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STUDY I
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The present study was an attempt to trace the development of historical understanding (HU) in the children of two Indian cultural groups; Santali (Tribal) and a Non tribal group. The aim was to find out the pattern of development of HU and to examine cross cultural difference in the same. In order to assess the developmental pattern of HU, both the groups were administered a Test of Historical Understanding, developed for this research, followed by an elaborative interview about their notions of past and history. The children’s HU was explored in a two fold way; one was to explore their ‘ability to understand historical information’ and other was to understand the mental process and notions of history. The ability to understand history was assessed by the performance on Test of Historical Understanding, while the verbal explanation for their responses on test items and the subsequent interview of children was taken to be an indicator of mental operations related to HU. To meet the said purpose the following objectives were proposed:

3.1. Objectives:

➢ To trace the developmental pattern of historical understanding in children between 9- to 14- years of age.

➢ To compare the developmental pattern of historical understanding among the children of a tribal and a non-tribal community.
children only. The present study however was done with tribal children also. Therefore, it was modified to be used with them. This modification of the HU test was done on the basis of a preliminary field work in the field area and literature on the tribal culture and life style. After the modification, the test was administered and was found satisfactory to be administered with both, tribal and non tribal children.

The Test of Historical Understanding

As mentioned above, the HU test (2006) was a modified version of HU test (2005). The details of Historical Understanding Test (2005) has been given in Chapter 1. Both the tests consisted of 13 items most of which assessed more than one dimension of historical understanding. The items were similar to the real historical situations, but were not taken from real historical episodes. These items consisted of photographs, short stories, narrations and hypothetical situations. These items required children to perform various sort of tasks such as sorting and ordering pictures, giving answers on the basis of short story or narrative, to draw information from given pictures and so on. The children were also asked questions regarding these narrations and pictures, and to justify their answers. The test was administered by the researcher herself. The administration of the test was accompanied by probing on the answers and an elaborative interview, following the test administration.

All the items in the HU test (2006) were same except for the slight modification made in items nos. 1,2 and 10. The following is the description of each item. The details of Items 1, 2, and 10 also inform the changes that were made in them for the present study.
**Scoring:** The scoring of the items depended upon the type of items. If the item involved giving an open ended answer, a number of categories were made and the responses of such items were content analyzed in order to see which category they belong to. The scores were provided according to the category of the answers. If the item involved tasks in which children had to choose a few options from a number of options, the scoring was done on the basis of number of choices to be made. For example, if a student has to place four pictures in chronological order; 3 score will be provide for all correct responses. For arranging four pictures in correct order a student has to make three choices of the order; the fourth one will be determined by itself. In other words once, if the student has decided the pictures to be placed on the first, second and third place it would be clear that the fourth picture will not be placed on these levels; the only place left for this picture, is fourth one. Since the last choice is not actually a choice but eventual; it does not gain any point. Similarly, if there were questions to be answered in ‘yes’ or ‘No’, then there were scores for the correct answer and its correct explanation. The item wise processes and the assumptions of the guidelines are as follows:

**Item one: Chronological Ordering of Pictures:**

In the earlier version of HU test Item 1 included a set of four pictures of buildings which looked quite old and belonged to different time periods. Children were to arrange the pictures in a chronological order. Since some of the pictures of houses depicted a modern urban life style, it was assumed that the tribal children might not be able to relate with those pictures. Therefore they were replaced with a set of 6 pictures of
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weapons of different era in the later version of the test. Starting from the Stone Age
weapons the pictures contained weapons used till recent times. Same as the earlier
version of the test the children were asked to arrange the pictures in a chronological
order. In both the versions of the test this item assessed ‘Awareness of the difference
between present and past’ dimension of HU.

Item two: Chronological Matching of Pictures:

In the earlier version of the test it included a set of six pictures of cars belonging to
different time periods with six year-tags. Children were asked to match the cars with the
year-tags. Again in this item the model of cars were thought to be less familiar to the
tribal children, therefore it was replaced with a set of 4 pictures of vehicles, made in
different eras of time. These were pictures of Bullock cart, Bicycle, Train and Airplane.
Children had to fix the pictures of the vehicles to their respective year tags. Correctly
attaching all the year-tags with their pictures scored 6 points. This item assessed
Awareness of the difference between present and past dimension of HU in both the
versions of the test.

Item three: Sorting Pictures from the Past:

The children were told about a 200-year-old house which was close for over 100 years.
They were then told that there are some photographs of the things that were found in
the house. They were told that the pictures are mixed with other photographs and
asked to sort pictures of the things found in the house from those which did not belong
to the house. There were a set of 12 pictures; six real pictures and six distracters. The six
pictures were normal old things, which were to be separated from the newer ones.
After they had sorted out the pictures, the children were asked to guess, who used to stay in the house. They were given four options to choose one from them. This item was assigned 8 points, six points for correctly sorting the pictures and 2 points for guessing the profession of the owner of the house. This item was used to assess the Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects dimension of HU.

**Item four: Understanding of Chronology and past**

Children were shown a picture of 200-year-old building and were asked whether their grand mother was alive when the building was being built. They were also asked to explain why they ‘think’ or they ‘do not’ think that their grand mother was alive. This item was assigned 2 points, one for saying ‘yes’ and one for correctly explaining the answer. This item assessed the Linking history to chronology dimension of HU.

**Item five: Understanding of Chronology (Time Line task)**

In this item, children were presented a straight line printed on a piece of paper used as a time line. At one end of the line ‘Your great grand father’ was written and at the other end ‘your sibling’ was written. Children were asked to place their grand father, father and themselves in the correct sequence and distance between the two extreme time periods in the time line. This item was assigned four points- three for correctly ordering the people and one for placing himself in the correct distance from the sibling. This item assessed ‘Linking history to chronology’ dimension of HU.
Item Six: Understanding of Historical Processes: Complex Causality, Perspective Taking and Historical Empathy

Children were narrated a short story, followed by questions related to it. The story was about a village in the past. The people in the village were poor and were starving. They did not have sources of earning or any help from the king. They had many problems and they held the king responsible for it. The king was a novice king. He was not aware of the problems and his ministers were also not cooperative to him. Completely bitter and disappointed from the king, the people revolted. There were five questions related to this story.

1) Children were asked whether the people’s problem could have been solved completely had the king had given food and education to the people. Answering this question required thinking about all the dimensions of the people’s problem and say ‘no’ with a justification. A score of two was assigned for this item- one for saying ‘No’ and one for justifying the answer. This item assessed the Relating Social Forces to an Event dimension of HU.

2) Children were asked to mention a single measure by the king which could have solved all the problems of people. This item was related to the causality and multiple factors. The people in the village had many problems such as, lack of jobs, illiteracy and poverty. They held the king responsible for all this and consequently they were angry with the king. Now to reduce people’s anger what was the king supposed to do? Children had to think the root cause of the entire problem and choose once action that would solve all
the problems. They were provided four options (namely, 1. Opening schools, 2. Providing them good food and clothes, 3. Eliminating their poverty by providing them jobs, and 4. The king taking active interest in public issues) to choose from. In the way the story was narrated, the right answer was ‘eliminating their poverty by providing job for the people’ which would have solved the problems of people. A maximum of two points were assigned to this question - one for choosing correct answer, and one for justifying it. This item was used to assess Relating social forces to an event.

3) This item was related to understanding of relative contribution of causes. In this item children were given a list of eight factors as reasons for the revolt mentioned in the story. There were many reasons for the revolt such as, poverty of the people, anger of the people against the king and unemployment. Some of them were directly related to the revolt than others. The ones which were more directly related to the revolt were thus, more important than the ones which had a distant relationship with the revolt. Children were asked to list three most important causes and rank them as 1, 2, 3. This item was designed to assess ‘Critical and comparative analysis’ dimension of HU. This item had a maximum of 3 points; each correct identification of the important cause was given a score of one.

4) Children were asked whether people’s revolt, mentioned in the story was right or wrong. The task was to consider both the king’s and common people’s perspective in their answers. This item was used to assess ‘Perspective taking’ dimension of HU. Children were given a score of two – one for saying that ‘it was neither right not wrong’
or ‘it was both right and wrong’ and one for correctly justifying the answer, pointing to
the different perspectives.

5) Children were read aloud statements of a farmer – a character in the story. They were
then asked to describe the feelings of the farmer. They were asked, (a) ‘what
might be going on, on the farmer’s mind?’ (b) ‘What might have been his feelings for the
King of the state?’ The task was to exhibit empathetic understanding by use of a
suitable emotional word to identify the farmer’s feelings for his family, son, community
and the king. This item was designed to assess ability to apply Imagination in
empathizing with the characters of the past. A maximum of four points – two for each
sub question – was assigned to the item.

Item Seven: Historical Imagination – Analytical Perspective

Children were shown pictures of two communities of people (kings and common
people). The children were told about the way these two groups of people used to live
in different houses and with completely different life styles. They were asked “suppose
that these people go to an unfamiliar place; what experience would they have? Will they
have same or common experience or completely different experience?” Children were
required to think about the possible experience of these people. They were required to
compare the lives of both the communities regarding the nature of experiences they
might face in an unfamiliar situation. Answers were judged on the basis of ability to give
an imaginative answer by deducing ideas from information provided to them. This item
was used to assess Imagination and Drawing abstract concepts and information from
concrete objects’ dimensions of HU. A maximum of three points were assigned for this item – one for giving an answer on the basis of the information provided and two more if a child was able to deduce new ideas through the information provided.

**Item eight: Historical Imagination – Temporal Perspective**

Children were asked two questions: one question asked children to imagine that they were born 300 years ago and to describe their daily activities in that time. In answer to this question children were required to imagine a life 300 years ago and to describe activities that were appropriate in that time period. Second question asked children to imagine and describe their daily life without motor vehicles back in the past. For this question children were expected to describe how not having motor vehicles would have altered their life styles and what other modes of travel they might have used. This item had a maximum score of four – two for each question. This item was designed to assess ability to apply ‘Imagination’ in appreciation of the past.

