser extent, there was an outline of purposes related to the

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role of the student. These were stated in terms of ‘to value’, ‘to understand’ and ‘to appreciate’. The second element was named *materia* (subject matter). This was a list of the content knowledge to be taught. It emphasised political facts organised in a chronological manner. The third element was called *explicaciones para el tratamiento de la materia* (explications to address the subject matter). This referred to pedagogy, or teaching methods.

History teachers had to seek out their own strategies to follow the proposed suggestions and teach the content outlined in the document. This represented a big departure from the previous syllabi, because the freedom of teachers to emphasise, or interpret, certain content was no longer an option. Thus, historical knowledge was conceived of as a finished product to be memorised by students.

The overall declared objectives of the teaching of history were the understanding of problems related to mankind’s spirituality and historical destiny, the development of students’ moral, civic and social features, the acknowledgment of concerns related to overcoming difficulty, the shaping of character through the ennoblement of students’ personality, and the awareness of duties and human dignity (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952). These objectives can be perceived as an interpretation of the content-knowledge prescribed in the syllabi. However, there were no indications to teachers as to how to accomplish these objectives with students throughout the school year.

Content knowledge, as has already been mentioned, was organised in a chronological manner and emphasised political and military facts. Historical events were listed in a descriptive manner using political events to organise every section. For example, the section related to Chilean history in the nineteenth century was divided into categories organised in terms of the political ideology of the governments in power (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952). The content taught during the first cycle was then broadened and deepened during the second cycle. This organisation was based on the assumption that because many students would leave school after completing the first cycle, they should be provided with a general knowledge of European, Latin-American, and Chilean history. It was also declared that content knowledge had been revised to eliminate what were deemed ‘unimportant’ details that might distract students from the main objectives of this school subject (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952).

The pedagogical approaches outlined in the document emphasised an active role for the teacher in helping students learn historical events. It indicated the topics and issues to be addressed by teachers in order of perceived relevance and detailed the interpretation to be adopted. Suggestions were also made regarding the use of maps, timelines, written documents, and images (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1952). This was the first time a syllabus of study had been produced that suggested activities, but it was not drawn up in a systematic manner. For example, while there were sections that indicated different types of activities, there were others which did not. And, once again, the document did not deal with issues related to classroom assessment.

The decision to modify the syllabi can be interpreted as being motivated by the desire of the government in power to distance itself from the previous governments. In 1952, a right-wing oriented President of The Republic was elected after 14 years of left-wing oriented governments. The editorial of the *Journal of Education*, published by the Chilean Ministry of Education, claimed that while the previous governments had congratulated themselves on improving the system of education, in reality they had neglected it by not considering the needs of the times (Revista de Educación, 1953). It also claimed as follows:

Proclamaron las necesidades imperiosas y elementales de cultura popular, pero nada hicieron por bajar el índice de analfabetismo; hablaron del espíritu creador de nuestros compatriotas, pero perdieron el sentido de la nacionalidad; expresaron que estas actividades debían tener una orientación social; pero favorecieron elites deformes e infecundas; gritaron una educación Estado y democrática, pero entregaron la enseñanza a intereses ajenos. En fin, actuaron al margen de las conveniencias nacionales. (Revista de Educación, 1953, p. 8)

([The previous governments] stated the basic needs of the popular culture but did nothing to decrease illiteracy rates; spoke about the creative spirit of our fellow citizens but lost our sense of nationality; claimed that these changes would have a social orientation but favoured infertile elites; declared a public and democratic education but considered outsiders' demands. To sum up, they acted without considering the national interests.

Such critiques, however, were not supported by the evidence. Rather, they were the opinions of a new government trying to consolidate its public support by disqualifying all past actions. Such an approach has been adopted several times throughout Chilean history to justify educational reform, curriculum reform, and syllabi modification.

Specifically regarding the 1952 modifications for history as a school subject, although there were differences with the previous syllabi, these were not significant. The new syllabus included purposes and suggestions for teachers, but these were still related to the 'great tradition' of teaching history. The underlying assumption that political events organised chronologically should be memorised was no different from that of the previous syllabi. The main activities of governments, such as introducing constitutions, dealing with revolutions, and fighting wars, were to be presented to students without providing various interpretations.

During the 1950s, further attempts to adapt the system of education to the economic needs of the country were made. Examples of modifications included the outline of new goals for general education in 1954, and the modification of the structure for the second cycle of secondary school education in 1956 (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1964a). Along with the promotion of a feeling of nationality, the new goals addressed the training of citizens in appropriate knowledge and skills for industrialisation and urbanisation processes, although in reality very little real

change took place (Núñez, 1997). Also, modification of the structure of the second cycle affected only students in the sixth year.

Overall, the main purpose of the change was to prepare students for university. However, it did not involve a modification in the type of content knowledge, or teaching approaches used. Students had to choose between three areas of knowledge: humanities, mathematics, or sciences. The humanities included six hours of history a week, while the others involved only two hours.

The government in power from 1958 to 1964, following the suggestions of the Alliance for Progress, acknowledged the necessity of modernising the system of education in line with the country's democratic social project (Núñez, 1997). The Alliance for Progress was a plan, implemented by the USA government between 1961 and 1970, to provide political, economic and social assistance to Latin-American countries with the intention of preventing them from following the Cuban revolution path (De Ramón, 2010). Accordingly, the *Planeamiento Integral de la Educación* (Integral Plan for Education) was created in Chile (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1964b). Again, its main objectives were to reform and modernise Chilean education to adapt it to the economic development and social demands of the country. Prior to the introduction of the plan, a large amount of research on Chilean education was conducted. Scholars worked to make a diagnosis of the situation and to promote modernisation. The associated reforms, however, were not to take place until quite a few years later (Núñez, 1984).

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AS A SCHOOL SUBJECT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Curriculum of 1965: Integration

Even though Chile was enjoying the benefits of democratisation by the mid-1960s and was also experiencing industrial development, it had failed to provide for the social and economic well-being of all of its citizens. While it had been successful in incorporating the middle and working classes into the political system, many social and economic issues remained to be addressed (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). Also, the system of education continued to experience problems. For example, the syllabi of study were still not designed to respond to the economic needs of the country and access to secondary school education was not available to all (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). It was believed that only through the implementation of major structural reform would any real change take place (Núñez, 1997).

The government in power in 1965 decided to take the initiative by introducing an educational reform. This found national and international support. National support came from the *Planeamiento Integral de la Educación* (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 1964b), whose ideas had spread and been welcomed by the previous government. International support came from the Alliance for Progress (Núñez, 1997). The reform plan which was drawn up was divided into four main

categories: restructuring of the years of primary and secondary school, promotion of technical education, improvement of teaching preparation, and curriculum reform. This educational reform represented the most extensive development of the *Estado Docente* policy (Nilo, 1996; Núñez, 1997; Soto, 2000). This was a state policy that promoted the primary role and responsibility of the state in providing a general education, but which would be removed a few years later. It represented the final stage of a process that started at the beginning of the twentieth century and which conceived of the educational system as one that had to be developed in close relation to the economic, social, cultural, and political systems. In other words, education was considered to be an effective tool for and, at the same time, the engine of, the country's social and economic development (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

The President of the Republic, Eduardo Frei, justified the implementation of this reform, indicating that

El tipo de hombre que debe entregar la educación debe ser capaz de seguir aprendiendo, para que pueda extender ese conocimiento más allá de las aulas. (...) La situación educacional es una responsabilidad nacional que afecta a todos los chilenos y, en primer lugar, al gobierno. (Frei, 1966, p. 8)

(The type of man trained by the system of education has to be able to keep on learning so his knowledge can be expanded beyond classrooms (...). Education is a national responsibility that affects all Chileans, starting with the government).

This was an expression from the highest level that the system of education had to be modernised and democratised so that it could be used as a tool of economic and social development. The outcome of public education, it was held, should be citizens who would actively participate in the country's development and who would be aware of their role in a growing society (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). In this regard, the educational reform pursued the development of an integrated education for all Chilean students, including preparation for social responsibility and permanent training for working life.

The curriculum reform had a major USA influence. It was inspired, in particular, by the work of the curriculum theorists, Benjamin Bloom and Ralph Tyler. Approaches to teaching, classroom activities, methods of classroom assessment, and content organisation popular in the USA at that time were also adapted to the Chilean system of education (Nilo, 1996; Núñez, 1997). The commission in charge of developing the syllabi for history and social sciences comprised experts in the field of education and historians, both contributing to a renewal of the traditional conception of history. An outcome of their work was the publication of new textbooks that reflected new trends (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

The Ministry of Education created the *Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas* (Centre of Pedagogical Improvement, Experimentation and Research) in 1967 to assist in the implementation of the new

syllabi. The Centre was envisaged in particular as an organism that would provide ongoing professional development for teachers and would engage in ongoing research and experimentation to inform the modifications introduced (Nilo, 1996). It developed teacher development programmes to implement the changes required at the classroom level. Also, its researchers had the responsibility of designing the new syllabi and producing material to help implement the reform (Núñez, 1997).

The educational reform also criticised the previous education system. According to the Minister of Education, Juan Gómez (Leyton, 1967), that system had only spread information, and encyclopaedic knowledge. Thus, it was held, it was difficult for students to perceive of any kind of integration, or conclusions, in their learning. In order to address this situation, new goals for secondary school education, which pursued the development of students' integrity and personality, were approved. The particular backgrounds of students, it was held, should be taken into account by every school (Leyton, 1967, p. 4). In this regard, the new goals stressed the relevance of contextualised teaching. As a result, the syllabi were considered to be guides that required adaptation to meet the requirements of every school and they went beyond listing content knowledge. The intention was that they would assist teachers to promote the development of such intellectual processes essential to teaching and learning, as the development of inquiry and research skills (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a).

Following the example of the USA, the teaching of history was integrated with the teaching of other social sciences. The syllabi of *Ciencias Sociales e Históricas* (social and historical sciences), was the new name given to the school subject that included history, geography, economics, and civics, and concepts drew upon from anthropology and sociology (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). It required four hours of teaching a week.

Every syllabus of study divided the subject matter into learning units. Every learning unit was then divided into six sections (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). The first section was named *Introducción* (introduction). This included a brief description of the content knowledge to be taught and its organisation. Also, it indicated the pedagogical approach to be used in the unit. This was generally student-centred, emphasising inductive learning. The second section was entitled *Objetivos* (objectives). These were outlined in terms of the different skills to be developed by students and their sequencing was in line with ideas based on Bloom's taxonomy. The objectives differed greatly from those outlined in the previous syllabi since, for the first time, they were completely student-orientated. The third section was named *Contenidos* (content). It referred to content knowledge, followed a chronological order, and was organised in themes.

The fourth section in each syllabus of study was entitled *Conclusión* (conclusion). It included suggestions on how to bring closure to a unit. It emphasised the need to interrelate topics in the unit and answer possible questions, or misconceptions. The fifth section was called *Sugerencias de Actividades* (suggestions for activities). This section was novel when compared to the previous syllabi. It included multiple

activities in which students could engage, usually involving the use of historical sources. Also, it provided an example of classroom assessment. The sixth and final section consisted of a list of references to be consulted by the teacher when preparing for every lesson.

The syllabi were intended to be flexible tools to promote contextualised teaching and learning activities (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). Teachers would choose and adapt activities according to the skills, interests, and needs of the students. Specifically regarding history teaching, the declared objectives emphasised intellectual and social developments (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). One objective was the development of historical awareness. According to the syllabi, students were to be encouraged to think about the universal values of Chilean culture so that they would come to define their own system of values. This would allow them to make informed decisions about their role in Chilean society. History teaching, it was held, also promoted the development of knowledge, skills, and values to participate effectively in a democratic society. Moreover, the subject was offered to help students to understand and propose solutions to the main problems faced by a developing country (Ministerio de Educación, 1968b).

Another main objective was related to the development of the historical method of inquiry. Students were encouraged to work as historians because, as it was put, “el aprendizaje de la historia deja así de ser meramente verbalista para transformarse en algo experimental y concreto” (“the learning of history is not a storytelling, but something experimental and tangible”) (Ministerio de Educación, 1968b, p. 76). In accord with this view, history teaching should be concerned with the development of such intellectual skills required by the scientific method as analysis, comparison, inquiry, and reflection. Although all of these skills would require engagement in memorisation, this was considered to be a first step, not the outcome, of the learning process.

Restructuring of the cycles of general education reduced the years of secondary schooling from six to four (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). Primary school education was divided into two cycles, each of four years’ duration. This structure remains to the present day. In the teaching of history, the first two years of secondary schooling covered Chilean and Latin-American history (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a,b), while in the last two years students had to choose between two courses, namely, sciences and humanities (Ministerio de Educación, 1968c,d). Those who chose the science course studied four hours of history a week, while those who chose the humanities course studied history for eight hours a week.

During the first two years (Year 9 and Year 10), the syllabi emphasised the integration of Chilean and Latin-American history within world history (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a,b). Also, it proposed regular integration between history and the social sciences. Accordingly, historical themes were studied from the perspective of different disciplines, including geography, economics, and anthropology. The relevance of social development was highlighted, particularly in relation to the origins and evolution of Chilean society. These years also witnessed an emphasis on the

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cultural unity and integration of Latin-America, praising its spirit, analysing the current circumstances of the continent, and criticising its anachronisms and inequalities.

The third and fourth year (Year 11 and Year 12) were dedicated to European history, economics, and civics (Ministerio de Educación, 1968c,d). The units dedicated to history emphasised the construction of historical knowledge, work with historical sources, and the use of historical concepts. Teachers were provided with textbooks that contained the document-sources suggested. Content organisation was guided by the chronological order of political events, but it also took into account other aspects, such as social, economic, and cultural events. What was required was not an encyclopaedic review, but an examination of particularly relevant themes. The program avoided the integrations of disciplines (highly encouraged in Year 9 and Year 10), so that students could now learn the main features of the historical discipline as a separate area of study. It was stated:

Historia es comprendida fundamentalmente como historia de la civilización y se procura situar el fenómeno histórico en el contexto general de las interrelaciones culturales, políticas, sociales, y económicas. Se sigue estudiando preferentemente la civilización occidental, pero el estudio de la expansión europea por el mundo conlleva al estudio de la historia de Asia y de África y de las fuerzas y tendencias que condujeron a una progresiva integración del mundo. (Ministerio de Educación, 1968d, p. 70)

(History is understood basically as the history of civilisation. It is pursued to place the historical phenomenon in its context of cultural, political, economic, and social interrelations. The study of western civilisation is still emphasised, but the study of the European expansion over the world conducts to the study Asian and African history, and all the forces that lead to a progressive integration of the world).

The content to be taught also had new features. In particular, the new syllabus took account of up-to-date historical research and emphasised the use of historical concepts instead of facts (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a).

The declared objectives unveiled a conception of history as a scientific discipline which allowed for interpreting the past and learning from it (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). History, it was held, is a discipline that shapes the intellect and judgment. Therefore, narration and memorisation were no longer pursued. Instead of focusing on a chronological approach based on the memorisation of facts and dates, which was widely undertaken previously, the learning of knowledge that students could use to explain change and causation throughout time was emphasised. For example, Chilean history was conceived of as part of world history and, therefore, was seen as the consequence of a collective action which required the participation of all members of society (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

Pedagogy was related to the 'new history' approach in the teaching of history (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). It was expected that students would play an

active role in the learning process. The syllabus indicated that the learning process would be inductive so that students would themselves create concepts and arrive at conclusions. Also, the use and analysis of varied sources of information were promoted. However, teachers still had to explain the main features of the topic studied and were required to make a summary of every lesson to help students arrive at their own conclusions.

A large number of classroom activities was suggested (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). The most common activities were 'writing essays', 'drawing historical maps', 'analysing historical concepts and laws', 'drawing a timeline', 'analysing historical sources and documents', 'drawing charts', and 'analysing images' (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a,b,c,d). Also, there was to be progression in the use of activities according to the school year and the time of the year, and content was to be treated in a deeper manner from year to year. Furthermore, work in small groups was recommended and teachers were to give time to students to answer questions, helping them to think about what was being asked.

This new approach to teaching, to classroom activities, and to content, concurred with new developments in Chilean historiography, which started focusing on current problems in the country. Thus, content from economic, social, and cultural history was largely included in the school history syllabus. This resulted in a change from the political emphasis stressed in the previous syllabus (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a).

Assessment tasks were supposed to be consistent with classrooms activities. Therefore, the use of formative assessment was proposed (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). Essays and research projects were usually suggested as students' assessment tasks (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). The emphasis on assessment tasks was explained by the relevance placed on students receiving an integrated education. Thus, skills and values that could be assessed were also promoted. However, this was not done in a systematic manner. Also, there was no attention given to assessment plans, elaboration of assessment criteria, or marking assistance.

It was held that the implementation of the new syllabus was possible because its structure gave the necessary support and tools to teachers to face change. Furthermore, additional support would come from the Centre of Pedagogical Improvement, Experimentation and Research, assisting teachers with professional development workshops. However, the Ministry of Education was aware that real change would also take a long time (Ministerio de Educación, 1968a). This, however, was not to be (Flores & Rivera, 2003; Núñez, 1997; Sagredo & Serrano, 1996, Valenzuela, Labarrera & Rodríguez, 2008); the changes were first implemented in 1967 and were discontinued in 1974.

In 1970, the first socialist government in the history of the country was elected (De Ramon, 2010). With the support of his party, called *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity), the new President of The Republic, Salvador Allende, continued implementing the 1965 educational reform. Also, he planned to develop an educational system suitable for a democratic and egalitarian society (Núñez, 1990; Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

However, his plans were not to be implemented because the country faced a deep social, ideological and political conflict during the first years of the 1970s. The *coup d'état* of 1973, organised by a military junta led by General Augusto Pinochet, put an abrupt end to Allende's democratic government. This also meant the end of the educational reform movement. Pinochet's dictatorial government stopped the reform, modified the syllabi in 1974, and implemented a new curriculum framework in 1981. The modifications implemented by the military junta resurrected traditional content and approaches to teaching. For history teaching, this meant the revival of 'the great tradition' approach.

The Curriculum of 1974: Temporary Modifications

The military government was created according to authoritarian principles (Reyes, 2002; De Ramón, 2010). The new military junta blamed the Chilean state for the social and economic conflicts faced during Allende's government. The armed forces positioned themselves as safeguards of the physical integrity of the state. They held that they were responsible for preserving the nation's historical and cultural identity (Reyes, 2002) and did not see the pursuit of social development as relevant to the country. From now on, emphasis would be placed on the promotion of national, humanist, anti-Marxist, and Catholic values, especially through the system of education (Núñez, 1997).

