

History Teachers' Conceptions of Professional Identity in Developing Historical Consciousness to Students

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Abstract

This article discusses the results of a qualitative study aimed to explore how two experienced history teachers' conceptions of their professional identity may have an impact on the type of historical consciousness they seek to develop to their students. We used the concept of professional identity as an organized representation of theories, attitudes and beliefs about ourselves as teachers (Beijard, 2004). Also, we used the term historical consciousness as defined by Rösen (1993). We draw the main categories used to explore the types of historical consciousness on Rösen's typology including four categories of historical consciousness. We gathered data through observing and interviewing two high school history teachers, highly qualified and sufficiently experienced in teaching history (cases). The results show that participants' conceptions of their role as history teachers seem to have a more significant impact on the type of historical consciousness they seek to develop to their students than some other aspects of their professional knowledge.

Keywords: historical consciousness, professional identity, history teachers, teachers' conceptions

Introduction

This article discusses the results of a qualitative study that aimed to explore how two experienced history teachers' conceptions of their professional identity may have an impact on the type of historical consciousness they seek to develop to their students.

We used the concept of professional identity as an organized representation of theories, attitudes and beliefs about ourselves as teachers (Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004: 108). Teachers' professional identity could be described in terms of the teacher as a subject matter expert, the teacher as a pedagogical expert, and the teacher as a didactical expert (Beijaard, Verloop and Vermunt, 2000). The concept 'teacher professional identity' is used to refer to the way that teachers view and understand themselves as teachers (Korthagen 2004; Tigchelaar and Korthagen 2004; Mockler, 2011: 519). This study deals with teachers' conceptions which can be defined as the representations of their understandings of their own professional identity (Atkinson, Atkinson, Smith & Hilgard, 1987) as history teachers. Several research studies highlight teacher conceptions as an important variable which guide their curriculum decisions. Most researchers (Brophy and Good, 1974; Shaver et al. 1979; Bullough 1997: 21; Mockler, 2011) argue that teacher's belief system and teacher's conceptions are crucial for most curricular decisions. Another significant variable is cultural knowledge, such as beliefs, expectations, values, mental models (Anderson-LEvatt, 1987, Sprindler, 1987).

From this point of view, we assume that teachers' conceptions of their professional identity reflect their own personal knowledge of this identity. The concept of self is indeed crucial to a proper understanding of how teachers function (Nias, 1989). We attempted to define this identity on the basis of three distinctive categories: the history subject, teachers' conceptions about their role as history teachers, and their conceptions about the term of historical consciousness.

As for the term historical consciousness, we use it as "...a specific orientational mode in actual situations of life in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality in order to grasp present actuality" (Rösen, 1993: 66; Rösen, 1987: 87-97). Then, we accept historical consciousness, as a conceptual system comprising interactive elements which allow comprehension of temporal/historical experience and individual placement in time. Historical consciousness permits us to consider past and present events, to attach meaning to the passage of time and to position ourselves to that passage.

In our research, we draw the main categories used to explore the types of historical consciousness participants seek to develop to their students on Rusen's typology including four categories of historical consciousness: traditional, exemplary, critical and genetic (Rüsen 1993).

In the traditional type of historical consciousness time gets a sense of eternity. The main characteristic is the dominance of inheritance. The main role of traditional historical consciousness is to keep traditions alive and to preserve the validity of various value systems. Such traditions define the "togetherness" of whole societies in the terms of a sense of common origin, as well as shape personal identity formation as "a process in which roles are assumed and played out" (Rüsen 1993:7, 71).

A main characteristic of the second type, the exemplary, is the super-temporal validity of rules. Historical consciousness represents the past as a multitude of examples that serve to show the validity of general rules of conduct. The internal relationship between past, present and future lies in the continued validity of such general rules. The past provides the paradigms for the future. In this instance historical identity assumes the form of competence with rules (Rüsen, 2001).

In the type of critical historical consciousness, the relationship between past and present is cut off through criticising the past. Critical historical consciousness seeks to leave behind the dominant historical patterns of signification of current life practice to make room for new, different perspectives. The historical memory seeks out the breaks in tradition as well as its contradictions, and in so doing destroys the dominant relationships of the three dimensions of time (Rüsen, 2001).