**Item Nine: Abstraction of Historical Concepts (Picture Similarity task)**

Children were shown a set of seven pictures of people in a market place, and in shops, buying and selling goods, and some pictures of coins. They were asked to find out common elements across all the pictures and tell what can they make out of all the pictures taken together. The answer was scored one, if it pointed out only concrete aspects of the pictures. For example, pointing out the activities and things shown in the pictures. It was scored two if the children found similarity across the activities of people and finding connection with the coins, such as, pointing out that 'all of them are related
to buying and selling' or 'they use coins for buying' etc. An answer was scored three, if it reflected some kind of observation about the social or economic situation shown in the picture such as, mentioning that 'all the pictures are about market activities and economy'. This item assessed Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects.

Item Ten: Abstraction of Historical Concepts (Sorting Dissimilar Pictures)

In the earlier version of the test it narrated a story of a dancer (showing her picture) who lived 30 to 40 years ago. Children were shown a set of 12 pictures of various dance related goods and accessories from modern and old times. Children were asked to sort out pictures of the things which might have belonged to the dancer. Thinking that the tribal children might not be able to relate to a dancer of different societal context, the picture was replaced with the picture of a tribal dancer. The number of pictures and distracters were kept same. Children were asked to sort out pictures of the things which might have belonged to the tribal dancer. Children scored 6 points for correctly sorting 6 pictures. This item assessed Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects, in both the versions of the test.

Item Eleven: Understanding of Historical Method

Children were asked to assume that they were given an assignment to write about some place. They were asked that in order to know about that place whether they would like to go and see the place themselves or to ask someone who has been there. Scoring credit was given for preferring to go to see the place and then write about it. This item
was used to assess *Understanding and analyzing primary resources dimension* of HU. This item was allocated a score of two – one for saying that they would like to go and see the place before writing about it and one more for justifying the answer.

**Item Twelve: Understanding of Historian’s Bias**

Children were narrated a situation in which two historians have differing views regarding punishment. One historian believed in severe punishment as just and the other did not believe in punishment. The children were told that two historians are to write about a king who administered very severe punishment to the criminals and they were asked to guess which historian will write in favor of the king, given their differing views. A score of one was given for correctly answering that the historian believing in punishment will write more favorably about the king. This item assessed ‘*Understanding History as an interaction between Historian and his/her Facts*’.

**Item Thirteen: Understanding of Patterns in Historical Events**

Children were told a story about a state in which people fought many wars. Many Kings came, conquered and ruled the state. People of the state had a few set characteristics which they always displayed. For example, whenever a new king came they disliked him initially but gradually they got used to accept and support him in any later wars. Beside, they always fought with each other over small issue but used to be united for their ruling king if there was any attack on the state. The story narrated a series of incidences about various kings and the relationship between the people and their kings. The script and behavior pattern of the people with all the successive kings was almost the same.
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except the last king who did not get people’s support and against whom the people actually revolted.

Children were asked to mention the behaviors which the natives of the state always showed and the behavior that changed, over the period of time. This item was assigned three points. Mentioning one characteristic behavior of the people was scored one point and mentioning more than one characteristic behavior was scored two points. For mentioning the behavior which changed a score of one was given. This item was designed to assess ‘Search for patterns and regularities.’

The Table 3.2 given next page gives a detail of the criteria for scoring the responses of children; their scoring and the dimensions that it assessed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Numbers and Name</th>
<th>Dimensions Assessed</th>
<th>Responses required</th>
<th>Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One, Chronological Ordering of Pictures</td>
<td>Awareness of the difference between present and past</td>
<td>To place all the given weapons in order from older to newer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two, Chronological Matching of Pictures</td>
<td>Awareness of the difference between present and past</td>
<td>To place all the vehicles provided in accordance with their dates of manufacturing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three, Sorting Pictures from the Past</th>
<th>Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects and ideas</th>
<th>To segregate 100 years photographs from other photographs. To guess the profession of the owner of the house</th>
<th>6 +2 = 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Four, Understanding of Chronology and past</td>
<td>Linking history to chronology</td>
<td>To say ‘yes’ To provide justification for the answer</td>
<td>1+1=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five, Understanding of Chronology (Time Line task)</td>
<td>Linking history to chronology</td>
<td>A) To place people on the time scale provided B) To give justification</td>
<td>2+1=3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six, 6.1 Causality</td>
<td>Relating Social Forces to an Event</td>
<td>A) To say no B) To justify the answer by mentioning other things, which were required, to be done by the king.</td>
<td>1+1=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Causality</td>
<td>Relating social forces to an event</td>
<td>A) To say yes for the option C B) To be able to mention why C</td>
<td>1+1=2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Causality</td>
<td>Critical and comparative analysis</td>
<td>To assign the right ranks to the respective options. The right combinations are as follows- 1: G, 2: C &amp; 3: D</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Perspective taking</td>
<td>Perspective taking</td>
<td>To be able to give an answer, that takes both the kings and the common people’s view</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6.5 Historical Empathy</th>
<th>Imagination (to empathize with the people in past.)</th>
<th>To exhibit empathetic understanding by bringing in any emotional word to identify the farmer’s feelings for his family, son, community and the king.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seven, Historical Imagination - Analytical Perspective</td>
<td>Critical and Comparative analysis</td>
<td>A) To give an imaginative answer by just using the information provided. B) To deduce more ideas with the help of information that is provided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight, Historical Imagination - Temporal Perspective</td>
<td>Imagination (to situate answers in the past.)</td>
<td>To mention a schedule, which would involve things which were naturally not be there if there were no schools. To situate oneself in the time back then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine, Abstraction of Historical Concepts (Picture Similarity task)</td>
<td>Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects</td>
<td>A) To give an answer on the basis of the things shown in the picture e.g. Libra B) To give answer on the basis of activities being shown in the pictures e.g. selling. C) To give an answer on the basis of abstract concepts in the pictures e.g. business, market etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ten, Abstraction of Historical Concepts (Sorting Dissimilar Pictures) | Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete objects | A) To segregate the photographs belongings to the dancer from the other ones.  
B) To exclude an older picture. | 6 |
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<tr>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleven, Understanding of Historical Method</td>
<td>analyzing sources used in Historical Analysis</td>
<td>To manifest an understanding of the difference between seeing things himself/herself and asking someone else.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve, Understanding of Historian's Bias</td>
<td>Understanding History as an interaction between Historian and his/her Facts</td>
<td>To say that the second historian will describe king as cruel.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Thirteen, Understanding of Patterns in Historical Events | Search for patterns and regularities | A) To mention at least two characteristic of the people of Nikoya, that has always been there.  
B) To mention that they changed their habit of accepting all the kings and were well determined to expel the last king | 3 |

**Interviews:**

Since the purpose of the study was to explore the nature and the development of historical understanding amongst the children, a lot of probing was done, during test administration, in order to elicit more vivid responses from the students. Besides
enquiring the responses of the students on the test items, a semi structured interview schedule was formulated, which followed the HU test. It was assumed that since, most of the items in the test assessed special abilities, they might not provide a general idea of what and how students think about history and past; what do they understand about the society in the old times, the form of the change that comes in the society after several years and so on. An interview about children's notion of past and history was conducted after administration of the test. An effort was made to present the questions in a way which would appear more as a discourse rather than an interview. The questions were framed in a simple language comprehensible to the children.

**Pilot study:**

The pilot study was conducted to test whether the questions were eliciting right kind of response and whether, the participants have any kind of problem with the test items. As mentioned above the test used in this study is a modified version of the HU test (2005). The test items were modified for ecological validity and were pilot tested. For the pilot study the sample consisted of, 10 students of class 4th of Sidhu kanu School, Mango, East Singhbum, Jharkhand, were taken. After the pilot study the three items mentioned above were modified for the final study. The presentation of a few other items and words and sentences were also simplified for clearer meanings in the final study.

**Procedure:** The children were contacted at their schools. After taking the permission from the school principal each student was contacted and was taken up individually for the administration of the HU test and interview. The students were given the following...
instruction before starting up the test administration. "I am going to talk to you about few things which are related to the past. I may show you some pictures or ask you some questions, please be attentive and try to answer my questions. But do not worry this is not an examination. Take it as a game. Your performance will not be compared with any body. It will be used for the purpose of my study only. So relax and just try to do as well as you can."

The test was administered in Hindi. During the test each item was explained to the students; not in an instruction mode but in a conversation manner. The students were either given pictures or some stories were narrated to them, and then questions were asked regarding the pictures or the stories. The student's responses on each item were recorded and the picture related performances were observed and noted down. For many of the items, additional questions were asked to elicit more in depth information about them. The administration of the test was followed by interview which included five questions regarding 'what' and 'how' of children's thinking about history and past. The entire procedure of administering the test and interviewing lasted for 60 to 90 minutes. The same procedure was carried out for all the students.

Analysis Framework: The test of children on HU test was taken to be their level of Historical understanding. The HU scores of each group was summed up and the averages were calculated. A 2 (sub cultural groups) x 3 (sub-groups) ANOVA was run on the obtained scores.
The analysis of the results was done in terms of the responses set for each dimension of HU. The responses were seen dimension wise. Each dimension was taken up sequentially and the scores and responses on all the items assessing it were analyzed. Thus, on most of the items, children’s explanations and verbal response were also analyzed apart from their scores on that item.

The responses on interview that followed the test administration were content analyzed. The responses of the students were transcribed and were thoroughly analyzed for the communality and/or discrepancy in the answer of students. The themes which repeatedly appeared in the answers of the students were further analyzed.