During its first years, the military government strongly criticised the previous developments in education, instituting what it called an 'ideological crusade' (Núñez, 1997). Teachers and government officials who showed their support for the Popular Unity were fired from their jobs (Reyes, 2002). All modifications introduced in 1965, particularly with regard to teaching approaches, were removed. Traditional approaches to teaching, including those related to discipline, the authority and active role of the teacher, and demands for higher standards, were reinstated (Núñez, 1997).

The educational policy developed by the military government during its first years had two main features. The first one was the reduction of the state's responsibility in education, which meant the end of the *Estado Docente* policy. The second one was the revision and modification of the curriculum framework for primary and secondary schooling (Núñez, 1997; Valenzuela et al., 2008). One of the first measures implemented was the removal from the syllabi of all elements that were considered to have the potential to create conflict or were politically-oriented. This led to the introduction of new temporary syllabi in 1974, which excluded content that, according to the military junta, contained ideologies that were against the values promoted by the government in power.

In order to justify the syllabi modifications, the military government conducted a diagnosis of the system of education and engaged in national consultation with teachers (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975). The outcome of both investigations was the conclusion that the system needed adaptation to face the demands of the times. Also, it was argued, teaching practices and the students'

learning processes needed to be improved (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975). What was recommended were modifications to the current syllabi in line with the values promoted by the military government. It was emphasised that these modifications would be temporary and would respond to the urgent need for change, indicating that permanent changes, in terms of a complete curriculum reform, would occur later in the decade (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975).

The new syllabi were implemented in 1974. The titles of the school subjects were maintained, but their structure was modified (Ministerio de Educación, 1974). The division between humanities and sciences in the second cycle (Year 11 and Year 12) was removed. The humanities, and particularly history, had most of their social, cultural, and economic objectives and content removed (Reyes, 2002). The military government, by contrast, reinforced objectives and content related to national values and patriotism. Also, modifications were made with regard to the amount of time allocated to history as a school subject. While four hours a week were devoted to social and historical sciences in Year 9 and Year 10, two hours were dedicated to Chilean history and three hours to social sciences each week in Year 11 and Year 12. Overall, the pedagogical approach did not embrace deep changes.

The new objectives of the social and historical sciences were related to the importance attributed to the development of a feeling of nationality through the analysis and understanding of Chilean history. This desire was put as follows: “procuran afianzar la comprensión de la historia patria, el respeto a las instituciones, la valoración de su suelo y recursos naturales” (“attempt to ensure the understanding of national history, the respect for institutions, the acknowledgment of the land and its natural resources”) (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 60). Other objectives were not modified. These included the ‘elaboration of a scale of values needed to understand historical processes’, the ‘understanding of the historical method of enquiry’, and the ‘development of the skills needed to actively participate in a democratic society’ (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 67). The last of these was maintained, presumably, to give the impression that the authoritarian government was encouraging the development of skills related to active participation in a democratic regime.

The military government perceived school history teaching as a tool to reinforce and legitimise its actions. In fact, it was declared by the Ministry of Education (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975) that history as a school subject had great relevance in shaping students according to the values promoted by the government in power. It was stated that school history teaching:

Por su naturaleza, importancia formativa y riqueza conceptual, la que mayor aporte entrega a la formación del hombre integral conformado de acuerdo a nuestros valores culturales. (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 60)

(Because of its nature, educational relevance, and conceptual richness, contributes the most in shaping men under our cultural values).

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Accordingly, the content knowledge referring to social and economic development was replaced with content related to such national emblems as the Chilean flag, the national anthem, and the actions of national ‘heroes’, men and women, who contributed to the country’s development (Reyes, 2002).

Content knowledge for Year 9 and Year 10 included Chilean and Latin-American history. However, the strong Latin-American emphasis which had previously prevailed, was removed. The focus now was placed on the promotion of Chilean heritage, and particularly on the contribution made by Spain and the indigenous peoples to that heritage. Also, it was declared that there should be teaching of “información científica más actualizada” (“up-to-date scientific information”) (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 75), especially in relation to Chilean history.

Content knowledge for Year 11 and Year 12 included Chilean and world history, the latter being mostly Western European history. Chilean history emphasised political events related to the origins and consolidation of the Chilean culture and its values. The development of patriotism was also encouraged, especially through prompting the idea of Chilean nationality as being forged by different institutions, and specifically the Chilean state, the Catholic Church, and the armed forces (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975). Conservative Chilean historiography indicated that these institutions had provided order and stability to the country since its origins (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996). This was in accordance with the idea of order that the military government was seeking to institute.

There were very few pedagogical modifications. The syllabus presented several suggestions for classroom activities which demanded an active role for students in the learning process. Students’ learning had to focus on promoting knowledge and skills that would result in the development of their responsibility as students and citizens (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975). Examples of classroom activities suggested to assist in this promotion were ‘analysis of written and visual documents’, ‘elaboration and work with historical maps’, and ‘elaboration of a research project’ (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 81). Teachers were given autonomy to implement such suggested activities, or any other of their choice as long as they pursued the objectives for each unit. Also, the syllabus indicated the number of hours that should be dedicated to each unit and included a bibliography.

Additionally, classroom assessment was dealt with in the syllabus, emphasising that it should take place concurrently with teaching and learning processes (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975). Different assessment tasks were suggested for use, including ‘objective tests’, ‘essays’, ‘short answer questions’, and ‘written reports’ (Superintendencia de Educación Pública, 1975, p. 75). However, there were no indications regarding the number of assessment tasks required for each semester, or assistance required to ensure the marking process was used appropriately.

As previously mentioned, these modifications were to be only temporary as the military government planned for an educational reform to be implemented after

the 1980 plebiscite. The military junta used this election as a way to legitimise its authoritarian government. The outcome of the plebiscite was a ten year extension of the rule of the military government (De Ramón, 2010). The Ministry of Education planned to restructure the system of education in keeping with a neo-liberal ideology (Núñez, 1997). The first step was the modification of the curriculum for primary schooling in 1980 and secondary schooling in 1981. During those years, the structure of the system of education experienced deep changes, most of which remain until today.

The Curriculum of 1981: Flexibility

The new curriculum framework was oriented towards values promoted by the military government in accordance with a set of ideas known as *Humanismo Occidental Cristiano* (Western Christian Humanism) (Núñez, 1997). This stated that men and women have absolute primacy over all creation, even the state, which is justified in their transcendent nature given by God (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 11). Therefore, it was held, it is society's duty to ensure and provide education for all its members. The state would assist and regulate this duty, but it is not its main responsibility. These were the foundations of the *Estado Subsidiario* (subsidiary State) policy of education, which was implemented as a replacement for the *Estado Docente* policy. According to this policy, the state would fund and monitor public education, and also would promote the development of private-subsidised and private-paid education. All other responsibilities were then delegated to private groups and individuals.

The new curriculum was designed to assist students to achieve their maximal development in terms of skills, activities, interests, and needs (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 2). Students were considered to be the central and main focus of any educational activity. Therefore, it was argued, the syllabus should be designed to promote their active participation in the learning process (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 2). However, particular classroom activities, or teaching methods, to achieve this goal were not outlined. In addition, the curriculum framework changed the title given to the school subject to *Historia* (history).

The new curriculum gave teachers an active role in deciding the methods to use in teaching and learning. They were supposed to implement what they deemed most suitable for their own classrooms (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). By giving them more autonomy, it was expected that they would become responsible for their students' learning. Also, that would allow them to view their occupation in a more creative and efficient manner (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). This conception was completely different from the one expressed in the previous curriculum, where teachers were assisted in their work with suggestions for activities and professional development workshops.

The new syllabus offered referential frameworks for each lesson plan (Ministerio Educación, 1985). They were considered to be flexible tools which presented general indications about what to do within classrooms. Also, schools were given flexibility

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to structure their own programmes as long as they would meet the minimum objectives and content required by the Ministry of Education (Núñez, 1997). Thus, every programme had to be in accordance with the four criteria that supported the new curriculum: flexibility, optionality, interdisciplinary, and sequential learning (Ministerio Educación, 1985).

The main objectives of history as a school subject were ‘to strengthen and expand students’ understanding of the social world’, ‘to develop skills to successfully get immersed into the world’, and ‘to contribute to human progress’ (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 26). There were no indications on how to achieve these objectives within classrooms as there were no suggestions for teaching activities or pedagogical strategies to use. Therefore, teachers had to rely on their previous knowledge and creativity to come up with their own activities.

The curriculum framework for secondary school history divided every school year into different learning units (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). For every unit, general and specific objectives were first presented. This meant that the new curriculum placed great emphasis on the objectives, in the form of behaviours, to be achieved by students (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). The new objectives were stated in a very specific manner, while at the same time, content to be covered was outlined in a broader manner.

General and specific objectives of each unit were expressed in terms of behaviours and values to be developed in students (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). Thus, they were described in terms of cognitive and affective outcomes to be achieved. General objectives were outlined as those to be achieved in the long term, while specific objectives were to be achieved in the short term. General objectives emphasised learning of broad historical processes and their relevance to the present time. Specific objectives focused on developing particular behaviours needed to learn specific content knowledge. Both types of objectives were supposed to complement each other, guiding the teaching and learning process (Ministerio de Educación, 1985).

Four general objectives were described for each learning unit in Year 9 and Year 10. The first one dealt with knowledge of main historical events and their contribution to the present. The second one dealt with historical change and continuity. The third one described skills to be developed related to space and time. The fourth objective promoted the study, analysis, and interpretation of different types of historical sources. For students in Year 11 and Year 12, a fifth general objective was added for every unit. This objective was related to the development of patriotism through the study and understanding of national values. Also, for students in their final years of secondary schooling, the objective related to space and time localisation was replaced by acknowledgment and respect for their Chilean cultural heritage (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 27). Specific objectives were outlined using such action words as ‘to understand’, ‘to value’, and ‘to distinguish’, followed by an outline of selected content knowledge for every unit.

The integration of disciplines through what was known as ‘social and historical sciences’ was abandoned. What was offered now were different and separated

disciplines, including world history, general geography, Chilean history, Chilean geography, civics, and economics. The content of the syllabi indicated that the first two years of secondary schooling focused on world history (Ministerio de Educación, 1985), which was mainly the study of Western European history, while the last two years of secondary schooling covered Chilean history (Ministerio de Educación, 1985).

The content knowledge prescribed was concerned with developing in students an appreciation of the conservative and authoritarian governments of the first half of the nineteenth century in Chile (Reyes, 2002). Also, the actions of the military forces and their influence throughout Chilean history were emphasised (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). The Independence war and the military victories of the nineteenth century were praised as indicators of the relevant contribution of the military forces to the country's organisation and stability. Furthermore, the current army forces were positioned as being a fundamental institution of the Chilean nation (Sagredo & Serrano, 1996).

For each school year, every learning unit presented a chronologically-ordered list of content knowledge. It consisted of relevant historical facts, which were mainly political events. The list, it was held, would help students to have a better understanding of their own reality (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). Again, as with many other previous syllabi implemented for the teaching of history in Chile, content knowledge emphasised such political events as wars, revolutions, and developments of governments, and was required to be presented in a chronological manner. The list of content knowledge was very broad and did not indicate what issues would be emphasised when teaching any particular content. However, the history of the nineteenth century was emphasised, along with the history of the Catholic Church (Ministerio de Educación, 1985, p. 123). Content knowledge from social, cultural, and economic history was also included, but it was presented as a complement to political history, while a broader view of Latin-American history was no longer included (Reyes, 2002).

At the end of each unit, a bibliography section was outlined for teachers. Again, no pedagogical approaches, or classroom activities were suggested. However, in every unit one general objective indicated that students had to work with different types of historical sources. Also, the bibliography suggested that teachers should use particular books on pedagogy and teaching methods. It was held that it was up to teachers themselves to use their creativity in order to find suitable teaching strategies for their students (Ministerio de Educación, 1985). In reality, this meant that teachers returned to what they were used to doing, namely, engaging in teacher-centred practices (Valenzuela et al., 2008). In comparison to the orientation they took to the previous syllabus, teachers were now, once again, required to conceive of history as the accumulation of factual knowledge through memorisation (Reyes, 2002; Valenzuela et al., 2008). This meant a return to the 'great tradition' approach to teaching history for the foreseeable future, especially as this curriculum framework was not modified until twenty years later.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the historical background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile has been characterised largely by the adoption of the 'great tradition' approach to teaching history. In this regard, the use of teacher-centred practices and the pre-eminence of chronologically-organised political events have been distinctive features. However, the 'new history' approach, manifested in student-centred activities and the development of the historical method of enquiry, was also been promoted, albeit over a much shorter period.

In addition, the chapter has demonstrated that the curriculum for secondary school history since its origins has been influenced by the needs and operations of the political system. Furthermore, it seems that attention in history as a school subject has not always been paid to the accuracy of historical events, or to the promotion of intellectual skills. Sometimes, instead, it has focused on certain interpretations of events and their utility for the government in power. In other words, the declared objectives and values of every curriculum framework have been related to the political orientation of the government in power and its need to spread its influence through society. To put it another way, the ruling class has used history as a school subject to transmit its political and ideological interests (Becerra, 1983). It is against this background that the second research question posed in relation to the secondary school history curriculum is now approached, namely, 'What are the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile?'

CHAPTER 6

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY CURRICULUM IN CHILE

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five described the historical background to the current curriculum framework for secondary school history in Chile. In particular, the curriculum frameworks for history as a school subject implemented in the country during the nineteenth and twentieth century were considered in relation to objectives, content, pedagogy and assessment. What was especially demonstrated was the pre-eminence of the ‘great tradition’ approach of history teaching over most of the period. This approach was characterised by teacher-centred practices, story-telling, and memorisation of historical facts and dates.

Although the curriculum reform implemented in the 1960s attempted to promote a shift to the ‘new history’ approach, the associated changes were reversed by the curriculum framework prescribed by the military government which came to power in 1973. A new agenda yet again emerged with the return to democracy in 1990, highlighting concern about issues related to equity and quality of education. In response, the Ministry of Education developed a new curriculum framework for all school subjects in 1998. This was implemented in secondary schools, starting in 1999.

In the mid-2000s, an evaluation of the curriculum framework was undertaken by the Ministry of Education with the intention of identifying strategies for improving teaching geared towards focusing on objectives that were not being met. This resulted in modifications to the curriculum framework and the elaboration of new programmes of study in 2009. The Department emphasised that the modifications were not to be interpreted as a new curriculum framework. Rather, they were to be seen as adjustments to components of the existing framework in order to facilitate its implementation (Cox, 2011; Ministerio de Educación, 2009b; Ministerio de Educación, 2009c).

Since the study reported in this book was on the curriculum for secondary school history, the focus in the present chapter is on the history curriculum implemented after 1999. This is a response to the second major research question, namely ‘What are the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile? The analysis is centred on objectives, content, pedagogy and assessment components of the curriculum.

The chapter is in three parts. It first describes the main features of the current system of education in Chile. This is necessary since, over the last three decades, the Chilean system of education has experienced deep changes in its structure and organisation. These need to be outlined so that one can come to understand the

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context to the current developments of the history curriculum. The second part of the chapter goes on to describe the history curriculum designed in 1998. The last part of the chapter then examines the current history curriculum framework, whose implementation started in 2010.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Chapter Five provided an understanding of the historical background to the teaching of history for secondary schools in Chile. A brief overview of the main features of the current system of education is now outlined. This is in two sub-parts. The first sub-part provides an outline of the general system of education in terms of how it is regulated, its various levels, curriculum development, and the personnel of the educational system. The second sub-part is focused, on the main features of the funding system for education. This necessitates considering the types of schools that exist in the country and the consequences of introducing a voucher system.

The General System of Education

The main features of the current system of education in Chile were configured during the last two decades. On this, Cox (2012) has argued that during these years, the highest levels of activism in education in Chilean history were witnessed. This activism was represented by major educational reform, the arrival at political consensus on educational policies, and students' demonstrations against education being viewed as a 'for profit' enterprise (Waissbluth, Arredondo, Quiroga & Diez, 2010). From 1990 onwards, several reforms were undertaken in order to seek the achievement of quality and equity in education for those at all social-economic levels, while still maintaining some features of the 1980s educational reform. These reforms will now be considered in relation to four areas.

Regulation of the Chilean educational system. The principles of the current system of education are based on two legal documents. The first document is the *Constitución Política de la República de Chile* (Political Constitution of the Chilean Republic), produced in 1980 and modified in 2003. The second one is the *Ley General de Educación* or LGE (General Law of Education), introduced in 2009 (UNESCO, 2010). The LGE replaced the *Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación*, or LOCE (Organic Constitutional Law of Education), which was introduced on the 10 March 1990, the last day of Pinochet's dictatorship. The latter has been perceived by many as being a tool of the military government to guarantee the implementation of the 1980s educational reform throughout the 1990s (Cox, 2001; Nilo, 1996; Reyes, 2002; Rubilar, 2010).

The LGE defines education as a process of permanent learning whose main objective is to promote the spiritual, emotional, ethical, intellectual, artistic, and

physical development of a person throughout his or her life. This process is meant to be undertaken through the promotion and transmission of ‘appropriate’ values, knowledge and skills (Ley General de Educación, 2009). Also, it is based on the view that not only do parents have the right and responsibility to provide education for their children, but that this right must be safeguarded by the State (Ley General de Educación, 2009). To this end, the State must fund public schools, with the objective of ensuring access of all to education. Accordingly, primary and secondary school education is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 18, although the State allows for students to be enrolled in secondary schools up to the age of 21 (Ley General de Educación, 2009).

The official mission of the Ministry of Education is to ensure the development of an educational system which promotes equity and quality of education. Through the generation and implementation of educational policies and regulations, it aims to contribute to the country’s development, providing what is termed integral and permanent education (Ministerio de Educación, 2009a). Because Chile is a unitary state, the associated policies and regulations generated by the Ministry of Education are implemented at national, regional, and provincial level.

Levels of education. According to the LGE (Ley General de Educación, 2009), pre-primary school education is not compulsory. It is for those from birth to 5 years of age, and it is divided into three levels. The first level is called *sala-cuna* (nursery), the second level is called *nivel medio* (middle level), and the third level is called *nivel transición* (transition level). While the State is responsible for promoting pre-primary school education at all levels, it is only required to guarantee free access at the transition level.