In the genetic type of historical consciousness, time gains a sense of temporality and it is perceived as change. The dominant historical signification is that of development. Interrelationship of standpoints and perspectives has also an important meaning. Historical identity is conceived of as the duration of the self through change; it is empowered through the recognition of the being-different of others in a historical perspective that embraces the individual developments into a single historical process.

Research Purpose and Questions

Our research purpose was firstly to identify participants' conceptions about themselves as history teachers and secondly their conceptions about the meaning of historical consciousness and the way they consider they could develop it to their students.

With all pre-mentioned in mind, we shaped our research questions as follows:

- a. How do experienced teachers perceive themselves as history teachers?
- b. Whether and how their conceptions of professional identity as history teachers permeate their conceptions of historical consciousness they ought to develop to their students?
- c. What type of historical consciousness do they seek to develop to their students in relation to their explicit or implicit conceptions?

Context and Participants

Two secondary history teachers from three public high schools (student ages 15–18) in the Athens metropolitan area were the participants in this study. The two female teachers have taught history in high schools for the last 25 to 30 years. In these high schools, students come from middle socioeconomic classes, and there are not at all foreigners. The participants were considered the most appropriate cases "to select information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study" (Patton, 1990: 169). The strategy used for selecting information-rich cases was that of "homogeneous samples" (Patton, 1990: 173), including, in this case, teachers with similar backgrounds and experiences (highly qualified and sufficiently experienced in teaching history), as well as with a great interest in teaching history. They were informed of the purpose of the study and the way in which the data would be used.

Helengraduated from Athens University with a degree in History and Archaeology and with a master's degree in history. She has been teaching high school history for 30 years. She has taught every course offered in the Greek Educational System concerning history (e.g. Ancient History, Byzantine History, Modern Greek and European History). She has also worked for three years in the Ministry of Education, as consultant in education themes. Helen has remarkable teaching experience in teaching Greek and European History with primary and secondary sources.

Eva also graduated from Athens University with a degree in History and Archaeology. Moreover, she has been involved in several historical archive-researches. She has great teaching experience in teaching History, as she has been teaching Greek and European History with primary and secondary sources for 25 years.

A close correspondence between the two participants regarding their studies, their teaching experience and other aspects of their professional knowledge (content knowledge, curriculum knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge) is obviously observed.

The privacy and confidentiality of all participants was maintained through the use of pseudonyms.

Data Collection and Analyses

In order to investigate how participants' conceptions of their professional identity in teaching history are related to the type of historical consciousness they seek to develop to their students, we conducted a qualitative interpretive research plan to discern "the immediate and local meanings of actions, as defined from the actors' point of view" (Erickson, 1986: 119). Individual case studies produced with qualitative research methods form the body of this research. We gathered data through observing and interviewing two high school history teachers, highly qualified and sufficiently experienced in teaching history (cases). Detailed field notes of teachings' observations were combined with additional data collected from interviews with each participant teacher.

The intent of the study was not to evaluate but rather to describe and interpret. We attempted to illustrate the reality of the classrooms and to interpret this reality through the participants' discourse and through appropriate literature. The multiple methods of data collection were used to cross-check the accuracy of data and to affirm key assertions through triangulation (Erickson, 1986; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Each teacher was observed five times in history subject (10 hours total). We conducted a deliberative approach to fieldwork, by planning what we would watch and focus on, and how far our observational stances would be (Erickson, 1986). Although we were selective about what we observed and recorded, we did not ignore the words of Glesne (1999): "the unplanned occasions providing data relevant to our research questions." While making these observations, we were "passive participants," choosing not to interfere with teachers' and students' activities, and not to remind teachers of our roles as observers (Spradley, 1980).

At the end of the observations, we expanded on our field notes, while our memory was still fresh. Simultaneously, we used informal conversational interviews, an open-ended and flexible approach to interviewing (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). We asked questions that emerged from the immediate context and talked with each teacher to better clarify information about what we observed. We encouraged them to exchange views about their experiences, their conceptions of the history subject and their role as history teachers, their curricular goals for teaching, and their expectations of the impact of history on their students and the development of historical consciousness. The next step was in-depth interviews with the two participants. The questions posed according to the interview protocol were derived from the theoretical framework of the study, the fieldwork observations, informal conversational and teachers' interviews.