3.4. Results and Analysis

Children’s total mean scores and their SD on the HU test is given in table 3.3. The overall scores of each group on HU test (Table 3.3) show that there is an increase in the scores of children with increasing age and grade. The scores also show that the two cultural groups did not vary much in terms of their overall HU scores. There is a very slight difference in the scores across two cultural groups although there is a visible difference across the three age groups. However, a look at the performance on each item separately and the content analysis of the responses on the test items and the interview show difference in the notions of History in two cultural groups. In other words, the scores of both the sub cultural group do not vary much, but the notions and the way of perceiving history varies across both sub cultural group.
Based on the scores of all the six groups an ANOVA was calculated. Table 3.4 summarizes the ANOVA results. Table 3.3 shows that the pooled average score are 41.46 and 44.43 for the Santali and non-tribal groups respectively. There is a very slight difference between the scores of two cultural groups. The pooled mean scores of three age groups is 37.00, 43.80 and 48.05 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. The ANOVA summary (Table 3.4) shows that there was a significant main effect of age group on the scores of HU $F (2, 54) = 25.992, P < .000$. The scores for the non-tribal group are: 36.10, 40.50 and 47.80 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. For the Santali group the scores are: 37.90, 47.10 and 48.30 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. The ANOVA results (Table 3.4) confirms that there was a significant main effect of cultural group on the HU scores, $F (1, 54) = 5.522, p < .022$. 
Table 3.3
The Scores of All the Groups on the Test of Historical Understanding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The sub cultural group of the participant</th>
<th>The age group and Number of Participant</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Non Tribal</strong></td>
<td>9 - 10 years (N 10)</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 - 12 years(N 10)</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 - 14 years(N 10)</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (N30)</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rural tribal</strong></td>
<td>9 - 10 years (N 10)</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 - 12 years(N 10)</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 - 14 years(N 10)</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (N 30)</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9 - 10 years (N 20)</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 - 12 years(N 20)</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 - 14 years(N 20)</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (N 60)</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3.4  
2 (groups) × 3 (age) ANOVA table for Historical Understanding Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Type III Sum of Squares</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub cultural group</td>
<td>132.017</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132.017</td>
<td>5.522</td>
<td>&lt;.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age group</td>
<td>1242.700</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>621.350</td>
<td>25.992</td>
<td>&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub cultural group * Age group</td>
<td>103.233</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.617</td>
<td>&lt; 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>1534.900</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>28.424</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, it is evident that in general children show an increase in HU with increasing age in both the cultural groups. In both the groups the youngest children (age 9-10) have scored least. The age groups of 11-12-years have scored more than their younger group. The eldest age groups (13-14-year olds) have scored maximum. The ANOVA results show a significant main effect of cultural group on the test scores. It assessed the reflection of psychological processes involved in understanding history, which seem to different in both the cultural groups. The content of children’s responses also showed differences in their notions on many dimensions of HU.
Dimension wise Analysis Results on HU Test:

During the test administration the children were cross questioned and inquired about their responses and their justification for the same. A content analysis was done for explanations provided by the children. Therefore, while analyzing the performance scores on each item, verbal responses and justifications provided by the children on those items, were also considered.

As it is mentioned earlier, there were two levels of analysis to be done. One level of analysis sought to decipher the difference across the age groups. The second level of analysis was done to trace the HU and the difference in the notions of history across two sub cultural groups. The following section will present the responses of children on both the levels. It will uncover responses on each item and try to explore how children of different age levels and cultures have responded on it. Table 3.5 shows the pooled data of the three age groups ignoring their cultural groups. Table 3.6 shows the mean scores of each group on each item.

**Temporality**

1) Awareness of difference between present and past:

This dimension of HU was assessed by item 1 (Chronological ordering of Pictures) and Item 2 (Chronological matching of pictures). The maximum scores on these items were 5 and 3, respectively. The scores (table 3.6) show that even the youngest children in both the sub-cultural group had scored close to maximum and showed the understanding of the difference between present and past. They could indicate the different periods of past, as being older and newer. It was observed that on both
### Table 3.5
The pooled mean score of the three age groups on all the items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item no. and maximum scores on each items</th>
<th>Age 9-10 (N20)</th>
<th>Age 11-12 (N20)</th>
<th>Age 13-14 (N20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (5)</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>4 (2)</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 (2)</td>
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<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.3 (3)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 (2)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>6.5 (4)</td>
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<td>5.9</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 (3)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

Table 3.6
Mean scores of Santali and the non-tribal group on all the test items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item no. and maximum scores on each item</th>
<th>Age 9-10 Santali (N10)</th>
<th>Age 11-12 Santali (N10)</th>
<th>13-14 Santali (N10)</th>
<th>Overall Santali (N30)</th>
<th>Non-tribal (N10)</th>
<th>Age 11-12 Non-tribal (N10)</th>
<th>13-14 Non-tribal (N10)</th>
<th>Overall Non-tribal (N30)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>1.4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 (1)</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 (3)</td>
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<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the items the younger children focused on the concrete aspects of the photographs while the older children could go beyond the pictures and talk about what was not shown in the pictures. However, a difference was visible in the things that children choose to talk about. The tribal and non-tribal children focused on different aspects of the objects.
In item 1, children were given a set of six weapons used in different time periods of history. They were asked to arrange the pictures in chronological order. After the children had arranged the pictures they were asked what made them decide the order of pictures. The pooled mean scores for item 1 are 4.7 for Santali group and 5.0 for non-tribal group. The pooled mean score of the three age groups are, 4.8, 5.0 and 5.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups respectively. The scores for the Santali group are, 4.5, 5.0 and 5.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups respectively. For the non-tribal group the scores are 5.0 for each age group.

In their answers tribal children focused more on the material with which the tools were made. It was also noticed that they talked more about the Stone Age tools and talked less about the recent age tools such as guns. They elaborated upon how the tools were made in early times and how these tools were used for hunting and cutting trees. Sunil, a tribal child (age 11-12) said “... these are the tools our ancestors used for cutting trees and bushes. They used such tools for hunting animals also...these weapons were made in those days only. Earlier people used weapons made of stone only...” The non-tribal children, on the other hand, talked more about the recent machine guns and their usage in wars. A non-tribal child of grade 6, Vinay said “These stone tools were used long back...guns are used theses days also... if a war breaks, people fight with guns ... more and more powerful weapons are coming up these days.”
The responses on the items 1 show that the content of responses were different in two cultural groups. The tribal children put more emphasis on the metals or the material with which the weapons were made. The non-tribal group on the other hand did not show such focus. They talked more in terms of models of the weapons and their usage in wars.

In the Item 2, children were given a set of 4 pictures to match with the four respective year tags. These were pictures of vehicles, representing different eras. This item had a maximum score of 3. The scores are 2.3 for Santali group and 2.9 for the non-tribal group. The pooled mean score for the three age groups are - 2.3, 2.9 and 3.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. The scores of Santali sub-group are 1.8, 2.0 and 3.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. For the non-tribal groups the scores are, 2.8, 3.0 and 3.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups respectively. The scores show that non-tribal children, specially, age 9-10, have performed better than their tribal counterparts. Their responses show that the younger tribal children had difficulty with year tags. At first most of the 9-10 year-old Santali children could not arrange the dates correctly; although, none of the children had difficulty with arranging the correct sequence of vehicles. But when they were probed and were further helped with the meanings of the numbers and their implications they could arrange the year tags in correct chronological order, and matched them with the respective pictures. The non-tribal children did not have such difficulty with year tags.
Besides the slight difference in the scores of both the cultural groups, there was a difference between the verbal response of both the cultural groups. Just the way they talked about the weapons, the tribal children talked more about the material used for making vehicles. For example, a tribal child of grade 6, Ajay, said "initially the vehicles were made up of wood only...we did not have anything else...it's only later that steel and iron were used in making these things." On the other hand, the NT children talked more about the models of vehicles rather than its material or the metal used in its construction. When Rooby, a non-tribal, 9-10-year-old girl, had finished arranging the pictures, she was asked,

Researcher: we see bicycles even these days, then why you have kept it in first place, is it so old?"

Rooby: This bicycle is an old model. It doesn't look like the ones we ride these days. This must be a very old bicycle...

On the item 2 the Santali group had performed slightly lower than the non-tribal group. Their responses revealed that the young tribal children had difficulty with dates. Most of the 9-to-12-year-old children had to be helped with the meanings of dates, as to 'which one came first'. When they were helped and explained about the year tags they could do it correctly. This phenomenon was less visible in non-tribal children.

Thus, when the children were asked to explain, what made them arrange the pictures in order that they did, the tribal children were found to be paying attention to the material used in the construction of the vehicles same as the case with item 1. They
showed better awareness of the materials/metals and their usages. The urban children, on the other hand, were more focused on the models of vehicles. They used looks and models of vehicles as a clue to decide its oldness.

The difference in the responses patterns of younger and older children was also clear in their responses on both the items; Item 1 and 2. As it can be expected, the youngest children (9-10-year-olds) in both the groups had difficulty in arranging the tool-pictures. They took more time in arranging the pictures and did some mistakes which they themselves rectified. The younger tribal children (age 9-12-year olds) had difficulty with the dates in item 2, which required matching year tags with the given weapon pictures. Nevertheless, they could understand with a little assistance and explanation about the implications of the dates. The younger non-tribal children, on the other hand did not require such assistance. The older children in both the groups did the tasks more easily.

The other visible phenomenon was children’s emphasis on the different aspects of the things shown in the pictures. Apart from the facts that tribal children gave more emphasis to the metal and/or material used in constructing an object, it was found that the younger children in both the groups gave more emphasis to the concrete aspects of the picture. For example the 9-11-year-olds used terms such as, ‘old’ and ‘new’. The older children showed awareness that ‘the pictures were old because, they were not made these days.’ A 13-14-year-old non-tribal boy, Yogesh said “theses pictures are from the old times. We don’t use such weapons theses days.
Even the model of these guns seem to be old. Now a days...I have seen in movies...there very powerful and good guns are available”.