Primary school education is compulsory and extends from Year 1 to Year 8. It is divided into two cycles, each of four years’ duration. Students are supposed to enrol to Year 1 if they are 6 years old by the 30 March of that school year. It is a State responsibility to provide free access to students at this level, as laid down in the *Ley de Instrucción Primaria Obligatoria* (Compulsory Primary Education Law), approved in 1920. Secondary school teachers are also trained to teach the last two years of primary school education.

Secondary school education in Chile is compulsory and it lasts 4 years. In 2003, the nation’s Constitution was modified to ensure that there would be free access to secondary school education (Cox, 2007). This means that the Chilean state guarantees 12 years of free education for all students. Secondary school education is divided into two cycles, each of two years’ duration. The first cycle consists of a common curriculum for all schools. The second cycle has three different streams: an academic stream, also known as the humanistic-scientific stream, a vocational stream, and an artistic stream. Each of these streams has its own curriculum guidelines.

Tertiary education is not compulsory. There are three types of institutions: universities, professional institutes, and technical training centres (Espinoza,

2001). In order to gain access to tertiary education, students must complete 12 years of compulsory education. Also, they must take a national standardised test called *Prueba de Selección Universitaria* or PSU (Access to Tertiary Education Test). Tertiary education fees are expensive. Usually, students from lower socio-economic levels cannot afford them so they are compelled either to obtain loans, or to forego any study (Espinoza, 2001). In 2011, students in secondary school and tertiary institutions demonstrated throughout the country, demanding that there be free access to tertiary education (Atria, 2012, Valenzuela, Arriagada & Scherman, 2012; Weinstein, 2011).

Curriculum development. The LOCE brought about the end of the National Curriculum which had existed since the establishment of the Ministry of Education. What it promoted was the decentralisation of the school curriculum by giving schools an opportunity to create and implement their own programmes of study. The Ministry of Education developed a Curriculum Framework oriented by *Objetivos Fundamentales* or OF (Fundamental Objectives) and *Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios* or CMO (Minimum Compulsory Content), which had the approval of the *Consejo Superior de Educación* (High Council of Education). This council was also created to promote decentralisation by moving decision-making processes from the Ministry of Education to an external body of specialists (Cox, 2006b). Since then, schools have had the choice of implementing the programmes of study created by the Ministry of Education, or of implementing their own programmes of study providing they have the approval of the Ministry of Education and follow the requirements of the OF and the CMO.

The Ministry of Education makes a distinction between the curriculum framework, study programmes or syllabi of study, study plans, and textbooks. The curriculum framework lays out the OF, or learning outcomes, to be achieved by students throughout their school life. Both the OF and CMO statements outline the prescribed content, skills and values related to teaching and learning within classrooms. While the OF are formulated as learning outcomes to be achieved by students, the CMO are formulated as teaching outcomes. It is compulsory for all types of schools to follow these requirements (Ministerio de Educación, 2009a).

Study programmes, study plans, school textbooks, and the national standardised tests must be developed in harmony with the prescribed curriculum framework. The study programmes organise the curricular components of each school subject in order to make clear what is sought to achieve the OF and CMO established for students at each grade-level. They present objectives, content, teaching methods, and assessment orientations, divided into learning units. Also included are suggestions for activities to help teachers to plan their lessons. The study plans define the number and organisation of hours for each school year. Included within them is an outline of the number of school subjects to be taught each school year and the allocation of hours per week to teaching.

Personnel of the Education System In order to obtain a place in a teacher preparation programme leading to a Graduate Diploma in Education it is compulsory to have finished secondary school education and to have passed the *Prueba de Selección Universitaria* or PSU (Access to Tertiary Education Test). A secondary school teacher's diploma programme takes five years to complete. The program structure includes units related to education studies, a subject teaching speciality, and teacher training. Universities have the autonomy to design their own curriculum frameworks, professional profiles and programmes of study for the diploma, as there are no official national prescriptions laid down by the Ministry of Education. Consequently, teachers all around the country graduate from programmes that differ in terms of content and approach. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this results in differences in teaching practices.

A major problem that has been identified in school curriculum implementation in Chile is that teacher preparation is still oriented towards the coverage of prescribed content, rather than towards the quality of education (Cox, 2012). Secondary school diplomas still emphasise the imparting of school subjects. The current secondary school curriculum framework advocates active learning and student-centred teaching practices. Unfortunately, however, many of the teaching practices associated with the framework are unfamiliar to teachers.

Main Features of the Funding System

As previously mentioned, the military regime that governed between 1973 and 1990, implemented an educational reform that resulted in changes in both the administration and the funding system of schools (Cox, 2007; Elacqua, 2012; Patrinos & Sekellariou, 2011). Changes in school administration were intended to decentralise the role of the Ministry of Education. Regional and provincial offices of the Ministry of Education became responsible for regulating the operation and functioning of schools. Private schools came to be administered by the private sector and public schools came to be administered by municipalities. In Chile, a commune is the smallest administrative division. It is administered by a municipality and headed by a democratically elected mayor. Within this structure, public schools are also known as *escuelas municipales* (municipal schools).

Changes in school funding resulted in the introduction of a national voucher system. This was promoted as a state subsidy for every student in attendance at both public and private schools. The system is based on the market-oriented premise that competition amongst schools can improve the service provided. Parents were informed that they have the responsibility to choose their children's school. In order to attract and retain students, schools under this system, it was argued, would be compelled to improve the quality of the education of their students (Contreras, Sepúlveda & Bustos, 2010; Cox, 2007; Chumacero, Gómez & Paredes, 2011; Elacqua, 2012; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006; McEwan et al., 2008; Mizala & Torche, 2010; Patrinos & Sekellariou, 2011).

Types of Schools Changes in school funding and administration created four types of schools: public or municipal schools, private-subsidised schools, private-paid schools, and corporation schools. In 2011, there were 5580 public schools throughout the country (Ministerio de Educación, 2012). They are funded through a student voucher system based on daily attendance. Municipalities are responsible for the administration of this arrangement. On this, they are not allowed to charge fees, or to select their students.

In 2011, there were 5756 private-subsidised schools throughout the country (Ministerio de Educación, 2012). Private subsidised schools are also funded through the voucher system. Since 1993, they have been allowed to charge fees and to select students using admission tests, or interviews with parents (UNESCO, 2010). The process involved is known as shared-funding. These schools are privately owned and administered. The school system has faced increasing privatisation since the implementation of the voucher program. Privatisation has resulted in the creation of for-profit schools, which comprise almost 70 percent of private-subsidised schools (Mizala & Torche, 2012)

Private-paid schools do not receive any state contribution, as they are fully funded by parental fees. They are privately owned and administered. In 2011, 670 schools in Chile belonged to this category (Ministerio de Educación, 2012). As corporation schools have been reduced in number, they were not considered for the purpose of this study.

Consequences of the voucher system. The coalition government that was in power from 1990 until 2010, was a centre-left alliance called *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (Coalition of Parties for Democracy), and promoted a new education agenda. The result was the establishment of a political consensus between the government and opposition (Cox, 2007), which focused on the search for quality and equity in education while maintaining the market-oriented policies implemented by the previous government. Over the twenty year period concerned, the Chilean system of education witnessed almost universal school attendance, but efforts at improving equity and quality of education proved not to be as successful (Chumacero et.al., 2011; Elacqua, 2012; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006; Ruiz-Tagle, 2010).

The voucher system produced changes in the number of students enrolled in public schools. Historically, students enrolled in these schools represented more than 80 percent of total enrolments at primary and secondary schools (Paredes & Pinto, 2009). In 2010, 42 percent of students were enrolled in public schools, 50 percent of students were enrolled in private-subsidised schools, and 8 percent of students were enrolled in private paid schools (Cox, 2012). The *Estatuto de Profesionales de la Educación* (the Teacher Statute) regulates the public sector of education only. This includes regulation with regard to wages and teacher provision (Paredes & Pinto, 2009). Teachers working in private-subsidised and private-paid schools are regulated by the Labour Code. This results in variation in the wages and labour

conditions of more than 50 percent of teachers throughout the country, with the nature and extent of the variation depending on the employer.

The voucher system has not succeeded in promoting equity of education as intended (Corvalán, 2003; Ruiz-Tagle, 2010). Rather, segregation has been the result (Elacqua, 2012). Although the per-student State subsidy benefits those from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds, each private-subsidised school focuses on enrolling students from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Mizala & Torche, 2012). Also, public schools are more likely to enrol disadvantaged students from lower socio-economic, or indigenous, backgrounds (Elacqua, 2012). This is explained by the fact that public schools, with a few exceptions, are obliged to enrol students without administering admission tests, or having parental interviews. As a result, the educational system has generated large scale segmentation (Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006).

The private-subsidised schools, under the share-funding system that charge parental fees, have also acted to promote segregation (Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006). Private-subsidised school regulations follow a market-oriented rationale. This allows for schools to specialise in cornering a distinctive market niche. Accordingly, the selection of students and the management of teaching staff are oriented towards the educational and financial objectives pursued by each school. (Mizala & Torche, 2012). The schools work actively to select students according to their academic achievement and socio-economic background, with the aim of selecting the more advantaged students in both regards. Consequently, the 'best' public school students regularly move to enrol in private-subsidised schools (Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006).

A number of studies have concluded that the voucher system has not succeeded in increasing the quality of education provided in Chile (Contreras et al., 2010; Hsieh & Urquiola, 2006; Mizala & Torche, 2012; Ruiz-Tagle, 2010). Private-subsidised schools compete to attract and retain 'better' students, instead of focusing on improving the quality of teaching, of programmes of study, and of school infrastructure. Also, parents select schools based not only on the quality of education, but also by considering their distance from home and the socio-economic backgrounds of students attending (Paredes & Pinto, 2009). More specifically, Hsieh and Urquiola (2006) indicate that there is no evidence to indicate that market-oriented competition has brought about improvement in students' national standardised test results, school year repetition rates, and the number of years spent by students in schooling. Overall, it has been concluded that the school competition involved tends to benefit the middle and high income students (Contreras et al., 2010).

In order to measure the quality of education offered in the nation's schools, a national standardised test was created in 1988, called *Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación* or SIMCE (Students Achievement National System). SIMCE measures student achievement in the Spanish language, mathematics, science, history and social sciences. It is used every year with students at Year 4 level and every two years with students at Year 8 and Year 10 level. The tests focus on

the Ministry of Education curricular prescriptions as mandated by law (Cox, 2012). As there is social consensus about the reliability of its results, schools and parents consider them to be an accurate measure of the quality of education in Chile (Meckes & Carrasco, 2010; Paredes & Pinto, 2009; Taut, Cortés, Sebastian & Preiss, 2009). There are, however, detractors who argue that the tests do not measure the quality of education (Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Públicas, 2009). Rather, they claim that tests generate an extra and unhelpful pressure on teachers, who are deemed to be responsible for the scores achieved by their students (Observatorio Chileno de Políticas Públicas, 2009). Instead, it forces teachers to emphasise the acquisition of content knowledge that will be included in the standardised tests, and also, to conduct multiple choice tests in order to familiarise students with them.

A consequence of the argument put forward above was that secondary public school students have organised themselves to seek to improve the system of education. They have requested better quality of education, a more active state role in education, and an end to thinking about education as being for profit. Such organisation first occurred in 2006, when secondary public school students engaged in intense social activity by organising demonstrations, going on strike, and even taking physical control of their schools in order to be heard (Bellei, Contreras & Valenzuela, 2010; Cox, 2012). The movement was called *revolución pingüina* (the penguin revolution) because the participants were recognised by their public school uniforms. In 2011, a second movement was organised by secondary school and tertiary students. This time, students in private-subsidised schools also participated. A main consequence was that problems related to the voucher system now became well known to many in society (Weinstein, 2011).

THE CURRICULUM REFORM OF 1996 AND THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

Considerations in this chapter so far constitute the background against which the curriculum reform of 1996, including that of the history curriculum took place. During the 1990s, the *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (coalition of parties for democracy), which was the coalition of government in power from 1991 to 2010, developed an 'educational reform' which contemplated changes for primary and secondary schools (Arellano, 2001). According to Cox (2012), the process of elaborating a new curriculum framework had distinctive features when compared to previous experiences in this domain. First, it was developed and implemented over a relatively long period of time. For example, the creation of the curriculum framework for secondary schools started at the beginning of 1996 and it was completed in 1998, while its progressive implementation did not commence until 1999. Secondly, its creation involved participation from such stakeholders not directly involved in classrooms as politicians and business authorities. Thirdly, a process of public consultation in relation to its features involving education academics and secondary school teachers was commenced. In this regard, it is believed that the new curriculum was a product of political and social consensus (Cox, 2012; Waissbluth et al., 2010).

Both the curriculum for primary and secondary school education were ‘reformed’ (Arellano, 2001). The aim was to introduce objectives and content relevant for students in terms of allowing them to successfully participate in a globalised world. In this regard, the curriculum reform was created following society’s demands for up-to-date and more complex knowledge in order for one to be successful in a global knowledge and information society (Lemaitre, Cerri, Cox & Rovira, 2003; Milos et al., 2003). Also, it aimed at changing the political orientations and anachronisms still apparent in the previous curriculum framework which had been generated using authoritarian principles (Cox, 2012). In other words, the 1990s curriculum reform focused on changing the objectives, content and pedagogical approaches implemented during the days of the previous military government. Teaching practices were modified according to constructivist principles, with the intention of generating new competences in students (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). Also, all school subjects were modified in order to include up-to-date knowledge (Milos et al., 2003). The intention was to change the conception of learning from being about the memorisation of knowledge, concepts and procedures, to emphasising the elements and processes required to create knowledge (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b).

The curriculum for each school subject, history included, was now aimed at providing students with specific skills and values to allow students to live their lives as individuals, workers and citizens of the twenty-first century (Ministerio de Educación, 1998a). The specific skills promoted were problem solving, systemic thinking, experimentation, learning how to learn, communication, adaptation to change, and collaborative work. The values promoted were related to citizenship, appreciation of democracy, and acknowledgement of human rights, all as part of a democratic response to Chile’s recent history of oppression (Ministerio de Educación, 1998a).

The curriculum framework for secondary school history will now be considered. Its main features will be analysed according to the four major curriculum components, namely, objectives, content, pedagogy and assessment. In particular, the history study programmes elaborated by the Ministry of Education, from Year 9 to Year 12, are described and analysed.

Objectives

The objectives to be pursued in ‘history and social sciences’, the name given to the school subject under the curriculum ‘reform’, were related to students’ social environment and their role within it. The curriculum framework stipulates

Tienen por propósito desarrollar en los estudiantes conocimientos, habilidades y disposiciones que les permitan estructurar una comprensión del entorno social y les orienten a actuar crítica y responsablemente en la sociedad, sobre la base de principios de solidaridad, cuidado del medio ambiente, pluralismo,

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y valoración de la democracia y de la identidad nacional. (Ministerio de Educación, 2005, p. 95)

(Attempts to develop in students the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that will enable them to structure an understanding of the social environment and guide them to act responsibly and critically in society, on the basis of the principles of solidarity, care of the environment, pluralism, appreciation of democracy and national identity).

The associated objectives emphasised that students' understanding of their social environment is essential for them to be able to comprehend the main characteristics of any historical event. Also, they emphasised the relevance of providing students with skills which, it was held, would allow them to participate in changing and complex societies.

History was identified as the central discipline, with the content for geography, economics, and civics organised around it (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). At the same time, it was not privileged. Rather, according to the curriculum framework, each discipline plays a significant role in shaping students' perceptions of their own life. It was argued that each provides knowledge for students to estimate the consequences of their own decisions, to make plans for the future, and to solve problems in society. Also, it was argued that the integration of the disciplines is crucial for students in order to achieve an accurate understanding of their social context and of the contemporary world in which they are living (Ministerio de Educación, 2005).

The emphasis on students achieving an understanding of their social reality did not imply a de-emphasis on their understanding of the past. On the contrary, the curriculum had an increased amount of time devoted to the study of local, national and international history of the twentieth century. However, it was also indicated that an understanding of the present is only achievable through the study of the past. Accordingly, the stress was on the view that it is paramount that students understand that 'history and social sciences' is not a school subject isolated and trapped in the past. Rather, the position goes, knowledge in the subject is a requirement to understanding the present (Ministerio de Educación, 2005).

The history curriculum also emphasised that students should develop other intellectual skills while understanding their social reality (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). It is prescribed that students should be able to understand that both in past and current times, social reality is a complex creation which can be interpreted from different perspectives. Therefore, history was founded on a view that is a discipline through which students could develop skills of inquiry, communication, and critical analysis (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b).

When it was established the present history curriculum was also seen as having great responsibility in promoting citizenship values amongst students (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). This was considered to be particularly relevant as in Chile men and women are allowed to vote at the age of 18. Because of this, it was acknowledged

that one should come to appreciate the legitimacy of different points of view and capacity for argument and debate. Again, history now was seen as a discipline with the capacity to promote such development, as well as to promote empathy and a commitment to social justice.

The outline of the objectives of current history teaching within secondary schools when it was initially prescribed was presented in the form of nine OFs (Fundamental Objectives), each related to the topics aforementioned (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). The programmes of study indicate that teachers should not ‘cover’ content knowledge *per se*. Rather, they should remain focused on the learning outcomes, drawing on the relevant knowledge, skills and values deemed to facilitate their achievement.

Content

Each learning unit in ‘history and social sciences’ has been structured so that there is a close relation between the content knowledge, skills, and values to be learnt by students (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). The approach to learning that is emphasised was one in which students are meant to engage in open dialogue with their teachers in an active search for knowledge. Teachers were to provide guidelines and present activities that would help students to construct knowledge (Ministerio de Educación, 1998c). At the same time, content knowledge was considered to be as important as the skills and values to be presented. The study programmes outlined five learning units for each school year, with each unit to be taught over 20 to 25 school hours (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). Within these parameters, the curriculum framework for history prescribed four weekly school hours of work, with the notion that each unit should be covered in over one and a half months of teaching.

Knowledge content. The curriculum for secondary school history included Chilean history, European history, Latin-American history, economics, and civics (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). In Year 9, students were required to learn about the region in which they lived in terms of its administrative organisation and the role it played in the country’s development. Also, they were required to learn basic notions of economics and civics. In Year 10, students were required to learn Chilean history, focusing on the main historical trends considered to have shaped the country’s current situation. In Year 11, students had to learn about European history in order to understand what were considered to be the foundations and developments of the Western civilisation. It was deemed relevant that students understand the relationship between European history and national history. Finally, in Year 12, students were required to learn about recent Latin-American history, and relations between Chile and the rest of the world.