The data were analysed using a predominantly inductive approach. Each case was studied (Creswell, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). After the transcripts were read and categories had emerged, a 25% sample of the interview transcripts were audited by two colleagues besides the author. The researcher used qualitative content analysis to analyze the documents and artifacts. Content analysis is a systematic procedure in order to describe the content of communication (Merriam, 1988: 116). Qualitative content analysis aims at the understanding of the meanings in the data, reflecting upon them, looking for subtle differences in meanings, and looking for relationships between situations (Altheide, 1987). The research purpose and questions of this research guided the content analysis.

Results

Participants' conceptions about their role as history teachers

Our first conversations with participants were held in October 2010. In the first conversation session, discussion revolved around questions typical to ask with respect to revealing participants' conceptions and their sense of being a history teacher: How do you perceive yourself as a history teacher? From where do you think you draw on the main attributes of your identity as a history teacher?

The following major themes emerged from data analysis are:

a) History teacher as facilitator of the development of student's experiential historical knowledge. This pattern represents the way Eva perceives herself as history teacher: A prevailing perception of teacher's role emerging from data analysis is that to be a history teacher means *"to facilitate students to deep understand historical knowledge"* or *"to have a constant meaningful 'interaction' with historical knowledge in order for them to learn important things about their national past and more specifically about their family history"*. This participant seems to be more or less oriented to students' historical knowledge development. But this orientation seems to be confined in an emotional dimension. Eva's emotional conceptions about teaching history are noticeable: *"My interaction with students via teaching history gives me a strong sense that I offer them pieces of my own family history"*. Eva believes that students ought primarily to *"be deeply affected at be deeply affected at the knowledge of their family history...most of my students are descendants of refugees, who were banished from Minor Asia in 1922"*. She also adds, during her interview, that *"my primary task as a history teacher is to affect my students, so as to be aware of the human destiny during every historical period"*. When directly asked the purpose for teaching history, Eva restated her conception that teaching history should include attention to morals, and also mentioned the potential for history to teach the "truth" and foster empathy and sympathy in students: *"I think that the purpose of teaching history is not only to instill a sense of understanding or empathy but also teach the truth. Teach what we have done wrong as a nation, and what we have done right. I like to bring morals into history"*.

b) *History teacher as activator of critical and emancipated thinking*. This pattern represents the way Helen perceives herself as history teacher: A prevailing perception of teacher's role emerging from data analysis is that to be a history teacher means *"to support students start thinking historically and, more specifically, start thinking in general"*. This conception is characterized by the absence of any emotional elements: *"Emotions must be absent from history teaching. We all are historical subjects: we live in a specific historical period, time and place. History teacher's role is to make students thinking critically about history. If this goal is achieved, then it shall be realizable for the students to critically confront every text (i.e. political)"*. Helen also adds during her interview: *"For me, thinking coincides with thinking historically; it is the main goal of history teaching"*. Finally, a significant perception about what it means to be a history teacher is her belief about the absence of one historical truth. She stated during her interview: *"One of my main teaching goals is to make students to realize that every historian interprets differently the historical facts, according to his/her beliefs, epistemological standpoint etc. In conformity with this assumption, I often give them a range of conflicting historical sources, in order for them to construct a historical narrative of their own..."*.

The difference between the two participants' discourse, their priorities and their conceptions about their role as history teachers is evident. The first participant perceives herself as a history teacher whose mission is to instill moral values to her students. Contrariwise, the second participant seems to reject indoctrination through history teaching, denies every emotional aspect in history teaching and tries to promote an exchange of views and critical discussion, through the examination of contradictory historical sources.

Participants' conceptions of historical consciousness they ought to develop to their students

In the second conversation session, discussion revolved around questions with respect to revealing participants' conceptions and their sense of the development of historical consciousness to their students: How do you perceive the term of historical consciousness? How do you handle the value-laden topics into your classrooms? Suppose you meet an old student of yours and he/she tells you: "I always remember your lectures in the subject of history". What would you wish for your student to tell you about the way history helped him/her to act effectively in his/her life?

The following major themes emerged from data analysis are:

a) Historical consciousness coincides with collective historical memory. This pattern represents Eva's conceptions of historical consciousness she ought to develop to her students. *"I think that the concept of historical consciousness is very important, perhaps the most important, in teaching history on school"*. Eva continues, specifying with greater accuracy how she perceives this concept: *"historical consciousness is nothing but individual's historical memory and, more, the historical memory of the total nation"*.