The scores and the patterns of responses on the Awareness of the difference between present and past is simply an understanding of the past dimension of any physical object or person. This is the most basic understanding that things are not just present now, they were present earlier also. Along with this the child should be able to discriminate between the different time lengths; to exhibit the understanding that past can be divided into different periods of time. The scores showed that even the youngest children could exhibit an understanding of this dimension. The past or the oldness of an object can be inferred by observing the object. There are certain of the objects, such as its shine, color and structure etc, which will inform the observer about its oldness. It seemed from the responses of the children that children of the two cultural groups focused on different clues to infer the time frame of an object. It was observed that the patterns of response of children in the two cultural groups varied with each other. Tribal children focused on the material of the things while the non-tribal children focused on the overall appearance and model of the things. The tribal children focusing more on the material of the things might be due to the fact that the geographical area from which these children belong is owned by a company, Tata Steels. The urban area surrounding these villages from where these children belong is an industrial belt. Almost all the people from these villages work in these factories dealing in steel or other metal. The children very often come to listen the
stories about how the Tata company came and introduced steel; how steel changed lives of people. Therefore, children have used it as clues to locate the oldness of an object. For them something which is not made from metal should be older than things made from metal. The non tribal children on the other hand belong to an urban area where, there are a large number of people who work in these firms but the majority has other occupations. Therefore, not all the urban children grow up listening the stories about Tata company and steel.

It was also observed that the tribal children could relate to the Stone Age tools because these are tools that their forefathers have been using. They must have heard more stories about these stone tools compared to their non tribal counterparts. These responses show that by the age of 9-10 years (or probably even before) children are able to understand the different divisions of past, the socio-cultural context determines the clues that will be used for drawing inferences about the same.

2) Linking History to chronology:

This sub-dimension of HU is related to the ability to understand the time lengths and distances. To be able to understand the time distances, a child should be able to understand the sequence and order of events and be able to calculate them. The child should also be able to understand the difference between two time lengths. For example, if there are two pairs of events, the distance between one pair of events can be longer or shorter than the other.
The items that assessed this sub dimension are items 2, 4 and 5. The responses on item 2 have been discussed in the foregoing section *Awareness of difference between present and past*. As mentioned above this item required children to match the pictures of vehicles with their respective date tags. The responses showed that overall the non-tribal children have performed better on this item. The younger tribal children had difficulty in sequential ordering of dates. They could arrange the pictures in correct order but were not sure about which date to put with which year tag. But after they were helped about the dates and their connotations they could do so easily. There was however, not much difference in the performance of the older tribal and non-tribal children.

Item 4 was, *Understanding of chronology and past*. In this item, children were shown a picture of a 200 year old building. They were asked whether or not their grandmother was alive when the building was being built. Out of a maximum score of 2, the average score of 1.5 and 1.4 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. These average scores show a very minor difference between the performances of both sub cultural groups on this item. The pooled mean scores for the three age groups are, 1.0, 1.3 and 1.7 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14- year age groups, respectively. The scores show that children in both the cultural groups have progressed through age and grade on this dimension also, nevertheless the younger tribal children (age 9-10) have scored less compared to their non-tribal counterparts. Table 3.6 show that the average scores for non-tribal children on this item are- 1.1, 1.2 and 1.8 for 9-10,
11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. For Santali children the scores are, 0.8, 1.3 and 1.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. Most of the 9-10-year-old tribal children gave wrong answer, said ‘No’ in response to the question that whether or not their grand mother was alive, 200 years back. Some of them who said ‘Yes’ could not explain and kept on changing their answers. Even those children who responded correctly took more time than their non-tribal counterparts. However, in the age group of 11-12 the scores of both, tribal and non-tribal children equaled (Table 3.6). Thus, the performance on this item shows that the younger tribal children had difficulty in understanding the implication of dates. It shows the same pattern as children’s performance on Item 2, which required chronological matching of pictures. But, the older children in both the cultural groups have performed equally on both the items.

Item 5 was, *Understanding of chronology* (*time line task*). In this item, children were given a straight line printed on a piece of paper, assumed as a time line. At the beginning of the line ‘your great grand father’ was written and at the end ‘your sibling’ was written. The children were asked to place their grand father, father, their sibling and themselves in correct sequence and distance on that time line. The maximum scores assigned on this item were 4. The pooled mean score for the two cultural groups are 2.5 and 2.0 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean scores for the three age groups are, 1.9, 2.3 and 2.3 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. The scores of non-tribal group are 1.8, 1.8 and
2.3 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. For the Santali group the scores are, 2.0, 2.7 and 2.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores again show that the children in both the groups have performed better with increasing age levels. Unlike the other two items assessing this item, the Santali groups have performed better than the non-tribal group, on this item, at all the three age levels. This shows that the tribal children perform better on understanding of chronology when there was no use of dates in the task.

In sum the responses on the above three items that assessed the *Ability to link history to chronology*, show that children's performance have increased with age and grade. Their response pattern however, is a bit different across the two cultural groups. Out of above three items two items requires interpreting and applying the dates or chronological years and one required just the understanding of time distances without use of the dates. On the first two items (item 2 and 4) where the date or numerical years were used, the younger Santali Children (age 9-12 years) had difficulty. But these children performed better on the time line task (item 5), which did not require using dates. The younger tribal children had difficulty with the use of dates probably because at home they have very limited use of numbers. The tribes in Jharkhand have a low literacy rates. Children from most of the families are first generation school goers. Also, the Santali community (and other tribal communities, as well) belong to an oral tradition, where most of the knowledge is passed on through narrations and stories. The documentation and calculation of date have not
been done earlier in this society. People do not use dates when they talk about their historical narrations. Also, they have a different number system, which of course, the younger generation is not familiar with, but the elderly people use the same number system for counting dates and other things. Although the younger children can not be seen using the number system of Santali community, they have difficulty dealing with the numbers in school. It seen that as the older tribal children have performed equal to their non-tribal counterpart, it can be inferred that the schooling has helped them to overcome this obstacle.

Their responses on item 5 show that when the dates were removed from their task, they outperformed the non-tribal children. It shows that the tribal children do have an understanding time, its duration and length. However, the obstacle put forth by their traditional number system prohibits younger children from appreciating the chronology in history.

It can thus be concluded that, one, children from the lowest age level (age 9-10) also show understanding of chronology and they perform better with increasing age and grade. Two, the youngest children in the tribal groups have difficulty in dealing with dates and its calculation. Three, the scores on Item 5 shows that when the numbers were not used in the question related to time, the Santali children scored better than the non-tribal children.
Causality

1) Relating Social Forces to an Event:

This sub dimension refers to the ability to understand a logical connection between an event and its cause/s. This ability was assessed by item 6.1 and 6.2. Children were narrated a hypothetical historical story. The story was about a village wherein the villagers were starving in poverty. They had many problems such as, fooding and education. They did not have sources of earning whereby they could earn and fulfill their needs. The king of the state was unaware of the problems as he was a new king. His ministers were also not cooperative towards him and did not inform him anything. Annoyed and angry with the king, the villagers thought that he is not a worthy king. Completely disappointed with the king, they revolted against him, at the end. After narrating this story, children were asked questions related to it.

Item 6.1 asked, “Do you think if the king would have arranged good food and school for the people their problem would have solved?” Students were expected to understand this relationship between various correlates of poverty of people in the story, and say 'no' in the answer. The responses on this item showed no difference across the two sub cultural groups. The pooled mean scores on this item are 1.9 for both the sub cultural groups. Their three sub cultural groups have also scored equal. The pooled mean score for the three age groups of both the groups are, 1.8, 2.0 and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. Each age group of the two cultural groups scored the same scores.
Item 6.2 asked “what would have reduced people’s anger against the king?” four options were given, to choose one from them. The options were: A) opening schools, B) Providing them good food and clothes, C) Eliminating their poverty, by providing them jobs and D) The king taking interest in the problems of the people.

The scores on this item also, are almost equal for both the sub cultural group. The pooled mean score are 1.8 and 1.9 for non-tribal and Santali group, respectively.

The pooled mean for the three age groups are 1.5, 2.0 and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. For the non-tribal sub-groups the scores are age 1.4, 2.0 and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. For Santali sub-groups the scores are, 1.6, 2.0, and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The two cultural groups did not differ in their patterns of response also. A few younger children, in both the sub cultural groups had difficulty in responding but all the older children gave correct answers.

The scores on both the items assessing Ability to relate social forces to an event is an ability to connect an event/ action with the other; to be able to attribute a general cause(in a broad sense at least) to an event/action. The results show no cultural difference in the performance on items 6.1 and 6.2. It is evident by the responses of the children in both the sub cultural groups, that most of the children in 9-10- years age group and all the older children could answer the questions related to this sub-dimension of HU. It can be said that the basic ability to relate various events and their outcomes is developed by the age of 11-12- years.
2) Critical and Comparative Analysis:

This dimension is related to critically analyzing an event or phenomena by thinking in divergent ways about it. This is an ability to reflect upon various sides and aspects of an event phenomena or action. This dimension was assessed by items 6.3 and item 7.

Item 6.3 was based on a story (mentioned above) about a village, wherein the poor public had various problems. Their economic condition together with their perception of the king, led them to revolt against their king. Children were given a list of eight reasons for revolt against the king. They were asked to list three most important causes out of the list and rate them as 1, 2, and 3 on the basis of their importance in causing the revolt. Correctly sorting all the causes scores a maximum of 3 points. The pooled mean scores are 1.0 and 0.7 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean for the three age groups are 0.4, 0.9 and 1.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The non-tribal sub-groups have scored, 0.4, 0.6 and 1.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The Santali groups have scored, 0.4, 1.1 and 1.5 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores show that the children in both the cultural groups do better with increasing age and grade. And the Santali group has done better than the non-tribal group on this item. As the scores show (table 3.6), the younger children in both the groups have no difference on their performance. This difference, however, has increased in the older age groups.
Item 7 was, *Historical imagination: analytical perspectives.* In this item children were shown pictures of two different communities and were told about their completely different lifestyles. They were asked “suppose that these people go to an unfamiliar place; what experience would they have? Will they have common experience or different experience?” The responses again showed little difference in the scores but more difference in the content of the answers, between two subcultural groups. The pooled mean scores on this item are 1.8 and 1.5 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean scores for the three age groups are age 1.4, 1.6 and 1.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. The tribal groups have scored 1.5, 1.7 and 2.3 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. The non-tribal groups have scored age 1.2, 1.5 and 1.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. The responses showed that there is an increase in the scores of children with age and grade; and that the Santali group has scored better than the non-tribal group.