The study programmes followed a chronological sequence for Year 10, Year 11 and Year 12. Each teaching and learning unit represented a particular period of time in history. However, teachers were supposed to help students make connections

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with the present time and with their own social reality (Ministerio de Educación, 1998d). The aim was to help students to develop a global understanding of historical processes which would allow them to understand history from different perspectives. It was also expected that this approach would motivate students to enjoy history and learn it outside school (Ministerio de Educación, 1998d).

The curriculum framework, in addition, also aimed to give teachers autonomy to select some content over other. This practice was encouraged because of an understanding that schools exist in different contexts. However, it was also recognised that teachers had only a limited amount of time available for teaching. As a result, it was considered that more current periods of history might not be able to be taught in a particular school year and might have to wait until the following year (Ministerio de Educación, 2004).

Skills. The study programmes promoted the study of history as being an enquiry into past times made in relation to the present time (Ministerio de Educación, 1998d). Students were expected to be able to understand others who lived in the past as a vehicle for helping them to better understand their own current social reality. To understand the past, students were encouraged to develop enquiry skills and critical thinking, as well as engage in debate, confront ideas, and create their own judgements (Ministerio de Educación, 1998d).

The study programmes suggested activities which involved active learning and the development of other intellectual skills (Ministerio de Educación, 1999). These activities involved looking for information using the historical method of inquiry, communicating results, generating diverse opinions, debating statements and opinions, analysing historical events, and extrapolating historical events to the social reality. Other skills not directly related to history were also promoted, such as working in teams, and developing written and oral communication capacities.

Values. As mentioned already, the main objective of the ‘history and social sciences’ curriculum was to help students understand their social reality. The study programmes promoted the creation of links between past and present times, so that history can be used to explain developments (Ministerio de Educación, 1998d). In this regard, the values emphasised in the study programmes relate to respect for human beings, equity in relation to gender, class and race, social justice, empathy, promotion of democracy, and national identity (Ministerio de Educación, 1999).

Pedagogy

The study programmes promoted active learning and student-centred activities (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). Teachers were encouraged to facilitate activities in which students would develop their curiosity, conduct research, generate their own judgements, and engaged in problem solving exercises. The study programmes particularly promoted engagement in research projects, essays, reports, debates, and

team work, as they are considered to be activities that help students to create their own knowledge (Ministerio de Educación, 2005).

Study programmes were the main guidelines for teachers to achieve a student-centred approach to teaching (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). For each unit, the study program defined the expected learning outcomes, content to be taught, examples of activities, and examples of assessment tasks (Ministerio de Educación, 1998c). They also contained suggestions for teachers, which were detailed descriptions of how to implement a certain activity.

The study programmes indicated that teachers must consider their students' needs (also called contextual elements) when planning the amount of teaching hours to be dedicated to each unit (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). In accordance with this position, the examples of activities for teachers were only offered as suggestions. While their achievement was considered to be feasible, the Ministry of Education acknowledged that where some might be successful in one context, they might be less successful in another (Ministerio de Educación, 1999). The position outlined was that teachers should have autonomy to decide how to teach their students as long as they promoted analysis and understanding of historical processes amongst them.

The approach to teaching history presented in the study programmes advocated working with different sources of information (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). This was considered to be crucial to avoid arriving at biased historical explanations (Ministerio de Educación, 2005). Numerous examples of activities were offered to help to promote research skills and working with such different sources as historical maps, books, images, pictures, videos, and audio tapes. Also, for each teaching and learning unit a research project was suggested so that students could have the opportunity to conduct authentic research. To this end, it was advocated that they should interrogate documents and conduct interviews (Ministerio de Educación, 1998c).

The study programmes also emphasised the relevance of understanding historical processes and trends, instead of focusing on the learning of historical facts and dates (Ministerio de Educación; 1998d). Each unit encouraged students to learn the main characteristics of each historical period studied, using timelines, maps, conceptual maps, tables, and images. In addition, it was stressed that attention be paid to the concept of change and continuity in order to assist students to connect the different historical process is utilised.

The study programmes also included other features aimed at facilitating the work done by teachers. At the end of each document, a glossary with the main concepts used throughout the school year was presented. A reference list was also included. In the appendix section, a more thorough explanation of the recommended teaching methods was presented (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b).

Assessment

The study programmes indicated that assessment tasks have to be consistent with teaching and learning practices (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). Diagnostic,

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formative and summative assessment tasks, it was stated, should be aligned with students learning outcomes in order to discover if they are being achieved and to address what is not being met. In this regard, the documents emphasised the following: “también la evaluación entendida como calificación debe ser coherente con este propósito, calificando no como sanción, sino como una señal del nivel de logro de los aprendizajes esperados” (“marked assessment tasks should also be consistent with this purpose, assigning marks not as a sanction, but as an indicator of the level of achievement of the learning outcomes”) (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b, p. 15).

Teachers were encouraged to use examples of the activities provided in the study programmes as assessment tasks (Ministerio de Educación, 1998b). It was expected that learning activities and assessment tasks would be implemented concurrently. Moreover, some learning activities were advocated as having the potential as assessment tasks to assess if students could integrate multiple learning outcomes.

Written tests were the most common assessment tasks implemented (Ministerio de Educación, 1998c). The study program promoted these by providing questions aimed to encourage the development of critical thinking consistent with the recommended teaching and learning approaches (Ministerio de Educación; 1998b). It was mandated that questions should encourage critical analysis, the generation of diverse opinions, and the offering of explanations of historical phenomena. It was also mandated that written tests should not encourage the repetition and memorisation of content knowledge.

THE CURRICULUM MODIFICATIONS OF 2009 AND THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

The current curriculum framework for secondary schools in Chile is a modification of the one designed in 1998 (Ministerio de Educación, 2008). After 10 years of implementation, the Ministry of Education developed a process for analysing and reviewing the existing curriculum framework in order to respond to current social demands. Also, the process was established to explore the validity and relevance of the framework (Ministerio de Educación, 2008). It involved the participation of different stakeholders, research on curriculum coverage, analysis of international curricula, surveys completed by teachers, and public consultations (Ministerio de Educación, 2008).

A distinctive feature of the modification undertaken with regard to the curriculum framework was that it was conducted by the *Unidad de Currículum y Evaluación* or UCE (Curriculum and Assessment Unit). This is a section within the Ministry of Education dedicated exclusively to the study of curricular issues. It conducted many of the studies already mentioned, along with overseeing revision of the curriculum following the approval of 12 years of compulsory education in 2003. This approval meant that the existing curricular sequence of objectives and content needed to be

adjusted. In this regard, students were not supposed to leave school before Year 12 (Ministerio de Educación, 2008).

The new modified curriculum framework for secondary schools, designed in 2009, started to be implemented in 2010 for Year 9 students and was to be progressively implemented over the following years. At present, it was planned that the implementation of changes for Year 12 students will be completed by 2014 (Ministerio de Educación, 2010). Within this new configuration, history as a school subject is now known as 'Historia, Geografía y Ciencias Sociales' (history, geography and social sciences). While the main objectives of the discipline have not experimented major changes, the sequence of content have been modified.

Objectives

Currently, the main objective of history as a school subject is that students should get to know the past in order to understand and act competently in present and future times (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). This conception assumes that historical processes are a consequence of ideas and actions of people living in a certain context. Related to this is the notion that students' ideas have real consequences as they will be citizens who will participate in their country's historical processes (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). Accordingly, students are expected to understand the links between ideas and actions, and their ethical implications.

Another objective of the history programmes is that students should come to understand the dynamic and permanent relationship between human beings and their environment (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). Students are requested to understand that the development of any society is related to its environment. Therefore, it has been argued, when analysing past and present societies, the study of the environment should be considered. It is expected that, in this way, students' understanding of their identity as individuals and as members of a society will enable them to understand more fully the world in which they live (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b).

Students are also required to understand the main conflicts that have been faced by human kind and how these have been resolved (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). This understanding, it is argued, will help students to understand and face the conflicts of the current times. The expectation is that they will then be able to use this knowledge to participate actively and responsibly in a democratic society.

In order to achieve the described objectives, the study programmes promote the notion that students should develop an understanding of different historical concepts (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b). They are outlined as being interdisciplinary in nature. They are seen to involve an appreciation of diverse historical interpretations, an understanding of causality regarding historical phenomena, an understanding of the present, a notion of change and continuity, a sense of belonging to a national community, and citizenship promotion. These concepts are to be developed throughout the four years of secondary school education. Grasping them, it is held,

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will help students to achieve a better understanding of how history is constructed (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b).

Content

The study programmes indicate that content knowledge, skills and values promoted by the curriculum framework will allow students to face diverse challenges within school and in their social environment (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b). In this regard, the promotion of knowledge, skills, and values are deemed to be of equal relevance. The associated conception of learning indicates that “los conocimientos, las habilidades y las actitudes se desarrollan de manera integrada y, a la vez, se enriquecen y potencian de forma recíproca” (“knowledge, skills, and values are to be developed in an integrated manner, as they enrich and promote themselves on a reciprocal basis”) (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b, p. 8). The integration of three areas is presented as involving the development of competencies that allow students to act effectively in society.

Knowledge content. Students are required to increase their content knowledge of historical processes as this, it was argued, will improve their understanding of the situations they must face on a daily basis (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b). They are expected to associate this new knowledge with previous knowledge acquired through common sense and their daily experiences. Promoting this competence is considered to be essential to enable students to construct their own knowledge.

The organisation of content knowledge in the current history syllabus is different to that presented in the previous curriculum framework (Ministerio de Educación, 2009a). The Year 9 component covers European history of the twentieth century, focusing on the origins of the achievements and problems of the current world. Chilean history is now taught over two school years. Year 10 students cover the colonial times and the main historical processes of the nineteenth century. Year 11 students cover Chilean history in the twentieth century, which is characterised by the introduction of a variety of historiographical interpretations and emphasising the value of democracy and human rights. Finally, Year 12 students cover citizenship promotion and the challenges presented by the globalisation process. In this final year of secondary school education, students are also required to undertake a social studies project so that they can come to understand the social challenges faced by the country. This project must have a history component.

Extending the study of Chilean history was undertaken because of the relatively low coverage that it had in the previous curriculum framework. The action was influenced by a study undertaken by the Ministry of Education that indicated that in Year 10, teachers did not have enough time to teach Chilean history of the twentieth century (Ministerio de Educación, 2008). Notwithstanding the extension, however,

teachers continue to claim that the current curriculum is still too crowded with content to be covered (Cox, 2012).

Skills. The study programmes indicate that along with the great amount of knowledge acquisition required of students, they also need to know how to use it (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). This ability, it was argued, can be developed through the promotion of such high-level skills as analysis and synthesis of different sources of information, assessment of the reliability of available information, and elaboration of historical interpretations. On this, the new modified curriculum framework has defined specific related skills to be developed through the teaching and learning of history. These are known as the skills related to time and space localisation, research, and interpretation (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a).

Space and time localisation is relevant, it is held, to help students to contextualise and interpret historical processes (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). Time localisation, according to the argument, allows students to know when events occurred and also to understand the concept of simultaneity. In addition, through the study of chronology, students are expected to understand how different historical events are interrelated, unveiling a past that then becomes more familiar to them. Space localisation is meant to allow students to work with maps and to understand the advantages and disadvantages of the relative location of a place.

The teaching of research skills is intended to allow students to identify, inquire, analyse and synthesise problems in their social reality (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). The study programmes are meant to encourage students to work with different sources of information to familiarise them with the historical method of inquiry. Students are expected to collect, select, analyse, and criticise data, with the aim of using those data to help them improve their ability to debate and establish historical arguments. The acquisition of research skills is also meant to complement the enhancement of students' oral and written communication skills to allow them to present their findings in an organised manner.

Within the history curriculum, interpretation skills refer to the development of critical thinking about present and past social problems (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). The use of primary and secondary historical sources in the classroom is encouraged to enable students to recreate the past according to their own creative imagination. In the final years of secondary school, it is expected that students will critique primary and secondary sources, identifying differences between facts and opinions. In particular, students are meant to be educated to distinguish between opinions based on intuition or beliefs and interpretation based on facts and evidence.

Values. The study programmes promote values organised in different categories (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). These are individual, social, ethical, and citizenship categories. Some of the values promoted are respect for all people (without distinction of class, gender, race or ideology), interest in knowledge,

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appreciation of work, and responsibility. The teaching of these values is meant to be incorporated into the learning activities and assessment tasks suggested in the study programmes.

Pedagogy

The study programmes are presented as tools for students to use to facilitate the implementation of the curriculum framework (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). They present detailed information to help teachers to understand the objectives, content, pedagogical implications, and assessment tasks. They also indicate a structure for each school year that is similar to that outlined for the previous curriculum framework. Each school year is divided into four or five teaching and learning units. Again, the study programmes for each grade level provide the learning outcomes, content to be taught, examples of activities, and suggestions for assessment tasks. At the end of each document, reference lists for teachers and students are presented. A novel feature of the current study programmes is that they allocate a dedicated section to be used by teachers in order to prepare their lesson plans (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a).

The study programmes suggest a pedagogical approach based on student-centred activities and active learning (Ministerio de Educación, 2011b). Concurrently, students are encouraged to use the historical method of inquiry, which is related to the ‘new history’ approach. It is expected that they will develop their curiosity, imagination, critical thinking, research, and communication skills. Also, it is expected that they will interpret different sources of information, critically analysing its content and identifying what they consider to be biased information.

Teachers are expected to help students to establish links between present and past times (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). Students are to discover the main features of past times that help them to understand the main features of their social reality. While doing this, they are expected to use historical concepts and develop historical empathy. The study programmes present numerous activities for students to achieve this goal.

Teachers are responsible for motivating students to appreciate the value of history (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). This, it is argued, can be achieved by giving students autonomy to choose topics, historical characters, sources and activities that appeal to them. For each unit, the study programmes suggest a variety of possible sources of information to help students engage in historical research.

The study programmes suggest that lessons have to be planned according to a three-part structure (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). This is in an attempt to ensure consistency between learning outcomes, learning activities, and assessment tasks. In the first part of the lesson teachers are to indicate to students the expected learning outcomes for that session. Also, they are to present students with possible links to previous lessons. In the second part of the lesson, also called the main section, teachers and students are to work on the activity prepared for that session. The final

part of the session is to be dedicated to helping students elaborate a ‘big picture’, or overview, of what was learnt during that lesson. Also, teachers are expected to emphasise the relevance to daily life of what was studied.

Assessment

According to the study programmes, assessment practices are crucial to good teaching and learning (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). Assessment practices, it is held, should involve a permanent process that arises from the interaction between teaching and learning. Amongst their multiple purposes, they aim at improving students’ learning and teachers’ practices, determining students’ strengths and areas of improvement, guiding teachers to an accurate curriculum implementation, and showing students pathways they can take for improvement (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a).

The study programmes suggest at least one assessment task for each unit. Assessment tasks, it is stated, should be consistent with learning activities (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). In this regard, they should concentrate on assessing the development of higher-order skills and avoid activities related to memorisation of facts and dates. Also, they should focus on assessing the use of historical concepts, such as change and continuity, time and space localisation, and causality.

The study programmes suggest that assessment tasks should be developed in two areas (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). The first area is related to knowledge and historical understanding. It is stated that students should demonstrate a general understanding of the historical processes studied, acknowledging their relevance. The second area is related to the use of historical inquiry skills. Students should be assessed in terms of their use of different sources of information, conducting research, making historical interpretations, and elaborating on their own evidence-based judgement.

Overall, it is prescribed that assessment tasks should cover a diverse range of learning activities (Ministerio de Educación, 2011a). In this regard, they should involve the use of essays, research projects, work with historical sources, and the use of maps. Also, the study program indicates that a single assessment task should incorporate different types of questions. For example, a test should incorporate multiple-choice questions, open-ended questions, and interpretation of tables and charts. This is deemed to be particularly relevant in order to measure different skills amongst students.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has addressed the second aim of the study, namely, to develop an understanding of the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum. The chapter was divided into three sections. First, the general features of the current system of education were described. It was based on a belief that

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a thorough understanding of the current history curriculum is only feasible after understanding the context in which it was developed. The history curriculum implemented from 1999 until 2009 was then described in terms of objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. Lastly, the current history curriculum for secondary schools was considered. The study programmes analysed indicated an emphasis on the promotion of active learning and student-centred activities. Also, the development of the historical method of inquiry is encouraged. Overall, the stress is very much on an approach similar to the 'new history'. The next chapter will now provide an understanding of the issues of concern for secondary school history teachers when implementing the current history curriculum framework.

CHAPTER 7

ISSUES OF CONCERN FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY TEACHERS

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six described the background to the current curriculum framework for secondary school history in Chile and its main features. The implementation of the latter started in 2010 and the process will reach completion in 2014. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this curriculum initiative was undertaken following the recommendations of the ‘educational reform’, initiated in the 1990s, with the objective of revising and improving the quality of the Chilean system of education.

The curriculum framework was revised and modified for both primary and secondary schools, and relates to all school subjects. The Ministry of Education was emphatic in indicating that this was not a curriculum reform. Rather, it was promoted as a modification of those features that they deemed to have been problematic during the first ten years of implementation of the previous curriculum (Ministerio de Educación, 2009b). Thus, it was argued, the main purpose of national education remained unchanged.

This chapter relates to the third research question regarding the curriculum for secondary school history, which was introduced under these ‘reforms’. The question was as follows: ‘What are the issues of concern to secondary school history teachers?’. This was posed particularly in relation to those living and working in the region of Valparaiso, Chile. Thirty history teachers were interviewed on the matter.

The chapter is in three parts, each dealing with a set of issues raised by the teachers. The first part outlines teachers’ perceived issues surrounding the origins of the curriculum modifications. The second part of the chapter outlines teachers’ perceived issues surrounding the role played by the Ministry of Education, schools, teachers, and publishing houses in the implementation of the curriculum modifications. The third part outlines teachers’ perceived issues in relation to the major components of the history curriculum, namely, objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment.

PARTICIPANTS’ ISSUES ON THE ORIGINS OF THE CURRICULUM MODIFICATIONS

Three categories were generated from the data regarding the participants’ perceived issues connected with the origins of the curriculum modifications. The first category relates to ‘commonalities’ amongst participants, notwithstanding their different backgrounds and experiences. The second category is that of ‘differences’ amongst

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participants. The third category relates to ‘idiosyncrasies’ amongst participants. Each category is now considered in turn.