Historical consciousness allows you not to diverge from the past. Past and tradition are the starting-points for historical awareness and for the development of historical consciousness. However, Eva particularizes the previous definition, by illuminating the basic parameter for the development of historical consciousness: *“only the knowledge of your family history signals the beginning of history and of historical consciousness. I always try to affect my students vitally in this, by narratives of my personal family history”*. “Students”, she insists, *“must be given opportunities to make sense of them themselves and to find history relevance to their own lives. Only then their true understanding can be emerged”*. Once again Eva’s discourse revolves around notions (concepts) such as *family history, human destiny, empathy and sympathy*, revealing thus her orientation toward the didactic purpose of social cohesion through an emotional understanding of the past.

b) Historical consciousness as awareness of history consciousness of history and of life. This pattern represents Helen’s conceptions of historical consciousness she ought to develop to her students. This type of consciousness *“leads us to comprehend ourselves as part of the world, to play an active role in this world, and, why not, to change or bring it to question”*. Helen considers as an important parameter of historical consciousness *“its attribute of posing questions rather than giving answers”*. She also considers cultivation of historical thinking as prerequisite for the development of historical consciousness: *“If a student learns to formulate historical reasonings, then this substantial gain should lead him/her to develop historical consciousness”*. Under this standpoint, *“historical consciousness is a critical and dialectic way of confronting the reality, of understanding everything revolves around you, of interpreting the contemporary events. Students should be able to understand, interpret, judge, bring in question everything. The goal, for me, is posing questions, not getting answers”*. One could argue that the underlying assumptions of Helen’s conceptions of historical consciousness are the interpretive nature of history and her uncertainty about the “best history”, which lead her to develop in her class a culture of questioning of economic, political and social structures of the past that shape their daily lives.

The relevance between each participant’s conceptions about their identity as history teachers and their conceptions about historical consciousness they ought to develop to their students is noticeable. Eva perceives herself as a history teacher whose mission is to instill moral values to her students. Through an emotional understanding of the past, her conception about the development of historical consciousness is emerged. On the contrary, Helena’s conceptions about her identity as history teacher (i.e. exchange of views and critical discussion through the examination of contradictory historical sources) keep up with her conceptions about the development of historical consciousness; students should learn how to be citizens and to engage themselves in the behaviors that characterize active participation in a democracy (Barton & Levstik, 2004). This would include, among other features, selection and evaluation of relevant information, identification of the underlying values and assumptions involved in political and other decisions, and understanding the different standpoints of a variety of perspectives, conceptions that are all referred in her interview.

Type of historical consciousness participants seek to develop to their students in relation to their explicit or implicit conceptions

The observable aspects of Eva’s instruction seemed highly self-oriented; in most instructions, she lectured to her students in an interesting and “live” narrative way that allowed her to present her own interpretations of history and to control the conclusions her students should draw from every historical event. It was obvious that she possessed a clear view of her purpose of history teaching, which was to transmit to her students a particular set of moral and ethical values and to cultivate them a collective historical memory; and she controlled her students in order to accomplish this goal. It was noteworthy that her goal did not reflect ideas presented in the formal curriculum; rather, it reflected deeply her own held values and conceptions about life and history teaching.

Eva’s main purpose for teaching history was to convey a sense of morals and values through historical narratives, in order to shape her students’ thinking and help them to grow into productive adult citizens of society. Her concept of productive adult citizen is strongly influenced too by her whole worldview, as it is also imbued with the idea of empathy for human destiny and for the injustices against the human beings, who are usually the victims of historical decisions. She stated: *“I feel like history is a vehicle for making students better and more conscious people... and for teaching them the human destiny... I want to use history to make students conscious about the injustices against the human beings”*. She added that students should deep understand learn history because they were the ones who would “shape their country” in the future.

The most characteristic paradigm was a series of instructions concerning *Refugee Issue*. “*The history of the neighboring countries, especially of Turkey, plays an important role in our history education*”, she says. She was fond of “telling the stories” of the Asia Minor, about her family past, but also of telling students what these meant, how these topics are relevant to their lives, and why they were significant from a moral standpoint. She urged her students to ask their families and to discover, through these narratives, the terror and the destiny of the Greek refugees after 1922.