The responses on item 6.3 also show that the average score of children is very low in all age groups. The maximum score on this item was 3, and out of sixty children, only few could reach 2 also. The scores show that children had difficulty dealing with items related to critical and comparative analysis even by the age of 13-14 years. Although, there is an increase in performance with age and grade, and the tribal children perform better than the non-tribal children, they can still not be classified as performing well on tasks in items 6.3 and 7.
When we observe age related changes, in response to item 7, the age 9-10- years children focused more upon the immediate surroundings, availability of house and problems of the kings for their servants etc. They talked about the problems and benefits faced by the two communities at the new place however, most parts of their answers were mere reiteration of what have been told to them about these people. They remained confined to what these people may or may not get at the new place. For example, Saurabh, a grade 4, non-tribal child said “commoners will go and find some job, like cleaning and mopping...they may work as servants...kings will wear nice clothes and sit at one place. They will have good food to eat...they will protect their country and people.” Saurabh’s answer shows that he could not speculate beyond what was shown and told to him about the two communities.

The children in grade 6 (age 11-12 years), showed a little progress from the 9-10- year-old children. They moved beyond the information provided, about these people. They assumed situations and anticipated simple out comes. They analyzed the situation involving a more propositional thinking; in an ‘if and then’ way. Their answers showed a sort of conditional thinking about the situations. For example Bobby, a grade 6 Santali child said “....kings will first go and talk to the king of new place...they will request the kings of new place to let them share their kingdom. If they agree it will be okay... but if they don’t, then the king who had made the request will attack the kingdom ...a war may take place.” They also talked about the behavioral and coping related issue of the people in a new place. For example,
Pannalal, a Santali child said “...the children of the kings might not be accepted in the community of a new place...they children might not like it and be scared of going out to play...poor can beg for their livelihood but the Kings can’t, they are big people...”

This response reflected an elementary understanding of complexities of social life. These children however, could not anticipate the complex emotions and psychological states, and dynamic socio economic situations. In their answers they showed an awareness of social and psychological factors in determining ones behavior and its outcomes. Nevertheless, parts of their answers were similar to ones that 9-10- year- old children gave.

The 13-14 year age groups showed an increased awareness of the conditional nature of human behavior and its outcomes. They also reflected awareness of the social behavior and its various aspects; such as, social, emotional and economic. They related their answers to the real life situations. They could talk more in detail about what might happen when people go to a new place. Children in this age group could also talk about the complicated effect of surroundings and socio-cultural factors on the life of people. For example, Sarita, a tribal girl said “...the kings might not be doing anything earlier but if they go to a place where, everybody does their chores on their own then probably they will have to do the same. These people might be very aggressive and violent in their country but the new environment might change them...Similarly the poor people might change... The surrounding might change them.
If the people around are very lazy and substance addict they might also change and follow other people…"

Children in age 13-14 years also assumed certain personality features concurring with the social strata of people. For example Neha a non-tribal girl said ‘...kings have a habit of ordering and imposing things on others. If they do so they'll be out casted from the society...poor are used to humiliation and adjustment. They will not do any such things. Whatever people say to them they'll tolerate and adjust.” Some other children mentioned the emotional factors like, ‘they will miss their family, children or friends.’

The performance of the two cultural groups show that the Santali group have performed better than the non-tribal group on both the item assessing this dimension. The Santali children spoke at length about the kings and commoners. In their answers to item 7 most of them said that commoners will remain same and the kings may or may not help them, in the new place. The tribal children reflected a belief that these people will have problems related to their life style and that commoners will have lesser problems that the kings. Their answers reflect a division between kings and commoners, and a lesser hope of crossing these boundaries.

Some excerpts from the answers of the children will make this proposition clearer.

A tribal child of 9-10 years of age, Dinesh said,

When they go to a new place...the king will do all the big jobs, like helping people and solving their problems. ...commoners will have to earn, therefore they will work as they have been working in their villages....
Another tribal child of age 9-10, Aarti said,

Aarti: Ammm yes!!! The kings will have problem for food..They may not get so
good food...since they are staying at a place where poor people live....
Researcher: And commoners! How about them? What will they face?
Aarti: Poor will not have much problem; they are habituated of moving to
different places and problems of job and food. So, they can manage.
Sanjay, a tribal child of age 11-12 said.

When the kings go to a new place, people will not recognize that they are
king...so they will feel bad...they will have problem of food...commoners will
also have problem of food but they will be habituated of such problems, so
they can face it easily. The kings will suffer more for such reasons...."
The answers of non-tribal children on the other hand, reflected a lesser diction
between the commoners and reflected the possibility of changes in position of
both, kings and the commoners. Given below are the some excerpts from the
answers of the non-tribal children:

Kavita, non tribal girl of 9-10 year age said,

Kavita: ...at the new places if the kings helps others and become good for others,
they can become king of this place also....the poor people can get a good job and
start getting a monthly salary..They can also become rich some day and will no
more require doing their earlier jobs...poor people will miss their family...

Anu, an 11-12 year old non tribal child said,

The commoners will get many facilities there; because it will be a big city...they
will get a job and new clothes. They can send their children to good schools.
...kings don’t know how to work but people in the city do not know that they are
kings. So they will also have to work.

Same kind of view was expressed by Krishnan (age 11-12 years)
...kings will have left all their wealth at home... but gradually they can earn money and can become rich again...The commoners can also get good job, earn lots of money and become rich.

Many non-tribal children showed some very unique or unusual concerns, which was not found in the Santali children. Soni, a 9-10-year-old, non-tribal girl said,

Kings might give food to poor people from time to time...kings had enough money they could buy anything. If at all they will have any problem, it will be the of their yard keeping. The stray chattels might break into their houses. They will have to be careful about them. The commoners will be worried about their livelihood and other things.

Another theme running across in non-tribal children's responses was that, while talking about the 'new place' they assumed it to be a 'good city' or a 'big city', as it is reflected in the answer of Anu. The tribal children, on the other hand, mentioned a jungle or a less resourceful place. Aarti's response (narrated above) can be taken as instance.

The Scores on both the items (item 6.3 and item 7) assessing the Ability for critical and comparative analysis, show that children in both the cultural groups have not achieved even 50% of the maximum marks on these items. However, there was an increase in their performance from age 9-10 through 13-14. It implies that understanding of critical and comparative analysis has started in children but it is yet to be developed in order for them to be able to critically analyze a social situation. Taken both the cultural groups together, the youngest children do some
comparative analysis of the lives of two groups of people but they remained limited to whatever information they had. They could not go beyond their knowledge of their lives. The children in age 11-12 could infer more information about the situations of the people. Unlike age 9-10 children, they talked in terms of 'if' and 'then'. But still they can not assume the various realistic possibilities and their outcomes. Such responses were more vivid and elaborated in the children of age 13-14. They could infer more abstract information and ideas. They could think about the socio cultural and surrounding factors and could also explain how they influence the lives of people. The content analysis of the responses on item 7 also show that the ability to do some sort of propositional thinking, and analyzing the situation starts appearing vividly in the age of 13-14 years. The performances of the children on both the items show that the ability for critical and comparative analysis starts developing after the age of 11-12 years, and matures only after the age of 13-14 years.

The content analyses of children’s responses on item 7 show that there were some thematic distinctions between the answers of both the communities. The tribal children reflected more adherences to the community specific divisions of kings and poor, and a lesser hope for change in their positions. The reason can be attributed to their experiences and values that are transferred to them through their parents and community members. They have witnessed the discrimination between tribal and non tribal more specifically and concretely. They have a closer
experience with adversity and poverty. Even if they have not experienced such conditions they have heard it from their parents, that they have been very poor and that they have had to work hard for their survival. The non-tribal children, on the other hand, were more expectant of changes in the social positions of kings and commoners. These urban children are exposed to a different set of values. They are from the lower middle class families which always thrive for better socio-economic position. Therefore, such a belief is reflected in the responses of these children also. One more within group commonality was their reference to the 'new place'. The Santali children referred to a village or a less developed village, while non-tribal children referred to a big or better city. This difference can again be traced to their context and background. Tribals have been a nomadic community. Their living conditions are generally poor. As it is discussed above they have come to learn that they have had a tough life, struggling in lesser resourceful places. Probably that experience has come as an expectation here in such a response.

Methodology:

1) Imagination

This ability was assessed by item 6.5 and item 8. Item 6.5 was again a part of item 6, wherein a story was narrated about a village where people were starving and the king was unaware of their problems. In this item, children were read aloud a statement of a farmer, a character in the story. They were then asked to report the feelings of the farmer. They were asked (a) "On the basis of what the farmer said,
can you guess what might be going on, on farmer’s mind? (b) “Can you guess what might be his feelings for the king of the state?” The maximum score on this item was 4. The pooled mean score is 2.0 and 2.1 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean scores for the three age groups are, 1.4, 2.1, and 2.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores (table 3.6) show that the performance of children in both the cultural groups increase with increasing age and grade. However, it can also be seen that the children in both the groups have not scored more than 50%. The maximum possible score was 4, while children in both the groups have not achieved more than 2. They seem to have difficulty on items related to empathetic understanding.

The scores and the content analysis of the answers of the children on item 6.5 show that 9-10- years- old children had a very surface understanding of the farmer’s feelings. They reported the paraphrased (sometimes exact) statement of the character. In other words, most of the children reported only what was happening with the farmer or the way king was behaving with them. For example Rahul (a grade 4, non-tribal child) said “the farmer was poor...he wanted a job so that he can feed his children. He was very sad that he could not buy food for his children...he might be thinking that the king should give us a job.” This is a typical response most of the children in age 9-10 gave. There was a very little variation in the content of their answers.
The children of age 11-12 years talked about the farmer’s desires and needs. Instead of just describing the situation, they add propositions such as, ‘of only’ and/or ‘if – then’ to explain the emotional state of the farmer. For example Ashif (a non-tribal boy) said “...his child went hungry ...he could not do anything for his parents...he might be thinking that if at all I get a job with god’s grace I could fulfill my duties... I wish the king gave me a job...I could earn money and do something for my family.” While elaborating upon the feelings of the farmer, the children in 11-12 -years of age, related to many other aspects which were not mentioned in the narration. For example Baby (a Santali boy) said “...whatever I wish- I don’t get that. I had plotted some seeds in my land. They have all washed away...If had money I could buy more seeds and plot them again...Our king is not even aware of the people in his country. He might be interacting with rich people but he doesn’t know who the poor people are.”