Commonalities

Participants were keen to highlight views on why the government in power in 2009 decided to modify the curriculum. These can be considered in the form of two main themes. The first one is related to the achievement of goals set during the previous ‘educational reform’. The second one refers to the need for an adaptation process to improve the system of education. Each will now be detailed.

Achievement of goals. The 1990s ‘educational reform’ established, amongst many other goals, that there would be a permanent revision and critical analysis of the curriculum framework (Ministerio de Educación, 2009b). This decision was taken in light of the main features of the experience of implementing the curriculum framework for over ten years, and the emergence of new sources that had the potential to improve it. The official position was that the modification of the curriculum was a revision of what was planned during the 1990s (I2.L.P; I1.L.PR, I6.L.PRS, I3.L.PR, I2.S.PR, I1.L.P)

There was general agreement that the modifications represented an attempt to bring about improvements in areas of the curriculum that had not been successfully introduced after ten years of implementation (I3.M.PRS, I2.L.PR, I2.L.P, I6.L.PRS, I3.L.PRS). One participant put this view as follows:

La Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia sintió que tenía que validar su reforma, pues habían muchos aspectos no se estaban cumpliendo. Ellos decidieron revisar y modificar lo que no estaba funcionando, especialmente lo relacionado con el currículo y el cumplimiento de la cobertura” (I6.L.PRS).

The Coalition of Parties for Democracy felt they needed to legitimise its work in education because there were many goals that were not being accomplished. They decided to revise and modify what was not working out, especially the curriculum framework and the large amount of content not being covered.

At the same time, it was argued that the moment chosen to undertake the revision and modification seemed not to have been planned (I1.S.P, I3.S.PRS, I2.L.PR, I1.S.PR). It took place close to the end of Michelle Bechelet’s presidential period, between 2008 and 2009. Thus, it was generally concluded that the changes required of teachers were influenced more by a desire to win the favour of the electorate in the electoral campaign, rather than by a desire to improve the general system of education (I1.S.PR, I2.L.PR, I4.L.PRS, I3.M.PRS, I1.L.P).

As previously mentioned, the curriculum revision and subsequent modifications were undertaken in all subjects. History was not an exception in this regard. Teachers of history as a school subject in secondary schools expressed a belief that the changes as they affected them were necessary. In particular, they argued that the content knowledge component of the previous history curriculum was one area in

which what was sought was not achieved. They argued that the amount of content knowledge to be covered had been too extensive in comparison to the amount of time allocated to the school subject (I3.L.PRS, I2.L.PR, I4.M.PR, I4.L.PRS, I3.P.PRS, I3.L.P). This proved very problematic for them when teaching Chilean history in Year 10. According to the prescribed curriculum, all Chilean history, including theories on the population in America up to the year 2000 were supposed to have been covered in one school year. It was agreed by the teachers that while they made an extra special effort to teach most of that content, the previously available time had only allowed them to teach it in relation to content dealing with the situation up to the first half of the twentieth century (I1.L.P; I3.M.PRS, I1.L.PR, I1.L.PRS). Thus, they embraced the reduction in content outlined in the new curriculum for history.

Another goal proposed by the government in power in 2009, and highlighted by the participants, was to reduce the gap in the results of national standardised tests in all subjects, including history, between public and private schools. Introduced during the last years of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorial government, national standardised tests were created to measure the quality of the system of education in both primary and secondary schools. In the 2000s, a substantial gap in the results between public and private schools became evident (Paredes & Pinto, 2009). That is to say, private schools were constantly improving their students' scores, while a trend in the opposite direction was evidenced in the scores of students in public schools. It was perceived by the teachers of history in secondary schools that modifying the curriculum, including the reduction of content, would provide them with more opportunities than had previously been available for them to reduce that gap. The modification, they argued, would give them more freedom to cover all content measured in those tests (I1.M.PR), thus increasing the chance for students obtaining higher scores.

Adaptation process. Participants also felt it important to highlight that the Ministry of Education decided to modify the curriculum with the intention of 'adapting to the needs of the time' (I2.L.PR, I1.L.PR, I2.M.PRS, I6.L.PRS). Again, this was so not just in relation to the curriculum in general, but also in relation to the history curriculum in particular. Specifically in regard to history, when asked what they meant by the phrase "adapting to the needs of the time", teachers' responses centred around three different topics. The first one was related to adapting the curriculum to the current methods of teaching and learning history in other countries. The second one referred to adapting the curriculum to a new perception of democracy. The third was concerned with the adaptation of the curriculum to fit the demands of a globalised world.

Regarding the first topic, when teachers mentioned the current methods of teaching and learning history in other countries, they described what can be considered to be the 'new history' approach (I2.L.P, I1.L.PR, I3.L.PR, I4.M.PR, I1.L.PRS, I4.L.PRS, I5.L.PRS, I2.L.P, I1.S.PR, I3.P.PRS, I1.M.PRS). That is to say, they were speaking about an emphasis on student-centred activities, promotion of the historical method of enquiry, working with different types of sources, and the

development of higher order skills, such as analysis, synthesis, and critical thinking. Teachers acknowledged that this approach had already been incorporated into the curriculum introduced in the 1990s in terms of the objectives and the pedagogical activities suggested. However, the activities suggested in the related syllabi, they also argued, seemed to be too difficult to implement because of time and resource constraints. In contrast, they perceived the new syllabi to be more realistic, and feasible to implement (I1.S.PR, I3.P.PRS, I3.L.PR, I1.M.PRS, I5.L.PRS).

The second topic identified in teachers' responses centred on the idea of adapting the curriculum to suit a new type of democracy. This was referred to in terms of ensuring that history was taught in a manner such that any type of indoctrination would be avoided. In the previous curriculum, and in the syllabi and textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education, some of the historical sources selected, according to the participants, were such that they could set in train an indoctrination process (I3.S.PRS, I2.L.PR, I1.S.PR, I1.S.P, I4.S.PRS, I3.M.PR). This was exemplified by describing the way in which particular content was presented in textbooks. According to teachers, certain sources and the sort of questions to be put to students were not intended to promote the historical method of enquiry. Rather, they reflected support for the political vision of the government in power (I3.S.PRS, I3.M.PR). A consequent issue for the participants, they said, was to ensure there would be no reverting to this situation.

The third topic regarding teachers' responses to the idea that the history curriculum should be adapted to the needs of the time relates to notions of modifying the curriculum to help students deal with the rhythm and features of a globalised world (I1.M.PRS, I2.M.PRS, I5.L.PRS, I1.S.PRS). The promotion of the use of information and communications technology within classrooms is one example of this. Another example is the emphasis on tolerance and diversity (I1.S.PRS, I2.M.PRS). Again, teachers indicated that while they embraced these changes, an issue for them was that they should be ever alert to ensuring they would not be neglected.

Differences

Teachers also differed from each other according to the issues they raised in three areas. These can be considered in terms of differing views on the promotion of citizenship, differing views on the political agenda to be promoted, and differing views on the intellectual skills to be promoted. The differences in each of these three areas are now presented.

Promotion of citizenship. While all expressed a view that the history curriculum for secondary schools had been modified to promote citizenship amongst students, they differed in their views on the kind of citizenship that was to be promoted. Some expressed a view that the new history curriculum was created to educate 'citizens of the world', given that we all now have to live in a globalised environment (I2.M.PRS, I1.M.PRS, I2.L.P, I2.S.PR, I1.L.PR). The argument that there should be

an integration, within the curriculum, of such disciplines as geography, economics, and civics within history, was put forward by them as evidence of this vision. Such integration, they argued, was advocated as it would help students understand historical processes from different perspectives. Also, they argued, it would stimulate empathy and historical awareness, both essential qualities for living in a globalised world (I2.S.PR, I1.L.PR, I1.M.PRS).

Taking a different perspective, other teachers argued that the new history curriculum was oriented to help educate a type of Chilean citizen committed to his, or her, country. The emphasis, they argued, was expected to be on national values and promoting patriotism over local, or global, matters (I2.L.PRS, I4.M.PR, I1.S.P, I2.L.PR, I3.L.PR). Evidence they offered to substantiate this perspective is the decrease in the amount of time given to universal history, which, under the new curriculum, is now to be taught only in Year 9. They pointed also to the increase in time allocated to Chilean history, which has been increased from being taught over one school year to two school years (Year 10 and Year 11). This new emphasis on Chilean history, they argued, is likely to contribute to the promotion of national values. Also, they held, it will help teachers to motivate students to learn about their own culture. The latter, they concluded, was difficult to do when Chilean history could only be taught over one school year (I3.L.PR, I4.M.PR, I2.L.PRS).

Political agenda. Since the establishment of the nation, history teaching in Chile has been associated with the idea of transmitting a political agenda related to the values promoted by the government in power (Prats, 2000). Participants argued that this is still the case. However, there was no consensus on what explicitly are the values and ideas to be transmitted by the new history curriculum.

Some participants advocated that the government in power in 2009 needed to legitimise the actions they had taken, especially with regard to the general system of education (I4.L.P, I4.S.PRS, I2.S.PR, I6.S.PRS). In 2006, as has already been indicated in the previous chapter, a movement by secondary school students led to demonstrations intended to force the government in power to make changes in the system of education, especially with regard to the funding system and the quality of the education provided by the state (Bellei et al, 2010). The movement was given a hearing by Michelle Bachellet's government, but then it was ignored and no immediate developments took place. Many criticised the way the government dealt with the situation, especially because the general opinion was that the students' demands were legitimate.

According to some participants, Bachellet's government was not totally oblivious to the criticisms. Rather, some steps were taken to try to improve the system of education. This, they argued, led to the modification of the curriculum framework for all school subjects (I1.L.P, I4.L.P, I4.S.PRS).

Others took a different stance, focusing on what they saw as the Bachellet government's attempt to create a history curriculum that would have a social emphasis, promoting social development and social justice (I3.L.PRS, I1.S.PR,

I1.L.PRS). Under this rationale, the curriculum modification was perceived as a way of promoting the values of the government in power (I3.L.PR, I2.L.PR, I4.L.PR). On this, some history teachers pointed to the effort of Bachellet's government emphasising more broadly than previously the importance of social development and promoting it through a series of social programmes designed to encourage people to actively participate in society (Bellei et al, 2010). It was through such a lens that they viewed the modified curriculum in history as a political tool to preserve the value of social justice through the teaching of Chilean history (I3.L.PR, I2.L.PR, I4.L.PR).

At the same time, another group of participants indicated that the modified curriculum is completely free of any sort of political agenda (I3.S.PRS, I3.M.PRS, I2.L.P). As one stated: "es más limpio, sin tanta ideología de por medio" ("is more transparent, it does not have so many ideological orientations") (I3.S.PRS). In this regard, they argued, the main objective of this curriculum is to promote the historical method of enquiry (I3.S.PRS, I3.M.PRS, I2.L.P)

The difference in perspectives outlined in this sub-section indicates that teachers have interpreted the curriculum in different ways. The issue here is that this indicates the possibility that what is taught within different classrooms may, in turn, be very different. This may be so even though ninety percent of schools around the country follow the prescriptions given by the Ministry of Education.

Skills promotion. All participants indicated that the curriculum was modified to promote intellectual skills amongst students that are related to the needs of the government in power. Some teachers indicated that this curriculum modification followed the 'new history' approach to teaching which emphasises the development of such higher order skills as analysis and synthesis (I2.L.P, I1.L.PR, I1.L.PRS, I1.M.PRS). Adopting this rationale, they argued that the government in power promoted the development of critical thinking because it considered it necessary to educate active and responsible citizens who would be able to contribute positively to society (I4.S.PRS).

Another group of teachers, however, expressed a belief that the modified history curriculum promotes such skills related to the 'great tradition' approach to teaching history as the reproduction of content knowledge (I1.L.P, I5.S.PRS, I2.S.PRS). According to their perspective, the political system has become so corrupt that this is one of a number of attempts to educate people as badly as possible so that they will not represent a threat to the current political situation. (I1.S.PR, I1.L.P). As one participant stated: "al sistema político no le conviene que la gente piense, por eso realizan estas modificaciones que de enseñar a pensar no tienen nada y lo único que hacen es promover la inacción para mantener la situación política actual" ("it is not convenient for the political system to educate people who will be able to think. That is why they [politicians] engage in these modifications. Instead of teaching how to think, they promote nothing new in order to keep the current political situation") (I1.L.P). A related issue for this group of participants became clear when they were

asked about the previous curriculum and its effort to promote higher order intellectual skills. On this, they claimed, that over the decades each curriculum implemented has had the same objective, emphasising that the problem is not related to a certain political ideology, but to the political system itself. In other words, they consider that it does not matter what political party is in power, they all orchestrate the curriculum to legitimate their positions.

Idiosyncrasies

As previously mentioned, some participants expressed views which stood out from the commonalities and differences. These views were classified as idiosyncrasies and are now presented.

Historical relevance. One group of participants expressed a belief that every government in power aspires to standing out in relation to previous governments in any given area so that it will earn a place in the country's history. In this regard, some stated that Michelle Bachellet's government decided to revise and modify the curriculum framework as a strategy to earn a place in the history of Chilean education (I2.L.PR). However, it was also argued that they did not succeed since they did not have the time to implement it as a major reform. What eventuated, instead, it was argued, were small changes, but they were presented as if they were bigger than they were (I3.M.PRS).

Frontal opposition. Some participants showed both a lack of interest in, and knowledge of, what was taking place in the teaching of history. Also, they gave the impression that they did not care about what had happened in this domain. At the same time, however, they enthusiastically criticised the general system of education. Some of them adopted such a stance after confessing to not knowing much about the curriculum modifications overall even though they were supposed to be teaching the new curriculum, or knew they had to do so the following year. When asked about the reason for their attitude, they stated they were disappointed about the general system of education. In this regard, one stated: "¿Por qué probar algo nuevo si igual no va a resultar? (I5.L.PRS) ("Why something new if we know it will not work?").

Other teachers expressed a view that they were totally opposed to any type of regulation coming from the Ministry of Education on what to teach and on how to teach, including in history. They criticised the way the curriculum modification was communicated to schools (I4.L.PRS). Also, they were not sure if it would bring any real changes. Furthermore, while they claimed that they were implementing the curriculum, they said they were not satisfied with what was presented. On this, a particular view put forward about modifying the curriculum after ten years of its existence was stated as follows: "genial, ya nos estamos acostumbrando al curriculum y ahora van y lo cambian de nuevo" (I2.M.PR) ("great, we were getting used to this curriculum and now they change it again").

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Finally, some teachers pointed to the modifications that were made as evidence that the previous curriculum had not been appropriate (I1.L.P, I1.S.PRS, I2.L.PR). However, when asked about each aspect of the curriculum, their answers were vague and unclear. One exemplified this, by saying: “no me gustaba el nuevo curriculum, no sé por qué, pero lo encontraba aburrido” (I did not like the previous curriculum, I do not know why but I think it was dull”) (I2.L.PR). Another said: “yo creo que era muy largo, por eso los niños se aburrían” (“I think it was too extensive, that it why students got bored”) (I1.S.PRS). None of the views presented along these lines were supported with pedagogical arguments.

PERSPECTIVES OF PARTICIPANTS ON ROLES OF KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Teachers also raised issues about the perceived role of the Ministry of Education, of schools, and of teachers, in the modification of the curriculum. The first set of issues related to the way teachers found out about the curriculum modification. The second related to the perceived role of the Ministry of Education, schools, and teachers themselves in preparing teachers to understand and implement the new curriculum. As with the previous set of issues considered, there were commonalities of views, along with disagreements and idiosyncrasies, amongst participants. Each of these is now considered in turn.

Commonalities

Ministry of education. Participants claimed that the Ministry of Education informed them about the curriculum modifications in three different ways. Letters were sent to schools (I3.M.PRS, I3.M.PR, I1.L.P), information was presented on the Ministry of Education’s webpage (I5.L.PRS, I6.L.PRS, I3.M.PR), and meetings were held with school principals and managers (I3.L.PRS, I3.L.P, I2.M.PRS). There was no mention of any professional development initiatives being provided by the Ministry of Education.

Regarding the first mode of communication, some participants indicated they found out about the curriculum modification from a letter sent by the Ministry of Education in 2009. That letter informed them about the implementation of a new curriculum. It also presented the schedule for the implementation and suggested to teachers that they visit the Ministry of Education’s webpage for further information (I3.M.PRS). In general, these were deemed to be inappropriate modes of communication since they were perceived to be very impersonal.

Regarding the second mode of communication, it was mentioned that not much information was made available on the webpage related to the content of every syllabus. Instead, the emphasis was on providing explanations for the reasons behind the curriculum modification (I6.L.PRS). In 2009, however, the Ministry of Education did publish the *Cartilla de Ajuste Curricular* (curriculum modification pamphlet) and made it available on the website. This document explained in a broad manner the

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main features of the modification for each school subject, as well as the schedule for implementation (Ministerio de Educación, 2009). Again, however, the impersonal dimension of this mode of communication was highlighted, the argument being that it was not very inspiring.

Regarding the third mode of communication, some teachers mentioned that they heard about meetings run by the Ministry of Education in regional offices with principals and school directives (16.L.PRS, 11.L.P). The main purpose of these meetings was to inform schools about the modifications. They claimed it was suggested at the meetings that principals should inform their teaching staff through holding similar meetings (16.L.PRS). This also was deemed to be uninspiring.

Schools. Participants indicated that their schools were informed about the curriculum modification process through memos sent to teachers (11.L.PR, 12.L.PRS, 13.S.PRS, 12.M.PR, 11.M.PR). They were also informed through meetings held by school principals. No instances of related professional development were described.

Some teachers agreed that the letters they received were quite similar to the ones sent by the Ministry of Education to schools (12.M.PR). It was declared that these letters were not very helpful in promoting understanding about the process involved (11.M.PR). Meetings held at schools to clarify the process, they claimed, were more helpful (11.L.PR). Two different types of meetings were distinguished. One type of meeting included bringing together all schools' teachers, giving them the opportunity to discuss the aims and schedule for the modifications. The other type brought together colleagues from the same discipline, including history. This provided history teachers with the opportunity to discuss the changes implemented in the history curriculum and think about how they would produce new lesson plans. This type of meeting was highly valued by teachers, who were pleased to get feedback from their colleagues (14.L.PRS, 11.M.PR9).

Teachers. Teachers indicated that it was largely through their own motivation that they obtained, and came to an understanding of, information about the changes implemented in the curriculum. It was explained that as soon as they heard about the modifications, they talked about them with colleagues, asked their schools' principals for more details, and looked for information on the Ministry of Education site (13.S.PR, 15.L.PRS, 13.L.P). This sharing of information with their colleagues was also considered to be a powerful learning experience (12.L.PRS).