Beyond this, she was reading aloud a range of historical primary and secondary sources, articles and oral testimonies from the refugees. After each reading, Eva asked from students for their immediate emotions and their reactions. She positively reinforced them to express horror and shock at the actions of the Turks; but, at the same time, she was interrupting students who seemed to have opposing viewpoints, i.e. about the role and the responsibilities of the Greek political and military leadership. Thus, the class discussion consisted mainly of reading sources and providing Eva’s interpretations. Eva constantly followed an instruction plan of presenting the “important ideas” of history in a dynamic, narrative form, infusing these stories with an emotional tinge. Thus, her instruction was highly consistent with her expressed purpose for teaching history and with her identity as history teacher.

She also stated during her interview that her preferred instructional strategy was narration, but not “in a boring way”, which was clearly observable. She described herself, during her interview, as “an inspirer history teacher”. She stated: “*My students know neither how to interpret a historical source, nor how to think critically. They confront it as a boring work*”. Thus, Eva is presented as a “storyteller”, who gives emphasis to fascinating details of people and events, and she considers that a kind of empathetic knowledge of past, people, historical events is the most important rationale for studying history (Evans, 1989).

The type of historical consciousness she seems to develop to her students belongs to the *traditional type*. In the *modus of traditional type*, historical consciousness primarily recalls the origins of current life forms. Practical life is oriented on the cultural viewpoints that have been preserved in traditional systems of life while identity is shaped by the affirmative adaptation of pre-given cultural definitions of life-forms: “*studying history is a perfect way we can establish our identities, cultivate our collective memory and become democratic citizen. No one can establish his/her identity without studying the past*” (Eva).

The historical consciousness which, based on the traditional signification type, represents origins as an obligation to the future; it qualifies remembered events in a temporal process that leads from yesterday via today to tomorrow, as a continually effective force in the conduct of human life (Rüsen, J., 2001: 8). It is noteworthy that Eva very often referred to the nation history saying “we”, as she was trying to link the past to present; so, she was speaking on behalf of her and of her students in the representation of the past (generally in the form of “we” or “I”), in order to develop a collective memory and to lead students to recognize the continuity of Greek tradition. She often was saying to her students during the instructions: “*if you don’t learn about your family-history background, you will never be a conscious and whole human being. You must give honor to your ancestors and learn about their destiny and your destiny*”.

Helen’s understandings about the interpretive nature of history were deep evident in the observable aspects of her instruction. She believes to the multiple viewpoints, not as vehicle for understanding of an objective truth, but as an important standpoint for a more dialectic, critical, and sometimes heretical stance towards every evident-truth and towards everyday life. This participant emphasizes her uncertainty and doubt concerning the existence of the “best history”. She gives several and controversial historical sources to students, so they must understand the different viewpoint. Moreover, students are asked to relate associate the past versions with their political use and their impact on the present (Seixas, 2000; Jenkins 1999).

A characteristic paradigm derives from the unit “The Refugee Issue”. Helen concerns that “*most students have many bias about the contemporary refugees and emigrants in our country*”. Her main goal was students to transform their possible conceptual habit that refugee is a possible threat to the conceptual habit we all are possible refugees. She asked from students to find articles concerning contemporary refugees and she gave them in parallel sources about the creation of refugees. The main goal was for the students to realize that every condition is created in a specific time a place and under specific decisions.

A very characteristic question to the students was “*If you were compelled to abandon your country tomorrow, due to any survival difficulties, what kind of attitude would you expect from the reception country?*”? From Helen, the standpoint is the present, and through this, the connection between past, present and future is accomplishable. Students adopt a historical perspective, starting from the present, and are able to understand the concept of historical change and the historical duration (Seixas, 2005: 150; Braslavsky, Borges, Simão & Truong, 2007: 97).

The type of historical consciousness she seems to develop to her students is close to the genetic type. In the *modus of genetic type*, the aspect of change in the passage of time in human life comes to the fore. What is remembered is the transformation of alien life forms to one's own. Historical consciousness represents the past in the form of procedural sequences, in which change becomes the crucial matter. Consequently the unity of the three dimensions of time is represented in the form of a temporal dynamic, in which the ability of a life form to change becomes a necessary precondition to its duration. In this form of consciousness communication is characterized by the diversity of standpoints, that are represented in various temporal perspectives and in so doing give each other mutual recognition and can be integrated into comprehensive perspectives. Life is oriented according to the perspective of change in relationships and circumstances in the sense of future prospects exceeding past opportunities (Rüsen, 2001: 9).