The non-tribal children of 13-14 year age group show an increase in their scores and the quality of their answers. Nevertheless, the tribal children showed same level of response as the 11-12-year-old children. They start appraising and attributing the situation and psychological state of the farmer. For example Nupur (a non-tribal girl) said “…how unlucky!! I am of no use to my family...if only I could get a job I could remove all the pains of my family...the king is very cruel. Why can’t he provide a job....!” Another boy Swaroop said “…the king is very bad. He is very greedy, he thinks only of himself...if only he could open up a school and arrange a
job for us...! The farmer might be very angry with the king.” The answers of these two children show that they can empathize with the farmer more actively than their younger counterparts.

The responses of children on Item 6.5 show that the children in lowest grade have a little empathetic understanding. Out of a maximum 4 points, they have scored 1.3 (non-tribal group) and 1.4 (Santali group). The content of their answers also show that they can report only what was narrated to them. They can not go beyond the information provided to them and infer their psychological states by their given situations. The children in the age group of 11-12 years start doing so. They do try to think about the alternate possibilities in the life of the farmer. Their scores also show that they have performed slightly and negligibly better than their younger counterparts. The children in age of 13-14 years show an increased awareness of the feelings of the farmer. But, this does not hold true for the tribal children of the same age group. The contents of their answers and the scores are similar to that of 11-12-year-old tribal children.

Looking at the cultural differences in children’s performance on item 6.5, the content analysis of the answers of the children showed that the Santali children talked mostly about the farmer in the third person and the non-tribal children talked about them in first person. For example Arti a tribal girl of age 9-10 said “The farmer is very sad... He is never happy. He thinks about his family all the time...” On the other hand a non tribal boy Aasif said “the farmer might be thinking that 'if I
could get a job with god’s grace ....I could take responsibility of my family. I could buy food and utensils...the king is so rich I wish he could get me a job.” Another typical response is the answer of the second part of the question that asked to guess the feelings of the farmer for the king. Most of the Santali children did not say much about it. On being asked about the farmer’s feeling about the king they just answered in one line ‘he should help us’ or ‘the king should provide us a job’ or ‘what a king is he!! Who is not coming to help us!! ?’ The non-tribal children expressed more about the farmer’s feeling for the king. Aasif said “…the king is so rich...I wish he could give me a job or at least give us some money so that...” Sujata (age 13-14) said “…the king is so rich, why can’t he give us some money...He is a cruel king. We will revolt against him.”

The answers of children between 9 to 12- years- age did not show much differences across two cultural groups. Most frequently, children in both the cultural groups mentioned things such as, ‘the farmer would feel very bad’ ‘he did not have a job’, and ‘he could not send his children to school.’ They repeated the same terms and information provided in the narration, given by the farmer. As Dulari an 11-12-year- old girl of Santali group said “The farmer wished that he could also send his children to school...He did not have a job and money. He might be felling sad that he was not able to provide food for his family. Another girl of non-tribal group Soni (age 9-10) said, “His child might be crying for food. He might be thinking that ‘if only
I could get a job, I could survive. I could buy new clothes and other things." The responses of both the groups are very similar for younger children.

The responses of older children varied much across the two cultural groups. The Santali children of age 13-14 spoke almost same things as the younger Santali children. While the children in non-tribal group of same age gave more elaborate account of farmer's feelings. The Santali children spoke about the 'farmer's poverty', 'not having job' and 'problems of food etc'. They could not give a very emotionally expressive answer. Some of the children talked in low pitch when talking about the feelings of the farmer. Their body language showed that they are feeling bad for things happening with the farmer. Sandeep (age 13-14 years) said "...he (the farmer) had a child and he used to be very sad seeing the child. The child was starving. "Another tribal child (age 13-14 years), Sarita said "he wished he could educate his child like others, and give him good food and education...he was thinking that if he continues doing nothing, what lesson will he give to his child."

These children did perceive the necessities and liabilities of the farmer, but they are already mentioned in the statement by the farmer. They have not been able to mention any affective statement or emotional word to explain the mental state of the farmer.

The response of non-tribal children show some attempt in the direction of explaining the farmer's feelings by using emotional words. Neha, (age 13-14 years) said "Although he was willing he could not do anything for his family. He is also
feeling the pains for his family but there are so many reasons for which he can not
fulfill his duties....he might be thinking that 'I am not getting a job. For this I can
blame my destiny only...’” Neha is not only describing the complexities of the
farmers feeling, she is also imagining his mental state where he is in dialogue with
himself and seeking attribution of his inability to fulfill his duties. A similar type of
answer was given by Sujata (a non-tribal girl, age 13-14 years), “he might be
thinking that, ‘what is the purpose of my life if I am not able to do anything for my
child’...it was better to die...” Sujata’s answer shows the pain of the farmer when he
is talking so depressively.

The responses of children on item 6.5 reflect the following prototypical aspects of
children’s responses: One, The younger children in both the cultural group (age 9-
10 and 11-12) gave similar answers. They could give narrations of farmer’s feelings
but most of them repeating only what were narrated to them. The age group of 11-
12 years was marginally better than age 9-10, but it could not show much empathy
with the farmer. Two, the age group 13-14 years was better than the lower age
groups but there was huge individual difference in this age group, within both the
cultural groups. Out of a maximum score of 4 children scored between 1 through 4.
Three, the non tribal children of 13-14 years did slightly better than the tribal group
of the same age, which might be due to the better command over Hindi of non
tribal children. The tribal children speak Santali language at their home and many a
times with their teachers also (if the teacher is a Santali). Although, many non-tribal
children are also multilingual, a majority of them speak Hindi in schools, in market and many a times at home also. Consequently, the Hindi vocabulary of the tribal children is not as rich as the non tribal children. However this linguistic discrepancy has not led to a major difference, because children were given much time to express themselves.

The overall responses show that ability to empathize develops slowly, as it has increased very less from age 9 through 14. It is possible that since children were asked to empathize with an adult and that to, too remote in time, it was difficult for them to connect to that. And this dimension of HU is probably difficult for children. Also, the result of age 13-14 show a lot of individual difference, which makes it plausible to assume that the ability to empathize is not same in everybody.

Item 8 was, Historical Imagination: Temporal Perspective. In this item children were asked two questions: one question asked children to imagine that they were born 300 years ago and to describe their daily activities during that time. In answer to this question children were required to imagine a life 300 years ago and to describe activities that were appropriate in that time period. Second question asked children to imagine and describe their daily life without motor vehicles, back in the past. The maximum scores on this item were 4. The pooled mean scores are 2.5 for both the cultural groups. The pooled mean score of the three age groups are, 2.2, 2.7 and 2.7 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The mean scores of their respective sub groups are also very similar. For the Santali age groups the
scores are, 2.3, 2.6 and 2.6 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. For the non-tribal age groups the scores are, 2.1, 2.7 and 2.7. The scores showed that children in both cultural groups improved in their ability to imagine past, through age and grade. It is also observed (table 3.6) that the average score of children is quite low from the maximum score. It implies that children had some amount of difficulty dealing with items related to temporal perspective of imagination.

When we observe the age related differences in their responses, it appears that the 9-10-year-old children showed awareness of the difference in the routine work and daily life of the people. Their answers however, could not consider wider setting of past times. In their answers they used to switch back and forth between past and present. For example, when they talked about their daily routine, they mentioned a few things from past and few things from present. A grade 4 Santali child, Rahul said “...things would have been different at that time...it would be like Sunday...I would go to play...bat-ball, foot-ball etc...” Children could understand well that they could not do many things that they do now. For instance, kavita (a grade 4, non-tribal girl) said “…we could not study without schools. We had to do some house hold work ... we could play kabbaddi...people back then, might not be knowing about badminton.”

Age 11-12-year-old children started showing more awareness of past settings. They situate their answers in the past by bringing in more information about it.
Many students gave detailed description of what could they do in past. Many children in grade age group of 11-12 years, still, showed the response similar to age 9-10-year-old children.

By the age of 13-14 years all the children knew that things were different in past and that there could not the same routine as now. Some children gave an elaborative picture of past; while some gave a very sketchy answers. None of them however situated their answers in present. They brought in more information about past, that they might have learned from school or home, to describe the past situation.

There were visible cross cultural differences in the answers of the children from the two cultural groups on item 8 also. In general, the tribal children had more to talk about the things to being done in past, while the non-tribal children were brief and repetitive in their answers. The Santali children spoke about the various tasks that they could do in past. Some said they will do farming others said they will collect wood from the jungle. Digambar a 9-10 year-old tribal child said

Digamber: I would do general work...Stay at home...Would collect wood for my mother so that she can cook food...
Researcher: would you play in those times?
Digamber: Yes, I would play what I like.
Researcher: what would you play, Football?
Digamber: No. I would play different things. Football was not there at that time.
Another tribal child of 11-12 year age, Pannalal said “Things will be different...I might have to walk long ways in the jungle, There might be wild animals on the way who could eat men...” Another child of 11-12 years age, Ramdas said “I would look after cattle, do farming...I would also play sometimes...gilly danda.” It is visible that Santali children talked about a range of things that they could do at that time. The non-tribal children talked about a fewer possibilities altogether. They either said they will do farming or will do nothing; just normal chorus. Vinay an 11-12 year-old boy said “There will be no work, no study, only roaming around. People would wake up late, as they don’t have to go anywhere. They will stay job less whole day.” Another non-tribal boy of age 11-12 years, Krishna said “In the morning I would go to work in the field. While coming back, I might feel hungry......” These examples show how the non-tribal children had fewer things to tell about past.