Differences

Ministry of education. There were some matters regarding the practices of the Ministry of Education on which teachers of history differed. This was particularly so in regard to the role of the Ministry of Education in informing and explaining the modifications to the curriculum. According to some, the Department's actions were limited and could be seen as having been reduced to simply providing information

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through the webpage (I4.L.PRS). Another stated that the Ministry of Education did not participate in the process of communicating the curriculum modifications at all (I2.S.PRS). They also felt that they did not receive support, in terms of pedagogical orientation, or by means of the professional development needed to successfully implement the new curriculum. Thus, it is not surprising that they claimed not to have the skills needed to implement the proposed changes since they were not taught them (I1.S.PRS). The situation was considered to be particularly bad for history teachers in small schools, where there were no other colleagues with whom they could talk about the various matters that arose (I3.S.PRS).

Another group of history teachers mentioned they felt abandoned in their great responsibility to educate students (I2.L.PR). They said they did not receive any kind of support from the Ministry of Education both on what, and how, to teach their subject. Thus, as they argued, they sometimes felt frustrated when trying to do the best they could without even knowing if what they were doing was right or wrong (I3.L.PR).

A further group of history teachers said they considered themselves to be ‘technicians’. This was because, as one put it, “se nos entrega un producto finalizado y tenemos que replicarlo sin siquiera haber participado en su creación” (“we are given a finished product [the curriculum framework] and we must replicate it without even participating in its creation”) (I3.S.PRS). The participants stated that they knew none of the names of the academics who had developed the new curriculum, nor their backgrounds. Neither did they know anything about the curriculum developers’ informing ideologies. As a result, they felt themselves to be very distant from the new curriculum.

Also, not all history teachers were aware of the process of consultation that took place in 2007-2008 to modify the curriculum. Accordingly, it is not surprising they mentioned that the next round of curriculum modification should incorporate practices based on the experiences and views of teachers working in different types of schools all around the country (I3.L.PR).

Schools. Some history teachers pointed out that information given by their school on the new curriculum, including that for their subject, was limited and unclear. This was evidenced by the fact that no letters were sent to them and no meetings were held for them (I5.S.PRS). Rather, they heard about the curriculum modifications on the radio or TV news, or from colleagues. They said that when they asked the principals, or school managers, to provide them with new information, they did not receive a satisfactory response. In this regard, one participant declared: “pareciera que ellos sabían menos que uno del asunto” (I1.S.PR) (“it seemed like he [the principal] would have known less than what I knew at that time”).

Teachers. Some history teachers declared that they did not understand the curriculum modifications and confessed to not doing much to change the situation. They argued that they did not feel motivated enough to look for information, or even

to talk about the topic with their colleagues. For example, when asked about the role of teachers with regard to the curriculum modifications, a response from one participant was as follows: “no sé y no me interesa” (“I do not know and I do not care”) (I3.M.PRS). A general reason offered for such a view was lack of free time to make the required changes (I4.L.P). In this regard, full-time public school teachers usually have only two hours a week to plan their lessons (I1.P.L) and the rest of the time is allocated to teaching. Also, some teachers argued that they feel tired at the end of every school day, so they do not have the time, or energy, to think about their job as teachers (I3.L.P).

Some history teachers also expressed disinterest in the curriculum modification due to perceived disorganisation on the part of the Ministry of Education when it came to the implementation process (I4.M.PRS). Originally, this was to take place over four years. Then, however, it was extended by one year. The Ministry of Education justified its decision on this extension by indicating that teachers would have more time to adapt to the modifications (Ministerio de Educación, 2010). Some teachers, however, did not agree with this reasoning. Rather, they held that the real reason for the extension was because the implementation process was messy and chaotic (I3.M.PR).

Finally, when asked about the role of teachers in the curriculum implementation process, some history teachers started talking about the reform of the 1990s because they did not remember, or did not know much about, the more recent curriculum modification (I1.L.PR, I2.S.PRS). Also, other history teachers mentioned that they only found out about the curriculum modification when they saw the new textbooks that were sent to schools by the Ministry of Education (I1.S.PRS). As they saw it, clearly not all teachers were well prepared for the implementation of the curriculum modifications.

Idiosyncrasies

Publishing houses. One group of history teachers asserted that they found out about the curriculum modifications because they were invited to attend meetings with publishers of school books. These meetings were held at schools, with the authorisation of the schools’ authorities, or in conference rooms at different hotels (I3.L.PR, I2.M.PR). The first component of these meetings was usually dedicated to explaining the curriculum implementation process. During the second component, school teachers were divided into groups, according to their school subjects, to discuss the modifications. In the third, and final component, teachers were asked to actively participate in revising the textbooks provided by the publishing houses (I1.M.PR). According to the participants, those meetings were held because publishing houses needed to sell their books. Nevertheless, they did take account of teacher feedback; the content of the books was refined following the curriculum modifications (I3.L.PR).

This group of history teachers, in fact, stated that they valued meeting with representatives of different publishing houses. They asserted that this was because

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it gave them an opportunity to reflect upon, and understand, the curriculum modifications. Indeed, some participants declared that these meetings were the only source of information they had to help them to understand the modifications (I2.L.PR).

PARTICIPANTS' ISSUES RELATED TO THE COMPONENT PARTS OF THE MODIFIED CURRICULUM

As mentioned in previous chapters, every curriculum can be seen as comprising four different areas: objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. Within the study being reported here, the history teachers raised issues about the adjustments and modifications made to the curriculum for secondary school history. These were later separated out in terms of the issues they raised regarding each curriculum component. Unlike in the previous sections of this chapter, where findings were categorised using the headings of commonalities, differences and idiosyncrasies, this section outlines the analysis of participants' perspectives on the issues raised only in relation to commonalities and idiosyncrasies. This is because the participants did not raise any issues on which they differed.

Commonalities

Objectives. Teachers raised three issues relating to the objectives of the new history curriculum. The first was on the promotion of citizenship. The second was on the development of historical awareness. The third was on the promotion of skills.

The notion that history should be concerned with the promotion of citizenship in the new history curriculum was a common view. The integration of different disciplines under the core discipline of history, as is advocated in this new curriculum, it was argued, allows students to understand their reality as fusion of different forces and processes, instead of seeing reality as composed of multiple isolated events. This understanding of reality, it was held, can allow students to face their adult life with valuable intellectual tools so that they can actively participate in all aspects of society. For example, it was argued that students would, as a result of being taught the history curriculum, be able to exercise their rights, carry out their duties, be tolerant, and respect democracy (I1.L.PR). In this regard, the general view was that the history curriculum aims at educating young people to have their own views on, and vision of, reality. This, the teachers argued, is why the new history curriculum advocates that memorisation and reproduction of historical information is not history (I2.L.P).

The second issue raised by all of the history teachers in the study is that the current history curriculum also promotes historical awareness. This they defined as the ability to understand the present through the study of the past (I1.L.PRS). Associated with this in their minds is the notion that history should have contemporary relevance. As one teacher put it: “promueve que los estudiantes estudien el pasado para comprender su presente, la realidad dónde viven” (“it advocates that students

should learn from the past in order to understand their present, the place in which they live”) (I4.M.PRS).

The development of a variety of intellectual skills was also mentioned by the history teachers as an objective of the modified history curriculum. The skills listed were critical thinking, analysis, synthesis and evaluation (I1.L.PRS). Associated with the objectives previously mentioned, it was indicated that the development of these skills is most important in order to promote critical thinking in history because it allow students to understand their life and the world in which they live (I3.S.PRS). Also, oral and written communication skills, it was held, should be promoted in the history curriculum, and that the new history curriculum was pertinent in this regard because of its requirement that students should write essays, answer questionnaires, perform in role plays, debate, and make oral presentations (I2.S.PRS).

Content. The history teachers agreed that the main feature of the new history curriculum, in relation to the previous one, is the reorganisation of content knowledge. As was explained in the last chapter, the previous curriculum was changed so that the teaching of one year of universal history was removed and was replaced by an extra year devoted to the teaching of Chilean history. Also, the content of economics and civics was moved from Year 9 to Year 12. According to the teachers, this new organisation was undertaken to avoid repetition of several topics. This, they argued, is good because it gives teachers more time than previously to study each topic in a more thorough manner than used to be the case (I3.L.PRS). They indicated that because the previous curriculum was so ambitious in terms of the amount of prescribed content knowledge students were expected to learn, they often had to use teacher-centred approaches in order to make sure they taught it all (I3.M.PR), even though the curriculum officially disapproved of such a pedagogical approach.

The new content organisation also promotes the integration of history, geography, economics, and civics. The participants approved of this. The arrangement, they argued, should help students come to a good understanding of their social and historical reality (I2.M.PRS). Also, they held, the integration should help students to focus on the study of processes instead of on chronologically ordered events (I3.L.PR).

The reorganisation of content, the participants held, can also help to facilitate the teaching of complex disciplines, such as economics and civics in the last year of secondary school (I6.L.PRS). Although the topics in these disciplines can be understood by young students the more senior students, they argued, can come to understand them more easily, and be more aware of reality, when they are taught them in the senior years of schooling. At this stage, the history teachers held, it is also more feasible to develop real-life projects and more reality-oriented activities with students than it is when they are younger (I3.S.PRS).

Pedagogy. The modified curriculum, including that for history, aims to promote active learning. This is favoured by teachers. They claim it is valuable as it gives responsibility to students in order to help them to go about their own learning. As

it is student-centred, teachers have to avoid story-telling, or repetition of content knowledge, and, instead utilise different types of activities (I3.L.PR). To this end, the new syllabi suggest such activities as analysis and interpretation of historical sources, working with maps, watching movies and documentaries, engaging in role play, having debates, and doing field work (I2.L.P). Again, this is favoured by the history teachers, who recognise that it shows a different and more enlightened understanding from the traditional conception of history teaching which emphasised the study of facts and dates instead of historical process (I1.L.PR).

The history teachers also held that the new curriculum indicates that teachers are responsible for students' motivation. Therefore, they argued, they must clearly indicate the relevance of the period studied, establish connections with the present time, and implement challenging activities for students (I4.S.PRS). Challenging activities are referred to as activities that are meaningful to students because they can see their relevance in their daily lives. Also, teachers have to promote team work. All of this is considered by the history teachers who participated in the study to be a very important skill to acquire in this globalised world (I2.L.PR).

In terms of producing lesson plans, the modified curriculum suggests that each class should be structured in three different parts: an opening of ten minutes duration, a main period of sixty minutes duration, and a closure of twenty minutes duration. During the first part, teachers are expected to present the objectives of the session and develop a short activity to introduce the topic to be covered. The second part of the class is to be organised to develop student-centred activity to help achieve the objectives of the lesson. During the closure, the teacher should summarise what was done and relate it to previous lessons as well as to those to come (I2.M.PRS).

While the recommendations on how each class should be structured allows for the implementation of student-centred activities, teachers expressed a view of not knowing how to engage students in such activities (I3.L.PR). This, they claimed, is because they have not been trained in how to do it. On this, one teacher stated:

El Ministerio de Educación sugiere que se haga un inicio de clase de diez minutos y que el resto tiene que hacerlo todo el estudiante solo. Yo no sé cómo hacer eso porque estoy acostumbrada a yo ser el centro de la clase. Además, yo no aprendí esto en la universidad (I2.L.PR).

(The Ministry of Education suggests ten minutes of opening, which is the only part done by the teacher. The rest should be done by students. I cannot explain how to do it because I am used to being the active person in the class. Also, I did not learn this at university).

They went on state that they are only prepared to implement teacher-centred activities (I2.M.PR), as that is what they are used to doing. Also, although they expressed a view that the teaching approach suggested by the Ministry of Education is valuable for promoting student learning, they reiterated that they do not know how to engage in such teaching (I1.M.PRS).

Another problem perceived by teachers is that students are not used to being taught using an activity approach. According to them, students do not like to think for themselves, or work on problems, and they get frustrated when the teacher pushes them to think independently (I1.M.PR, I2.L.P, I1.L.PRS). They also justify the students' attitude, arguing that they are not mature enough to oversee their own learning (I1.L.P). It was also argued that students could hardly be otherwise since they did not learn basic self-learning skills in primary school (I2.M.PRS, I1.S.PRS).

The reduction in the amount of content knowledge, it was held, also has an impact on pedagogy. Some participants mentioned that having more time to study each period of history allows teachers to effectively implement student-centred teaching methods and activities, such as working with historical sources, using maps, and writing reports (I5.L.PRS, I1.M.PRS). Also, the new syllabus presents more suggestions on activities to be conducted in class than did the previous one (I1.S.PRS, I2.L.PR). At the same time, it was expressed that the outline of the amount of content knowledge to be covered is still very ambitious (I4.L.PRS, I5.L.PRS, I1.M.PR), and that there is great difficulty in accommodating it. Overall, however, it was also pointed out that the new curriculum is an improvement when compared to the previous one, in that the latter was perceived to be "impossible to teach" (I1.S.PRS).

Assessment. Assessment tasks outlined in the new history curriculum are congruent with the prescribed teaching activities. Formative assessment is encouraged and assessment tasks have to promote active learning. For example, the division of sessions into three distinctive parts, according to the teachers, makes it easier for them to undertake formative assessment and active learning activities than was previously the case (I1.L.PRS).

At the same time, according to the participants, the assessment tasks which are outlined in the history curriculum are very hard to conduct (I2.L.PR, I3.S.PR, I3.M.PR, I1.L.PRS, I3.L.PRS, I6.L.PRS, I4.S.PRS, I1.L.P, I3.L.P). The problem, they said, lies in what is also required by national standardised tests. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are two national standardised tests implemented each year in Chile. One was created to measure the quality of education (SIMCE) and is comprised mostly of multiple-choice questions. The other is a test for university admissions (PSU), which is comprised totally of multiple-choice questions.

Teachers claimed that these tests only measure memorisation of content knowledge (I3.S.PRS; I3.L.P, I2.M.PR, I1.L.P, I4.L.PRS). Therefore, they argued, there is a strong incongruence between what the Ministry of Education advocates as assessment tasks and what is measured by the national standardised tests (I3.L.PR, I1.L.P, I4.L.PRS). Their further criticism is that the national standardised tests' regime hinders them in their work as history teachers as it forces them to focus on achieving good scores rather than focusing on a improving students' learning (I1.L.PRS, I1.M.PRS, I1.L.PR, I3.L.PRS, I4.L.PRS, I5.L.PRS, I3.S.PRS, I6.L.PRS, I1.L.P). Also, they stated that they feel pressure from school directors and parents who push students to achieve good scores in these tests (I3.M.PR, I1.L.PR, I1.M.PRS).

Thus, they said, they regularly feel 'trapped' between teaching history to the test and teaching history because of its real value (I1.M.PRS).

Idiosyncrasies

Objectives. Some of the history teachers stated that they are ignorant about the objectives to be pursued through the new history curriculum. One stated: "no sé cuales son los nuevos objetivos" ("I do not know what the new objectives are") (I3.L.PRS). Another stated that the main objective was to "saber un poco de todo" ("to know a little bit of everything") (I2.S.PRS). The latter assumption can be related to an encyclopaedic conception of the teaching of history promoted by the 'great tradition' approach.

Other participants showed a lack of understanding of the objectives prescribed by the new curriculum (I2.S.PRS, I4.M.PRS, I5.S.PRS). One participant seemed to have confused the meaning of objectives with the meaning of content. As a result, he used these terms as if they were synonyms (I2.S.PRS). Others declared that they do not understand the difference in objectives because, as it was stated: "me confundi al tratar de entender la reorganizacion de contenido así es que no seguí tratando de entender los nuevos objetivos" ("I was confused trying to understand the reorganisation of content knowledge so I did not go any further in trying to understand the new objectives") (I4.M.PRS). Also, one teacher mentioned that the only objective presented is to value Chilean history (I5.S.PRS).

Other participants strongly criticised the new objectives pursued by the history curriculum. In particular, they questioned their feasibility. It was pointed out that it was not possible to promote the development of critical thinking because the activities suggested are too ambitious and very hard to achieve in real teaching contexts (I1.M.PR, I1.S.PR).

One participant declared that he had analysed both the old and the new curriculum and concluded that the new curriculum does not present any novelty in terms of objectives (I3.M.PRS). On this matter, the participant claimed: "no entiendo que hay de nuevo en el nuevo curriculum, en términos de objetivos es exactament lo mismo de antes" ("I do not understand what is new about the new curriculum, in terms of objectives it is exactly the same that it used to be") (I3.M.PRS). He concluded by declaring that it is unnecessary to present something as new when in reality it is not (I3.M.PRS).

Content. The new content organisation was criticised by some participants. One set of critics pointed out that it is detrimental to reduce the amount of content knowledge of universal history to be taught in secondary school (I3.S.PRS, I6.M.PR). They claimed that, although that content knowledge is still taught at primary school, it is better to cover it in the senior years since young students do not have the cognitive skills needed to understand some complex historical processes (I3.S.PRS). Following the same rationale, it was argued that there are many complex concepts

like 'feudalism', 'anarchy', 'state', and 'revolution', that are very hard to explain to those of such a young age (I6.M.PR). Also, it was claimed that although the new organisation avoids repetition of topics, this can be counter-productive because it gives students only one chance to learn something (I2.S.PRS).

Another set of critics stated that the new content organisation is messy and poorly articulated. (I3.L.PRS, I3.L.PR, I1.L.PRS). It was argued that the curriculum promotes the teaching of history by focusing on different processes instead of on great historical events. One participant stated: "los estudiantes necesitan aprender sucesos y fechas para entender la historia" ("students need to know facts and dates in order to understand history") (I3.L.PR). Another claimed that, without facts and dates, it is not possible to locate oneself in time and space, and thus, impossible to understand history (I1.L.PRS). These critiques are embedded in an encyclopaedic conception of teaching history similar to the one professed by the 'great tradition'.

It was also stated by some that the new content organisation should be similar to that introduced in the 1980s. In one participant's view, "el programa se los 1980s aseguraba que los estudiantes entendieran lo que se les enseñaba" ("the syllabus of the 1980s made sure students would understand what was taught to them") (I2.L.PR). As was indicated in the previous chapter, the curriculum implemented in the 1980s promoted teacher-centred practices in accordance with the 'great tradition' approach.