The type of historical consciousness the two participants seek to develop to their students seems to be remarkably consistent with their expressed conceptions of teaching history and of their identities as history teachers. Equally, their instructions deeply shed light on their initial conceptions, by transforming them in conscious instructional decisions. For Eva, the effort of developing a collective national memory and of leading students to recognize and admire the continuity of Greek tradition has as an impact on the development of traditional historical consciousness of her students, in a great correlation to her expressed conceptions about her identity as history teacher. For Helena, on the contrary, historical identity is conceived of as the duration of the self through change; it is empowered through the recognition of the being-different of others in a historical perspective that embraces the individual developments into a single historical process. The type of historical consciousness that seems to be developed is a kind of the genetic type. From this perspective, the individual temporal mobilization of the person to his/her destiny and the membership of and differentiation from others comes to the fore (Rüsen, 2001: 9), trying to lead the students to an active citizenship.

Conclusion and Discussion

This study seems to reveal a consistency among each participant's conceptions about teaching history, her sense of purpose, her role as history teachers and her instruction. Given the close correspondence between the two participants regarding their studies, their teaching experience and other aspects of their professional knowledge, some identity elements as their conceptions of their role as history teachers seem to have a more significant impact on the type of historical consciousness they seek to develop to their students than the mentioned aspects of their professional knowledge (content knowledge, curriculum knowledge, teaching experience).

The first participant perceives herself as a history teacher who must provide social cohesion through an emotional understanding of the past. Hence, she seeks to develop a traditional type of historical consciousness, tinged with emotions, attempting to keep up the inheritance alive and focusing on the micro history of daily people rather than on glorious achievements. She considers the value of family history as a starting point for people social activity. The second participant perceives herself as a history teacher who reflects uncertainty about the “best history”. She seeks to develop a more or less genetic type of historical consciousness, as she relates versions of the past to their political issues in the present. Through the concept of change, she seeks to enable students to question economic, political and social structures of the past that shape their daily lives.

The two case studies raise undoubtedly questions about the notions of the purpose of history teaching. Our findings also reflect the argument advanced by Barton and Levstik (2004), that teachers with strongly held and clearly articulated purposes make instructional decisions consistent with those goals. Thus, “focusing on teachers' purposes rather than on their pedagogical content knowledge” (Barton and Levstik, 2004: 258) might have a greater impact to change the nature of history teaching. We should extend the previous argument, by supposing that focusing on teachers' perceptions about their identity as history teachers and empowering their awareness about the development of history science and the challenges that school history confronts, could transform their instructional decisions and the type of historical consciousness they could develop to their students.

The results of this study also constitute a challenge for teacher educators, as they suggest the need for teachers to be educated in order to deal with the challenges which history as a school subject provides nowadays. I think that teachers should be trained to see themselves as agents of change of historical knowledge, and as agents of historical development in order to shape a conscious path for their lives and for their students' lives. But, how do teacher educators influence deeply held purposes, which constitute one of the strong representations of their understandings of their own professional identity? How can they change teachers' conceptions, in order to transform their professional identity making it more open to alternative perspectives? Such questions were also raised throughout the research on social studies teacher education (Adler, 1991; Angell, 1998).

Teacher educators should convince teachers that history could serve the goals of democracy; certainly, a citizen in a participatory, pluralistic democracy needs to possess certain habits of mind, i.e. make reasoned judgments, engage in meaningful inquiries, see beyond his/her own perspective, examine a variety of evidence and multiple viewpoints, and take part in collaborative discourse about the common good (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Such an orientation seems to correlate with the content of genetic type of historical consciousness. Thus, history teachers' education in terms of historical consciousness seems to be crucial for teachers to reveal their own underlying assumptions, beliefs and purposes, and then to reach to a greater awareness of their professional identity, to strengthen, to refine or to transform it. Pre-service and in-service training programmes should include theoretical principles about historical consciousness and how each type of it reflects differentiating orientations towards the purposes of history as a school subject. If we want to change teachers' practices, we must change the purposes that guide those practices, so teachers are deeply committed and pose teaching goals consistent with their deliberate conceptions.

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