The non-tribal group of 13-14 years talked more about the ideal and values in the past, while the same age group among Santali children talked almost the same things as their younger counterparts. The non-tribal children, on the other hand, showed an understanding of much abstract things related to society and changes through time. For example Neha, a 13-14 year-old, non tribal girl said “We might have been backward at that time. Now we are in 21st century. We are independent and our mind set is more developed which was not there back then. Girls were made to do a lot of work...” The responses of the tribal versus non tribal children
show a difference between the content of their answers. Such difference between the performance of the older Santali children and non-tribal children was seen in their response on item 6.5 also. That means that on both the items assessing Imagination dimension of HU, the 13-14-year-old non tribal children develop faster than their tribal counterparts.

Thus, we see apart from the developmental changes in answers of children the content of their answers is very different in the two cultural groups. The Santali children talked about a range of tasks that could be done in past, while the non-tribal children could mention lesser things being done in the past. This does not mean that the answers tribal children were more situated and in past. It only means that on being asked about their routine work in past, they mentioned more number of things to be done in past. This was due to the fact that tribal children are from a cultural context where people narrate and listen to stories of past. The children hear about how their parents have spent their childhood and how things used to be in their parents’ childhood. Theses stories are enough for the tribal children to guide them about a life in past. On the other hand, if the non tribal children take help from their parents stories they will not be much different from their own times. While these stories and chronologically very close for the tribal society. Thus, tribal children’s awareness with the primitive lifestyle has helped them to enumerate more things about a life of 300 years back.
On the both the items assessing imagination, children have scored far less than the maximum scores. At the same time, there is an increase in the scores of children from younger to older age. On both the items there is a difference in the scores of 13-14 year-old children. The non-tribal children of this age group have scored higher than the Santali children of their age group. The content analyses of the answers on both the items show that their responses are different from each other. The Santali children could talk about more options that could be done in the past. The older non-tribal children show more empathy, while the Santali children could not progress much on that dimension. Another difference between their answers is that, the eldest children (age 13-14 years) in the non-tribal children talk about more abstract things about society and past than their tribal counter parts.

2) Perspective taking:

*Perspective taking* is an ability to appreciate an event from multiple perspectives. This sub dimension was assessed by item 6.4, *Understanding of Historical processes: Perspective taking*. This item was a part of item six as mentioned above. The story in item 6 was narrated (Described above) to the children and then they were asked questioned related to the story. In the item 6.4 children were asked who was responsible for the revolt mentioned in the story, King or the commoners. Children had to consider both, the king’s and common people’s perspective in their answers. The maximum score on this item was 2. The pooled mean score are 1.4 and 1.2 for
Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean score for the three age
groups are, 0.8, 1.5 and 1.6 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively.
The mean scores of the tribal groups are, 1.1, 1.5 and age 1.6 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-
14-year age groups, respectively. The mean scores of non-tribal age groups are, 0.5,
1.4 and 1.6 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14-year age groups, respectively. The scores of
the sub groups of both the cultural groups show that only the 9-10-year-old
children, across the two sub cultural groups, differ in their performance on this item.
When the children were probed and were asked to explain their answers, it was
observed that their responses varied according to their age and grade. The younger
children in both the cultural groups could not take both the perspective together.
Consider this conversation with Mamta, a 9-10-year-old tribal girl:

Mamta: It was right to fight. The king was wrong. He should have helped
the people.
Researcher: But the king did not know about all this!!
Mamta: Yes!! People were wrong.
Researcher: and how about the king, was he right or wrong
Mamta: Yes most of it was his fault.
Researcher: And people?
Mamta: Actually it was king’s fault. People were right in fighting with him.
Apparently Mamta changes her position on probing but can not consider both the
perspective together. The 9-10-year-old children typically showed this response.
They changed their position on being probed but did not considered both the views
together, while the non-tribal children of the same age group gave only one sided
response and did not change their positions on being probed also. They did not consider the 'other side of the story' on being probed and cross questioned. They just held on to what they believed was the 'right perspective'.

The age 11-12-year-old children in both the cultural groups accepted both sides in the story. Most of these children could not perceive both the perspectives together in the beginning but, they could do so when they were probed and were explained the other side of the story. They either said it was king's fault or the people's fault. However, when they were cross questioned and probed, most of them could consider both the perspectives. Pannalal, an 11-12-year-old tribal boy conversed like this,

Pannalal: It was wrong on people's part. They should have first enquired about the king. He did not know anything.
Researcher: But, the king was the king of the village. It was his duty to help the people of his village.
Pannalal: Yes, it was king's fault only...
Researcher: And people? Should they have fought like that?
Pannalal: Yes they were also wrong. Both were partially wrong ...

Pannalal starts with a one sided view about the incident but when he was cross questioned he changed his view and came to conclusion that both sides could be wrong.

The 13-14-year olds, in both the cultural groups scored almost equal. The children in this age group showed a similar pattern of response also. They children in age 13-14 gave an answer with both the view points. If the children in this age group did not
answer with the multiple view points, just one cross question by the researcher made them to recognize both the view points.

Over all, the responses showed that just like other dimensions of HU this one is also show children improving with age and grade. The pattern of responses across the two cultural groups was not much different. The results show that the youngest age group (9-10 years) did not have much understanding of multiple perspectives. Most of the children in the age group of 11-12 years also respond taking one perspective only; however, they can take the other perspective into account when they are prompted or argued in favor of the other view. The oldest age group (13-14 years) in both the cultural groups has scored close to maximum. Most of the children in this age group responded with both the perspectives. It can thus be concluded that by the age of 11-12 years children can be made to understand the multiplicity of the perspectives. By the age of 13-14 years however, children have developed an ability to do so.

3) Search for Patterns and Regularities:

This is an ability to find out common or distinct patterns in a series of actions or events. This sub dimension was assessed by item 13, Understanding of patterns in historical events. In this item children were narrated a story about a state in which people fought many wars. The story narrated a series of incidences about the people and kings who came and ruled the state. The children were asked to mention the behaviors which the natives of the state always showed and the behaviors that
changed over the period of time. This item had a maximum of 3 points. The pooled mean scores on this item are 2.5 and 2.2 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean score for the three age groups are, 1.9, 2.3 and 2.7 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The Santali age groups have scored, 1.9, 2.7 and 2.9 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The non-tribal children have scored, 1.9, 1.8 and 2.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores show a gradual development in the children’s ability to find patterns with increasing age and grade. The performance of non-tribal children is a little lower, especially in the age 11-12 years age group children.

Thus, the performance of both the cultural group is similar on item 13. Their scores show increase in performance through age and grade. The age 9-10-years-old children start showing the ability to trace the reoccurring events but that is limited to the events which are evidently mentioned story. For example ‘people used to fight with each other’. Reporting such sequence of events can not be exactly categorized as finding patterns as it is evidently mentioned in the story. Although at the elementary level children can start locating patterns by such practices only. The non-tribal children in 11-12 years age groups did find some implicit patterns, but that again was not based on observation of the overall series of events, for example, ‘the people fought many wars’. They still responded in the same way as their younger counterparts. The non tribal children in age group of 13-14 years (in grade 8), and the tribal children in the age group of 11-12 years, have mentioned
characteristics which were not directly told in the story, and were based on the considering the series of the behaviors of people. For example, unlike their younger counterparts, the habit of people to change their views about the king was not perceived as a change by these students, rather they could mention it as the longstanding characteristic of people. It can be concluded that all the children perceive the implicit characters in a narration or a series of events by the age of 13-14, which starts by the age of 11-12.

4) Drawing Abstract Concepts and Information from Concrete Objects/Events:

This sub dimension of HU refers to the ability to deduce information and concepts from facts or artifacts. Since there are various situations and types of information to be drawn from artifacts, this sub dimension was assessed by three items; Item 3, 9 and 10.

Item 3 was sorting pictures from the past. In this item children were told about a person who lived in a 200 year old house, which is closed for over 100 years. They were told that there are a few pictures of the things which were found in that house-have been mixed up with some of the other pictures. They were, then, asked to sort out the pictures of things belonging to that house. After they had sorted the pictures the children were asked to observe the pictures and guess the profession of the person who used to stay in that house. The maximum score on this item was 8. The pooled mean score on this item is 7.0 and 6.9 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The scores show that there is a no difference in the performance of both
the cultural groups on this item. The pooled mean score of the three age groups are, 5.8, 7.3 and 7.7 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The Santali children have scored, 5.8, 7.6 and 7.7 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. Non-tribal children have scored, 5.8, 7.0 and 7.8, for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. In both the groups there is an increase in the performance with increasing age and grade, and not much difference across the two cultural groups.

Item 9 was abstraction of historical concepts (picture similarity task). In this item children were shown a set of seven pictures of people in a market place and in shops, buying and selling goods and some pictures of coins. They were asked to find out common elements across all the pictures and to tell whatever they could make out of all the pictures taken all together. The maximum score on this item was 3. The pooled mean score are 2.3 and 1.7 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean score for the three age groups are, 1.7, 2.3 and 2.1 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores of the tribal age groups are, 1.7, 2.5 and 2.6 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The same for non-tribal group is, 1.6, 2.0 and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores show that both the cultural groups have improved their performance with increasing age and grade. However the increase in the performance of non-tribal group is slower than the tribal group.
The content analyses of the children’s responses on item 9 showed that 9-10-year-old children, in both the cultural groups have focused more on the concrete aspects of the pictures. They talked about the things shown in the pictures, such as; clothes, grocery, gold coins, libra etc. They also talked about the activities shown in the pictures, but in isolation from each other. In other words, the pictures showed people buying and selling different things. Children mentioned only activities, such as ‘showing clothes’, ‘weighing a pot’ and/ or weighing some grain, without referring to the fact that they are related or similar to each other in any way. When they were specifically asked about all the pictures that, ‘can you guess what are these pictures about?’, they either mentioned one activity; such as showing clothe piece or weighing, or they said that they were about noting in particular. Children, in age of 11-12 years, could find some connections across the pictures. Although, most of the children could not comment on the over all significance of all the pictures, but they could find out similarities in the pictures. In For example, they marked that people are at shop, or they are buying some stuff or so. But, they could not understand the general theme of all the pictures that it was about market, selling and exchange of money etc. They compared the activities of people shown in all the pictures. A student said, “people are giving money and buying goods in return...it’s about money and things.” It is clear that the responses of age 11-12- year-old children is improved as compared to that of their younger counterparts, but, they can still not make out the over all implication of difference pictures. Children in the age group of 13-14
years have been able to reach to that level of response. Most of the children in this age group have been able to find out the thematic similarities across all the pictures and have been able to mention the economic aspect of it. They could mention the terms like ‘money exchange’, market business’, and ‘value of money’ etc.