The lack of new topics was also criticised (I3.M.PRS, I5.L.PRS). It was argued that the reorganisation of content knowledge does not represent any real change. Accordingly one participant stated: "nada es realmente diferente porque aun hay asignaturas como geografía, económica y cívica que se ven rezagadas tras la historia" ("nothing is really different, because there still are some school subjects like geography, economics, and civics that are being neglected by history") (I5.L.PRS). Also, it was mentioned that what is called 'universal history' is nothing but the study of European history (I6.L.PRS). In their opinion, history nowadays should relate to different continents to help students understand the globalised world in which they are living (I5.L.PRS, I2.M.PRS). Finally, it was argued, the history curriculum should focus particularly on Latin-America (I3.M.PRS).

Some participants were beyond agreeing with, or criticising, the content to be covered by the new curriculum and suggested something new. One claimed that history as a school subject has too much content to be covered in comparison to the amount of weekly hours allocated to its teaching. The solution to this problem, he argued, was not in removing content but in extending its weekly hours (I6.L.PRS).

Another group focused on the 'whole' curriculum, of which history is but one part. On this, one participant argued that the reorganisation of content should have been more extensive, promoting an integration of all school subjects. She claimed: "mientras se siga implementando el sistema de educación formal, o sea, 40 estudiantes sentados ocho horas al día, estudiando 14 asignaturas, siendo 'llenados como botellas' la calidad del sistema no va a mejorar" ("as long as the formal system of education keeps on being implemented, that is to say, 40 students sitting 8 hours

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a day, studying 14 different school subjects, being ‘filled up like bottles’, the quality of the system will not improve”) (I5.L.PRS). Overall, she did not agree with the changes implemented.

Pedagogy. Some teachers argued that there have been no pedagogical changes in the modified curriculum (I1.L.PRS, I3.M.PRS). According to them, after revising the previous curriculum and the current one, nothing new has been introduced. One teacher claimed: “este currículum es lo mismo que antes pero con diferente orden. Los profesores tenemos que seguir haciendo lo mismo que antes” (“this curriculum is the same as it was before but presented in a different order. Teachers have to keep on doing the same”) (I1.L.PRS). It was further argued that the curriculum modification is not related to teaching and learning issues, but rather to political issues (I3.M.PRS)

New visions were also presented on the pedagogical aspects of the modified curriculum. One participant argued that the Ministry of Education should encourage individual schools to undertake their own elaborations on the curriculum framework. It was argued that this would stimulate reflection on the theoretical aspects of a curriculum amongst teachers. In this scenario, teachers would be responsible for creating their own school-based curriculum within system parameters, having the opportunity to decide what to teach and how to do it. This would be positive, it was argued, for two main reasons. First, it would avoid the standardisation produced when implementing a national curriculum. Secondly, it would give teachers a more active role in their professional practice (I3.S.PRS).

One participant stated that prescribed pedagogical issues are not relevant to teachers because they act with complete freedom within classrooms. The participant claimed: “nadie sabe lo que pasa dentro de la sala de clases, entonces, dalo mismo lo que diga el Ministerio de Educacion” (“nobody knows what happens within classrooms, so it does not matter what the Ministry of Education dictates”) (I1.L.P). The participant concluded by saying that he only does what he thinks is best for his students which, in his opinion, is not always in accordance with the prescriptions laid down by the Ministry of Education (I1.L.P).

Assessment. Some participants stated that assessment practices prescribed for the new curriculum do not present them with a new approach as teachers are still very concerned about national standardised tests (I3.M.PRS). It was also declared that the syllabi do not present any difference when compared to the previous ones (I3.L.PR).

One group of teachers showed less concern about students’ results in national standardised tests, than most participants. There is a group of them who work in public schools (I1.L.P, I2.L.P, I4.L.P). They justify their view, stating that students attending their schools have serious social issues to contend with in their homes, or have severe academic problems. As teachers, they have chosen to focus their attention on trying to help students to address these issues, rather than worrying about their scores (I1.L.P, I2.L.P., I4.L.P).

CONCLUSION

This chapter addressed the third aim of the study, namely, to develop an understanding of the issues of concern for secondary school history teachers with regard to the implementation of a new curriculum framework. The issues identified by the teachers were considered in relation to the three broad themes of 'origins of the curriculum modification', 'role of key stakeholders', and 'components of the modified curriculum'. These issues will be revisited in the next chapter where the outcome of another level of analysis is outlined. This will be presented within the context of the broader thrust of the chapter, namely, commonalities, differences, and idiosyncrasies. The next chapter will now provide the summary of the study, along with a discussion and a conclusion.

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SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

In Chile, the education system has faced multiple changes since it was established in the mid-nineteenth century. An example of these changes is the great number of curriculum frameworks that have been implemented in the country's schools over time. Accordingly, the nation's Ministry of Education has had to regularly modify school subjects in terms of their objectives, content, pedagogy, and assessment. The latest modification was initiated in 2009 and involves changes in relation to primary and secondary schools. The process will reach completion in 2014.

Against this background, it is significant that while a number of research projects and policy initiatives have been undertaken relating to curriculum reform in Chile over the years, there has been little research conducted into the main features of the current curriculum framework. Furthermore, while considerable research has been undertaken on the teaching of such school subjects as science and mathematics in Chile, there has been little research undertaken on the teaching of history as a school subject. This is true even in relation to history within the current curriculum framework. As a result, the range of available understandings in various areas, including the role of teachers when teaching history within the new curriculum framework in their classrooms, is limited.

It was with the intention of addressing the latter deficits that the study reported in this book was carried out. This final chapter opens with a summary of the study. Secondly, the transferability of the research findings is considered. Thirdly, consideration is given to the implications of the study for practice. Finally, consideration is given to the implications of the study for further research.

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The study reported in this book had three aims. The first aim was to develop an understanding of the background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile. The second aim was to develop an understanding of current developments of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile. The third aim was to develop an understanding of the issues of concern to secondary school history teachers who work in the region of Valparaíso, Chile.

The choice of the interpretivist paradigm to underpin the research was justified as the study, and particularly its third aim, was focused on seeking to unveil the diversity of meanings constructed by individuals within the particular social

context investigated (Gubruim & Holstein, 2005, p. 483). A basic assumption of the interpretivist approach is that reality is what people observe it to be. Thus, research based on this paradigm is designed to examine how individuals perceive the world around them (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 36).

The first research aim was historical in nature. As a result, data were identified primarily through a review of a wide range of public and private records and documents. Such records constitute two common types of documents used in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). The study focused particularly on government documents, history textbooks, samples of syllabuses of study, and former curriculum frameworks. An interpretation of these sources was required to understand official perspectives on programmes, administrative structures and other aspects of organisation.

In order to address the second research aim, it was again conceptualised in terms of the interpretivist paradigm. This time the intention was to examine and interpret a wide range of contemporary and official records. The particular focus was on analysing study programmes for history as a school subject in Chile over the last twenty years. However, it was also considered necessary to present the main components of the current system of education so that a thorough understanding of the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum could be generated in relation to the context in which it exists.

When addressing the third research aim, the focus of the study was on the region of Valparaiso, Chile. This region was selected because it facilitated concentrating the investigation on one complex social setting involving the interplay of manifold factors (Litchman, 2010). It was recognised from the outset that in a study of this nature the data collected should be rich and should facilitate an in-depth understanding of the situation in this particular context. In order to achieve the desired richness and depth of the data, a broad range of perspectives was sought. This was achieved through the purposeful selection of study participants. Amongst the factors taken into account for this purpose were school size and school funding.

The First Research Aim

Chapter Five addressed the first research aim of the study, namely, to develop an understanding of the historical background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile. In doing so, every curriculum framework for secondary school history prescribed by the Ministry of Education since the establishment of a national system of education, from the mid-nineteenth century to the curriculum implemented by Pinochet's dictatorship in the 1980s was analysed. The analysis was centred on the objectives, content, pedagogy and assessment components of the history curriculum.

Objectives. The objectives of the teaching of history as a school subject changed over the total period considered. During the second half of the twentieth century, they were concerned with providing students with knowledge about the past in order to help them make political decisions. Following the dissemination of ideas regarding

the enlightenment movement, the dominant view in Chile of the history of human kind was conceived of as the history of progress. By knowing the events of the past, it was argued, secondary school students would, when they become adults, be able to make the best decisions for the nation's future. This was in line with the notion that secondary school education should be undertaken with the intention of pursuing a university degree, which was only accessible to the ruling class.

During the first half of the twentieth century new objectives were outlined. These were related to the promotion of virtue, patriotism and national values. Also, it was expected that the history teachers would work to prepare students to understand their society and the world in which they lived. This coincided with the rise and consolidation of the middle-class as a politically powerful social group who considered it necessary to break the bonds with their Spanish/European heritage and to promote Chilean values and traditions instead.

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of new trends. In particular, the mid 1960s witnessed an attempt to promote historical awareness and active citizenship. Students were encouraged to understand their social context so that they would actively participate in society and contribute to the country's socio-economic development. Also, the development of higher order skills through the historical method of enquiry was generously promoted. Following this, however, the curriculum introduced in the 1980s took a different approach yet again, returning to the promotion of patriotism and national values, and dismissing the historical method of inquiry as being no longer worthy of a preeminent place in teaching and learning. This reflected the social control being exerted under the Pinochet Dictatorship and the associated desire to stamp out any promotion of critical thinking.

Content. Historically, the content of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile has been associated mainly with knowledge as fact. During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, in accordance with the objectives which existed at that time, content was outlined by listing organised political and military events chronologically. Generally, study programmes presented a thorough and very extensive list of all historical events deemed worthwhile to teach. While nineteenth century European history was emphasised during this time, Chilean history came to be considered more relevant in the twentieth century. This can be appreciated by noting the additional time allocated to each topic dealing with Chilean history.

In the second half of the twentieth century, a teaching of content from an extensive list of various historical topics was also the general tendency. By the 1960s, following international trends, these included topics related to social and economic history. The integration of other disciplines, such as anthropology and economics, was undertaken in relation to the history curriculum. This was in accord with the objective already noted related to the development of higher-order skills. In harmony with this more progressive approach, a strong emphasis on Latin-American history was also introduced for the first time. However, these changes did not last long, as the 1980s curriculum framework of the Pinochet Dictatorship era re-introduced

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the emphasis on chronologically organised political events, mainly of nineteenth century Chilean history.

Pedagogy. Pedagogy orientations included in the curriculum framework also varied over time and were in accordance with the objectives and content prescribed at various periods. In the second half of the nineteenth century specific details on pedagogy were rarely outlined in detail. The emphasis was simply on indicating that history teaching was supposed to be story-telling of historical events. Teachers were expected to motivate students so that they would care about history, but the practices emphasised were teacher-centred.

In the first half of the twentieth century, directives on pedagogy became more explicit. While the teaching of history was still meant to emphasise story-telling and narration, the learning of history was conceived of as memorisation of historical events through content repetition and dictation. Then, in the mid-twentieth century, again in harmony with the already-noted emphasis on objectives and content in the progressive education tradition, the use of such historical sources as historical texts, maps, and images was stressed, along with an emphasis on the teaching of historical concepts for understanding.

To support the emphasis on the development of the historical method of inquiry, student-centred activities and active learning in the curriculum introduced in the 1960s, professional development programmes were introduced in order to assist teachers. Also, for the first time, study programmes contained suggestions for activities to assist teachers in their lesson planning. Overall, the teaching and learning of history was understood as the construction of historical knowledge through the use of historical sources and concepts.

The implementation of progressive teaching practices, however, did not last long, as the 1980s curriculum of the Pinochet Dictatorship-era, resulted in a return to teacher-centred practices. Teachers were now once again expected to teach the list of content knowledge prescribed in the study programmes. Overall, there was a return to didactic teaching.

Assessment. Taking the period under consideration as a whole, assessment in the teaching of history was given little attention. Largely, it was assumed that what was learnt would be assessed by traditional examinations and that the setting of these examinations was a straight-forward, non-problematic, non-scientific activity. An exception to this trend was the development when the curriculum introduced in the 1960s suggested the use of formative assessment. However, this notion, as with progressive objectives, content and pedagogy receded into the background during the Pinochet era.

The Second Research Aim

Chapter 6 addressed the second research aim of the study, namely, to develop an understanding of the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum

in Chile. In doing so, it analysed the latest curriculum framework for secondary school history prescribed by the Ministry of Education. This was introduced in 1999 and modified in 2010. The Ministry of Education emphasised that this modification was to address areas of the curriculum not being promoted as planned. The analysis, again, was centred on the objectives, content, pedagogy and assessment components of the history curriculum.

Objectives. The main objective of the history curriculum for secondary schools designed in 1998 was centred on promoting students' understanding of their social environment. They were expected to understand historical and recent events, acknowledging that reality is a complex construction which can be interpreted differently according to the viewer's perspective. Accordingly, the curriculum emphasised the development of skills needed for students to contribute responsibly in a constantly changing world. In harmony with this, citizenship values were also promoted. In order to achieve these objectives, students were supposed to develop a variety of skills including enquiry, critical analysis and oral and written communication.

The curriculum designed in 2009, and still current, continues to emphasise the study of history as a valuable tool for students to understand their social reality. Its main objective is to promote knowledge of the past to enable students to behave actively and competently in present and future times. In accordance with this, an understanding of the cultural foundations of Chilean society, including the meaning of Chilean citizenship, is also pursued. In addition, understanding of the relation between human beings and their environment is emphasised. Finally, the history curriculum's objectives encourage students to engage in conflict resolution so that they can relate historical conflicts to their current social reality.

Content. The 1998 history curriculum emphasised that content knowledge, skills and values were to be developed in an integrated manner. Therefore, teachers were supposed to implement teaching activities that would promote the development of critical thinking and values needed in order to live in a democratic society. However, the study programmes included a vast amount of content knowledge organised in a chronological manner to be covered in each grade. For example, in Year 10, students were supposed to learn Chilean history from before the arrival of the Spanish conquerors until the twentieth first century. Also, other disciplines such as geography, economics, and civics were integrated into the history curriculum.

In response to this curriculum overload, the 2009 history curriculum framework reorganised and reduced the content knowledge to be taught. The main focus came to be on Chilean history, which was now to be taught in Year 10 and Year 11. Associated with this has been an increase in the emphasis on developing skills related to space and time, research, and interpretation. The study programmes also stress the importance of developing ethical and citizenship values.

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Pedagogy. The curriculum designed in 1998 promoted active learning and student-centred practices. The study programmes included an array of suggested activities to be implemented by teachers. These promoted the historical method of inquiry, encouraging students to work with primary and secondary sources and to arrive at their own interpretations of the past. The curriculum designed in 2009 follows the same pedagogical orientations, also emphasising the development of the historical method of inquiry through working with historical sources and concepts. The associated study programmes indicated an increase in the amount of suggested activities for teachers, with three or four activities per unit being outlined.

Assessment. Assessment procedures were features in the history curriculum designed in 1998. The study programmes indicated that assessment tasks were to be consistent with teaching and learning practices. In this regard, they were to promote the development of critical thinking instead of memorisation, or repetition, of content knowledge. The current curriculum framework follows this trend, emphasising that assessment tasks have to cover two main areas, namely, historical understanding and the development of historical enquiry skills. The study programmes outline several suggested assessment tasks that teachers can adapt according to their context. Also, a section is dedicated to explaining the relevance of conducting formative assessment.

The Third Research Aim

Chapter 7 presented findings related to the third aim of the study, which was to develop an understanding of the issues of concern to secondary school history teachers who work in the region of Valparaíso, Chile. The issues identified by the teachers were categorised in terms of three broad themes, namely, ‘origins of the curriculum modification’, ‘role of key stakeholders’, and ‘components of the modified curriculum’. Although a number of issues were also identified in relation to other areas of the education system, the three already named refer particularly to the history curriculum for secondary schools prescribed by the Ministry of Education.

Borrowing from the ideas of Winter (1982), the issues identified by teachers in relation to the third research aim can be classified into three levels according to the perceived effect that they have on the participants in their work. These levels relate to ‘inconveniences’, ‘impediments’, and ‘impending threats’. ‘Inconveniences’ refer to issues that are a nuisance but do not act to create great concern. The perception is just that teaching would be easier without having to contend with them. ‘Impediments’ are issues that can be tolerated in the meantime, but need to be sorted out eventually. ‘Impending threats’ are issues that, if not addressed soon, have the potential to seriously threaten the delivery of the history curriculum. Each level will be now considered in turn.

Inconveniences. This first level is concerned with issues recognised by teachers as being a nuisance, but which have little immediate impact on their work. Teachers

identified as inconveniencies the ‘extensive amount of content knowledge to be covered’, ‘lack of new topics’, ‘lack of clarity about the curriculum objectives’, ‘reluctance to change their teaching practice’ and ‘lack of motivation’.

Regarding the first issue, which was the extensive amount of content knowledge to be covered in each school year level, although the modified curriculum framework prescribes less content than previously, teachers still consider it is too ambitious to expect that all of it can be taught in the allocated weekly hours. They also think there is a contradiction between what is considered useful for students to learn and the time allocated to learning it, particularly considering the emphasis on student-centred activities. Also, as teachers think that each unit is relevant for students’ general knowledge, they believe that reducing the amount of content knowledge is not an appropriate option. The implication is that they consider more time should be allocated to the teaching of the subject.

Teachers also perceive that there are not sufficient new topics included in the new curriculum. This could be addressed, they hold, by orientating some of the topics such that they might be more appealing to students by including more Latin American history and local history. The problem recognised here is that to address this would, once again, involve increasing the amount of hours allocated to history teaching. Not to do so would involve studying the topics in a superficial manner. This is something that most history teachers would not approve of.

Teachers also consider that there is a lack of clarity about the objectives of the curriculum as they do not have a common understanding about what are the purposes of teaching the subject. When asked to elaborate on this, they talked about the lack of clarity about the meaning of such topics as ‘preparation for democracy’, ‘citizenship promotion’, ‘historical awareness’, ‘understanding of current events’, ‘understanding contemporary society’, ‘developing critical thinking’, ‘developing written communication skills’, and ‘understanding of the historical method of enquiry’. Highlighting this suggests that, while almost 90 percent of schools throughout the country implement the Ministry of Education’s prescribed history syllabus, there is no certainty about what is really taught within classrooms. This uncertainty, teachers suggest, needs to be addressed as clarity of objectives, they say, is pivotal when they seek to engage in appropriate lesson planning and achieve consistency between their teaching activities and the assessment tasks.

Another issue for teachers is the reluctance by some colleagues to take note of only some of the aspects of the new curriculum prescriptions and the tendency to ignore others. They persuade themselves, it is argued, that the re-organisation of content knowledge is the only modification of the curriculum that has been undertaken. Therefore, the concern is that they will keep on implementing teacher-centred activities and practicing history teaching as storytelling. Their concerned peers state that they justify this approach on the grounds that adapting their teaching approaches to the currently prescribed history curriculum is not necessary as they have never engaged in the required practices in the past. Those teachers adopting such a view also indicate that they do not feel compelled to follow the curriculum prescriptions

as they were created by an external institution (the Ministry of Education) which does not take into account contextual differences amongst schools.

Other teachers raise the issue of not knowing how to motivate students in order to make history more interesting for them. They explain that they do not have the necessary knowledge or resources to implement learning activities to actively engage students in their own learning. The new curriculum prescribes student-centred activities and active learning, but this group of teachers declare that they do not know how to appropriately involve their students. Accordingly, they choose to teach in their usual way, trying to engage students while teaching history through storytelling only. Some of them justified this approach by stating that students were used to being told what to do, prefer to listen to historical stories anyway, and complain when they are presented with active learning activities.

Impediments. The second level of issues that have had a perceived impact on the work done by history teachers is entitled 'impediments'. These are issues that interfere with the teachers' ability to execute their daily tasks in the best possible, or most efficient, manner. They include 'lack of time', 'lack of disciplinary knowledge', 'poor communication of curriculum modifications', and 'lack of understanding of the curriculum modifications'.

The first of the impediments for teachers noted above is the lack of time available during working hours for them to do non-teaching activities. This is particularly significant for teachers working in private state-subsidised schools and public schools, as they spend most of their working hours in direct contact with students. On this, teachers indicate that the amount of working hours allocated to spend with students does not correlate with the hours that are necessary to dedicate to lessons planning, to marking assignments, to meet with parents, and to think about their teaching practices. Teachers working in such schools state that they have to spend non-working hours, including at weekends and public holidays, completing tasks to meet their job requirements. This situation produces frustration amongst teachers as they feel their salary and the social-status associated with their position do not sufficiently compensate them for what they have to do.

Teachers also perceive the way the Ministry of Education communicates with them on the implementation of a new curriculum framework as another impediment. Although some think that it is their own responsibility to be informed about the latest developments in education, others are continually displeased about the lack of information given to them on related matters. According to them, neither the Ministry of Education nor the schools provide them with sufficient information or professional training to help them to understand changes introduced in new curricula. As a result, they report that they gain access to relevant information by surfing the web, attending school meetings, having informal talks with colleagues, and looking at the new textbooks. Thus, each teacher creates his or her own understanding of the curriculum and the level of this understanding can depend very much on the level of interest of each on the matter. This seems to be particularly relevant when

considering that teachers do not have enough time to reflect on, and to evaluate, their professional practice.

Another issue is that history teachers perceive that there is a lack of up-to-date disciplinary knowledge amongst themselves. Some acknowledged that the last time they studied history topics was during their student-teacher training days. This means that new historical interpretations or new historical trends might not be imparted to students, even when the programmes of study suggest they should. In addition, some teachers indicate that often they have to adapt disciplinary knowledge learnt at university to make it understandable to students, which is generally a very difficult task.

A further issue identified by teachers is a lack of understanding of the curriculum modifications that are mandated. The only area that is understood by all, it is claimed, is the reorganisation of content knowledge. Other areas of the modification, including that of the actual content of the new study programmes, the emphasis on the understanding of students' social context, and the removal of content knowledge, do not seem to be given attention by them. This can be associated with such other issues as the poor communication of the curriculum modifications provided by the Ministry of Education and the lack of available time for teachers to think about their teaching practice.

Impending threats. The third level of issues that have had a perceived impact on the work undertaken by history teachers is entitled 'impending threats'. These are issues which the participants feel might have a significant impact on their ability to execute their work in the best possible, or most efficient, manner in the future. Issues identified as impending threats by teachers are 'lack of pedagogical knowledge', 'lack of available resources', 'consequences of national standardised tests', and 'lack of professional development instances'.

Regarding the first threat, teachers identified their lack of pedagogical knowledge required to implement the modified curriculum as a concern. In particular, they drew attention to the difficulties of implementing student-centred activities, promoting active learning and encouraging the historical method of enquiry without being adequately trained. They saw the origin of this situation as being the absence of instruction in the prescribed teaching approach during their teacher training days at university. Accordingly, it is not surprising that they declared they felt more comfortable when implementing teacher-centred activities in which they had received tuition at university. Because of this situation, it is likely that the prescribed curriculum is not being implemented as intended by the Ministry of Education.

The second issue identified by teachers, and mentioned above, it will be recalled refers to the lack of available resources for them to improve their practice. These resources are both material and non-material. Teachers declared they do not have not enough material resources such as up-to-date books and historical maps, and have no access to appropriate technology to improve their practice. Also, they indicated they do not have enough opportunities such as meetings with colleagues or seminars

organised within schools for thinking about their practice. Again, their response is to implement teacher-centred activities. The situation is particularly critical in small schools which have only one history teacher. Teachers in this situation state that they feel very isolated and are unable to discuss their day-to-day issues with other colleagues.

The third issue for teachers already mentioned has to do with the implementation of national standardised tests. According to teachers, these tests influence their teaching as they feel they have to 'teach for the test'. Instead of implementing the activities suggested in the study programmes or introducing their own activities, teachers are compelled to prepare students to obtain good test scores. They feel pressure from parents and managing directors of schools to constantly improve students' results. Indeed, teachers working in private, state-subsidised schools sometimes perceive that judgements about their whole performance as education professionals rely on students' results. In other words, they state that the popular view is that students who get 'good scores' have 'good teachers' and those who get 'bad scores' have 'bad teachers'. They complain that this judgement is made without considering that students, school management teams, and parents are also responsible for students' performances in national standardised tests. In addition, they highlight that most sections of these tests comprise multiple-choice questions, which usually measure recognition of content knowledge instead of higher-order skills, and, thus, do not reflect the spirit of the philosophy underlying the curriculum. If teachers think they have to teach for the tests, they argue, there is no room for implementing the student-centred activities suggested by the curriculum framework.

The final issue identified is the lack of professional development opportunities for teachers to understand the new history curriculum framework. Because of this, teachers argue, they do not have the necessary skills to implement the teaching approach that is prescribed in the recently modified curriculum. Although the CPEIP provides professional development programmes, their offering is limited to the metropolitan area in Santiago (the Chilean capital city) and it is also limited in the number of sessions offered. Nevertheless, teachers indicate that schools generally make a great effort to host these sessions. Again, it is not surprising that teachers conclude that if they do not have the necessary pedagogical knowledge to implement the curriculum prescriptions it is highly unlikely that they will introduce any modifications in their teaching practices.

THE MATTER OF TRANSFERABILITY

It will be recalled that the three main aims of the study reported in this book were to develop an understanding of the historical background to the teaching of history for secondary school in Chile, of the current developments of the secondary school history curriculum in Chile, and of the issues of concern to secondary school history teachers in Valparaiso, Chile. The research was designed to focus on discovery,

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

insight and understanding, especially from the perspective of the teachers, thus contributing to the knowledge base and practice for secondary school history teaching in Chile. The results of a study of such a unique situation are, however, limited to the extent to which they can be considered transferable. This refers to the “extent to which findings of one study can be transferred to other situations” (Merriam, 2009, p. 223).

Specifically regarding the third research question, the study participants were teachers working in the region of Valparaiso, Chile, which is only one of Chile’s fifteen regions. Nevertheless, it is arguable that the findings in the case of this question are of some relevance to schools all over the country. This is for two reasons. First, the curriculum prescriptions provided by the Ministry of Education are applicable to all regions throughout the country. Secondly, the study included teachers working in three administrative categories existing in the country.

Also, the findings should be considered of interest to history curriculum developers internationally, even though none of them are operating under the same conditions as schools in Chile. This is to recognise that they could be transferable in the sense that readers may draw upon them to inform their understanding of their own situation. On this, Guba and Lincoln (1985) recommend the provision of a “thick description of the sending context so that someone in a potential receiving context may assess the similarity between them and the study” (p. 126). Such an approach, as O’Donoghue (2007) explains, can help readers “to relate to the study and perhaps gain an understanding of their own and others’ situations” (p. 66). This suggests that readers can ‘transfer’ the understandings generated by the research to their own situation and identify points of comparison and contrast.

Similar studies could be conducted in other regions to unveil teachers’ perspectives on the history curriculum for secondary schools in different areas within Chile. Also, the Chilean Ministry of Education could employ the understandings generated by this study to promote reflection upon the curriculum modifications it has initiated. Further, the development of insight into the implementation of the history curriculum provided by the current study can serve as a benchmark against which future practitioners and researchers can mark progress. These insights could also form the basis of further discussion of the phenomenon.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The findings of the study reported in this book suggest certain implications for practice in the substantive area of the history curriculum for secondary school in Chile. The findings of the first two research questions provide a framework within which current issues and concerns can be contextualised and thus be understood more clearly. Such understanding, it is held, is essential in order for them to be addressed adequately. The remainder of this section now considers some implications arising out of the findings of research question three.

Implications of the Findings on Research Question Three for the Development of Policy

The findings related to research question three can provide insights for policy makers in different areas of the history curriculum for secondary schools in Chile. This is particularly relevant as policy makers must ensure they work to provide a sound foundation upon which future decisions can be based. A number of the areas in question are now presented in turn.

There is lack of consistency between what is prescribed in the curriculum framework and what is really implemented at the classroom level. Because any curriculum implementation is a process, not an event, it needs an accountability system to ensure its consistency (Magdenzo, 2008). There are multiple strategies that can be used when striving for consistency. These include the following: providing extra time for teachers to become familiar with the new prescriptions and to make new lesson plans; ensuring effective coordination between teachers, schools, and the Ministry of Education; establishing stages of implementation, each one of them with clear and achievable objectives; and increasing the provision of human and monetary resources to assist teachers in achieving an accurate understanding of the new features of the curriculum, which can include professional development initiatives. Cognisance needs to be taken of all of these strategies in relation to the new history curriculum.

The implementation of national standardised tests has also had a negative effect. Teachers declare that they ‘teach for the test’. This means they re-orient their teaching approach in order to help students to achieve good scores. Although these tests are outlined according to the content knowledge allocated for students at each school level, multiple-choice items predominate. This works against the development of higher-order skills through the history curriculum. As a result, teachers declare that they feel torn between the pressure to obtain good scores and pressure to teach according to the curriculum prescriptions. This, clearly, is another matter that needs to be addressed.

Furthermore, communication and coordination between the Ministry of Education, schools and teachers have to be improved with regard to the implementation of the next curriculum framework. There are different steps that can be taken by Ministry of Education personnel throughout the country to assist teachers on this. They could, for example, increase the number of meetings between teachers and schools directors, develop teaching activities to offer to teachers beyond those presented in the study programmes, develop a newsletter to be distributed to all schools informing staff of new decisions and reminding them about the different stages of implementation, promote the development of networks of teachers so that they can share ideas and information about the teaching of history, conduct surveys amongst teachers to help to evaluate the process of the curriculum implementation, and visit schools to observe curriculum implementation within classrooms.

The adoption of these practices has the potential to improve the current quality of education, including in the teaching of history. As previously mentioned, private-paid and private state-subsidy schools are managed privately. Therefore, the Ministry of Education can only use the record of students' daily attendance to inform thinking on overseeing the quality of the service provided. Concurrently, teachers in such schools perceive the Ministry of Education to be an external institution which does not take into account their needs and concerns. It is true that personnel from the Ministry do not have much latitude to provide assistance. At the same time, however, the fact that by the end of 2013 the study programmes for Year 11 and Year 12 were not available on the Ministry of Education's webpage does not inspire confidence.

If changes could be brought about in the school funding system there would also be the potential to improve teachers' working conditions, including those of history teachers. The problem is that teachers working in private and private state-subsidised schools are regulated by the Labour Code, not the Teacher Statute. The implementation of a new regulation system could result in an increase in the amount of working hours dedicated to non-teaching activities, promote teachers' networks, increase the amount of material and non-material resources available for teachers, and promote opportunities for professional development for all teachers, including teachers of history.

Implications of the Research Findings for Practice

Implications for Teaching. The findings in relation to question three indicate certain areas where teaching practices for the history curriculum can be improved. One of the main changes implemented as a result of the curriculum modification was the revision and improvement of the study programmes. For each school level the programmes explain in detail the objectives of the history curriculum, specific objectives for each school year, content to be taught, pedagogical approaches related to the development of the historical method of enquiry and communication skills, and assessment orientations. They also dedicate a section to assist teachers with their lesson planning. The Ministry of Education, schools administrators and teachers should promote the use and study of these programmes as valuable tools to assist teachers in their professional practice and to provide them with knowledge to introduce the curriculum modifications. It might seem strange that this practice is not currently followed to a great extent. The problem is that the old habit of ignoring such official documentation lives on.

Another identified area is the need to include new and more appealing topics to increase students' motivation. The curriculum indicates the minimum amount of content knowledge to be covered throughout the school year. Teachers have autonomy to choose new topics that can be of interest for students, taking into consideration their contextual backgrounds. A starting point could be to ask students to identify topics that most interest them when it comes to certain historical events. Although an identified issue for teachers is the extensive amount of content knowledge to

be taught, new material can be included in teaching activities without neglecting the teaching of compulsory topics. Again, while it would seem only common sense that such an approach be adopted, it needs to be explicitly encouraged given how resistant teachers in Chile, including history teachers, are to change.

Improvement could also be brought about through the use of historical fiction to motivate students to actively participate in the learning process. On this, Rodwell (2013) indicates the benefits of using historical fiction as a teaching and learning activity in history classrooms. It allows students to consider historical events in a motivating and innovative manner. History and literature can be brought together to provide students with the opportunity to situate themselves in historical times. Rodwell (2013) argues that the genre of historical fiction is well received, and even popular, amongst the general public. Therefore, it can be a powerful tool to engage history students at primary, secondary and tertiary level. On this Rodwell (2013) indicates that teachers should select novels that have a strong storyline so that they can capture the attention of students. The main objective is to motivate students to learn more about the historical context in which the novel is situated.

Implications for learning. The modified curriculum requires teachers to think about the consequences of implementing student-centred activities and promoting active learning in history teaching. It proposes the use of the historical method of enquiry. In doing this, it encourages students to act as historians, trying to generate historical interpretation through the use of primary and secondary sources. It recognises that students can develop higher-order skills far beyond recognition of content knowledge. This can enable them to understand historical events from the past and relate to their social reality. In the long term, it is held, the learning of history can provide them with tools to actively participate in society. However, it is unlikely that this can be achieved if the practice of learning history teaching as storytelling prevails. Much more deliberation needs to take place on how there can be a move away from this mind-set.

Implications for management and administration. Schools have an active role to play in assisting teachers during the implementation of a new curriculum framework. This is so in relation to all school subjects, including history. In this regard, the successful implementation of a new curriculum framework demands communication and collaboration between the Ministry of Education, school management teams and administrators, and teachers. Much more needs to be done in this regard in Chile.

Implications for pre-service teacher preparation. The Ministry of Education has introduced teaching standards for all school subjects, including history. These are defined as the disciplinary knowledge, pedagogical knowledge and skills that a teacher must have acquired at the end of his or her teacher training program (Ministerio de Educación, 2013). In order to measure performance in relation to these standards, the Ministry of Education developed the INICIA test to be administered

to students in the last year of their teacher training programme. Results published in 2013 (Ministerio de Educación, 2013) showed that 51 percent of new history teachers who took the test had the basic necessary knowledge to be a teacher and only 11 percent demonstrated an outstanding performance. As previously indicated, teachers declare that they tend to teach what they learnt at university. With 38 percent of new history teachers not meeting the minimum teaching standard at the end of their period of teacher training, a revision of the curriculum components of the initial teacher education programmes for teachers of history is essential.

Finally, with regard to the latter, teaching preparation programmes should be oriented much more towards the development of the historical method of enquiry. This is a particularly relevant issue, since teachers indicate that they were not trained to teach the 'new history' approach to teaching. They have to learn to act as historians themselves in order to teach their students how to do so.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The findings presented in this book in relation to research question three also suggest areas for further research aimed at promoting a more thorough understanding of the phenomenon of secondary school history curriculum in Chile. In particular, it would be useful to engage in research to inform action aimed at:

- Increasing teacher collaboration in the design of new curriculum frameworks for secondary school history;
- Improving the efficiency of the teacher training programmes for secondary school history teachers all over the country;
- Ensuring consistency between the teacher training programmes for secondary school history and the secondary school history curriculum;
- Increasing the number of teacher professional development sessions provided for history teachers;
- Helping to promote understanding of the effects and consequences of the implementation of national standardised tests on secondary school history teaching practices;
- Providing assistance for teachers to find a balance between meeting the requirements of the national standardised test and those of the secondary school history curriculum;
- Improving students' motivation in secondary school history classrooms;
- Including new and appealing topics in the secondary school history curriculum without neglecting the implementation of student-centred teaching activities
- Helping promote understanding of students' perceptions of history teaching in order to implement appropriate teaching activities;
- Examining in a more detailed manner the relationship between secondary school curriculum change and the political ideology of the government in power in Chile.

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the study reported in this book will inform the development of the history curriculum for secondary schools in Chile. Special attention must be paid in the future to approaches to teacher training practices for secondary school history teachers. In order to ensure consistency between what is mandated by the Ministry of Education and what is taught within classrooms, teacher training programmes and teachers' working conditions should be reviewed in the Chilean context.

Overall, it could be argued that the current history curriculum for secondary schools in Chile faces the following challenges:

- It needs to be properly understood by teachers who are not currently trained to adopt the mandated teaching approach;
- It needs to be implemented in the spirit of what is mandated and not according to what teachers are in the habit of doing;
- It needs to be implemented in a manner that shows fidelity to the stated objectives and not be overly influenced by the use of national standardised test requirements

School administrators and personnel within the Ministry of Education have the responsibility to assist teachers in the implementation process of new curriculum frameworks. A popular Spanish saying states: "nadie puede enseñar lo que no sabe" ("no one can teach what is unknown"). This saying, considered in conjunction with the findings of the study reported in this book, prompts one to argue that assistance must now be given to history teachers in Chile in the shape of professional development, seminars, meetings, teaching activities, and support networks. Also, school funding and administration has to be reviewed so that they can have this support. All who wish for the development of education in Chile, and particularly the enhancement of history teaching, can only hope that developments in line with these proposals will be soon forthcoming.

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