Thus, it can be concluded that children’s responses on item 9 show that both the cultural groups have improved their performance with increasing age and grade. However, the increase in the performance of non-tribal group is slower than the tribal group. The responses of both the cultural groups show that the younger children concentrate more on visible and concrete dimensions of the pictures and the older children concentrate more on the abstract aspects of it.

Item 10 was abstraction of historical concepts (sorting dissimilar pictures). In this item children were shown a picture of a tribal dancer who lived 30-40 years ago. They were shown a set of various dance related goods and pictures of people dancing. They were then asked to sort out the pictures related to the tribal dancer. This item was allotted a maximum of 6 points. The average score for non-tribal group on this item is 5.2, and for Santali children it is 5.9. The pooled mean scores for the three age groups are: age 9-10: 5.0; age 11-12: 5.7 and age 13-14: 5.9. The scores show that children in both the sub cultural groups have improved their performance with increasing age and grade. The scores of their respective sub groups also show an improved performance with increasing age and grade. The mean scores of the non-tribal sub groups are, age 9-10: 4.3, age 11-12: 5.4 and age 13-14: 6.0. Similarly the
mean scores of Santali children on this item are, age 9-10: 5.7, age 11-12: 5.9 and age 13-14: 6.0. This shows that the Santali children of age 9-10 have out performed the non-tribal children of the same age. There is a huge difference between the scores of younger Santali children and non-tribal children on item 10. This difference is reduced by the age of 11-12 and further reduced by age 13-14. The age 13-14 children show no difference, across the two sub cultural groups, in their scores on this item. This again can be attributed to the fact that, the pictures in this item were related to a tribal dancer. Consequently it was easier even for the younger tribal children, to sort the pictures. Thus, we see that there is a noticeable difference between the scores of tribal and non-tribal children on item 10. This difference is reduced in the older children.

Children’s responses on the dimension *Ability to draw abstract concepts and information from concrete objects* show that children in the age of 9-10 do show ability draw information from objects and things, nevertheless it is limited to the concrete aspects of things and activities. By the age of 11-12 children show an increased ability to derive information from objects and connect different information together. In this age group children oscillate between concrete and a less abstract level of thinking about the things and activities. Children in age 13-14 however, can show a much analytical approach while drawing information about things. They can draw much more quality and relevant information about objects and joint different information to form a coherent picture about things.
The performance of both the cultural groups, on the items assessing Drawing abstract concepts and information from concrete object, is similar. There is either a little or no difference on all on their performance on the items, except for item 10. On item 10, the younger tribal children perform better than their non-tribal counterparts. Although the younger non-tribal children also scored 4.3 out of 6, which was sufficient to show their ability to draw information from the objects, the tribal children have performed better due to their cultural familiarity with the pictures.

Among the items assessing these dimension items 3 and item 10 were simple task based on sorting pictures on some criteria. The responses show that even the youngest age group could do the task. The responses also show that children perform better with increasing age. Item 7 on the other hand required drawing information about the similarities and connection among pictures. On this item children had a scope of drawing abstract information about pictures. The results showed that younger children could not derive much conceptual or thematic information about the objects. They could draw only visible similarities in the pictures, while the older children (age 13-14) could go beyond the pictures and infer implicit connectedness among the pictures. Thus, it can be concluded that drawing information about the object can be seen in children of 9-10-year-old. However, it is only by the age of 13-14 years of age, that children start seeing connection and implicit connection among objects. While, the 9-10-year-old children can be made to understand the artifacts
and its visible aspects, it is only after age 13-14 that children can be expected to understand the conceptual information about historical artifacts.

D) Understanding the historian’s Job

1) Understanding and Analyzing Sources Used in Historical Analysis:

This dimension includes understanding of due relevance of primary and secondary sources used in historical analysis. This dimension was assessed by Item 11: Understanding of historical method. Children were asked to assume that they have been given an assignment to write about some place which is near their place. They were asked that in order to know about that place, whether they would like to go and see the place or they would ask someone who has been there. This item had a maximum score of 2. The pooled average score are 1.5 and 1.4 for Santali and non-tribal children, respectively. The pooled mean score of the three age groups are, 1.1, 1.5 and 1.9 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The average scores of tribal groups are, 1.1, 1.7 and 1.8 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. The scores for the non-tribal group are, 1.0, 1.3 and 2.0 for 9-10, 11-12 and 13-14 year age groups, respectively. This shows that children have scored better with increasing age and grade. In their answers to the question that whether they would visit the place themselves or will ask someone, almost all the children said that they would see the place themselves instead of asking someone else. The variation came in their explanation for choosing this option. Their explanation varied according to their age and grade. The 9-10-years-old children gave an explanation which was very random. Many of them said that ‘they can’t trust
others', or that 'others might not tell the complete truth,' or that 'we should not copy others.' Their explanations showed that although, they were aware of the difference between the primary and the secondary information, they could not justify the logical reason behind it. Many children in the age group of 11-12 years and almost all the children in age 13-14 could do so. They could explain why it is not advisable to take the information from other sources, when we have a choice to inspect the source personally. Children in age group of 13-14 years could also mention the factors such as, 'feeling', 'motive' and 'upbringing' to explain the difference between different people which lead people to interpret situations differently.

Thus, it is clear from the above description that the Understanding and analyzing sources used in historical analysis is present in age 9-10 children; however the increasing age and grade level renders a better conceptual understanding of the same in children. There was no difference among the performance of both the cultural groups. The scores of younger children, across two sub cultural groups, differ more from each other than the scores of older children.

2) Understanding History as an Interaction Between Historian and His/Her Facts:

This sub-dimension refers to ability to appreciate the connection between a historian’s disposition and his or her interpretation of facts. It was assessed by Item 12, Understanding of historian’s bias. In this item children were narrated a situation in which two historians had differing views regarding punishment. One believed in
severe punishment while other historian did not. Children were told that these historians were going to write about a king who used to give severe punishment to the criminals. They were then asked that given their differing views, which of the historian will write in favor of the king? The maximum score on this item was 1. Both the cultural groups and their respective subgroups have scored 1. It shows that all the children above the age of 9 knew that the disposition of a person is reflected in his/her interpretation of facts.

When these children were asked to explain that 'why such difference come', children in both the cultural groups gave similar answers across the two cultural groups. Children's answers to this question were similar to that of Item 11, in which the younger children (9-10-years olds) were not very rational in their explanations for why do two people differ. The children in 11-14 were aware and informed about the sources of difference between two people. They used terms such as 'thinking', 'mind' and 'heart' etc to describe difference between the opinions of any two people.

**Interviews:**
An elaborative interview was conducted after administration of the test. The children were asked questions related to their notion of past, their notion of past versus history, their source of information about the history and their idea of change in dynamics of society during a period of time. An outline of the questions is given below:

- What do you understand about past, what does it consists of?
- What do you understand about history; what does it include?
• What is the difference between past and history? Can past ever become history?
• How would the life have been 100, 200 or 300 years back? What kind of changes come in the society?
• How do you come to know about past and history, who tells you about it?

3.6 Children’s Idea of History and Past:

An overview of the responses of the children on the questions related to the notions of past and history shows that, apart from the age, the socio-cultural group exerts a strong influence on children's notion of history and past. While speaking about past, Santali children talked more about the ancient times, early men and their life style. They talked about lack of resources, ignorance and less developed infrastructure. The non-tribal children portrayed a totally different picture about past. The tribal children's notion of past was illustrative of a primitive life style. Ramdas, an 11-12-year-old tribal child said “people in earlier days used to eat raw flesh...they lit fire by stone and used to wear leaves.” This is the typical response that most of the Santali children gave. Their notion of past typically consist of things related to a tribal society a few decades ago. Another tribal child, Sunil (age 12 years) said, “People did not have home and clothes. They ate fruits and raw flesh. They used to hunt animals. They did not use to do job...they did not have tools either.” The non-tribal children on the other hand, portrayed a different picture of past. They talked about Kings, palaces and British rule. Most of the non-tribal children talked about the good values in past. They talked about how disciplined people used to be, and how they behaved
in those times. A 9-10- year-old non-tribal children, Saurabh said “people lived in villages and grew harvest... there was not much fight between people...people lived happily. Children used to obey their parents...” Another non-tribal girl Sujata (age 13-14) said “In earlier times kings ruled, there were no elections held...there were palaces instead of buildings. Ladies used to wear ghaghra choli...people used brass utensils. These responses show that the notions of past are different in both the sub cultural groups. It was observed that the older tribal children, who had studied history for more than 2 years, also did not talk much about the mainstream history as past. On the other hand the non-tribal children talked about the mainstream history of Indian textbooks.

The in children’s notion of past on various aspects of it, as emerged from the interviews, is delineated below:

3.6.1 Children’s Understanding of History Versus Past:

When the 9-10-year-old children were asked to discriminate between past and history, most of them said that ‘all that happened in past is history’ or ‘past is whatever has happened till now’. When they were asked about the difference between history and past, some children were a bit confused. They were hesitant in answering. But, when they were asked ‘can all past become history?’ they all answered ‘no’. They could also explain ‘why all past can not become History?’ They did say that all past can not become history. Interestingly, the non-tribal children said that history is something that is important and it is true for sure. The tribal children
expressed a sort of disbelief in past. They explained that many times past might not be true. Most of the children explained that 'it holds true only for those who believe in it.' Consider the following statement of a 9-10-year-old child Aarti, "...my grandmother tells me about past, but my mother tells me not to take interest in such stories...nobody takes interest in such stories these days, only those who believe in such things take interest". This shows that the notion of past versus history is slightly different in the children of tribal and non-tribal group. The tribal children's skepticism about past is due to the fact that when they think about past they consider all the stories that they come to learn in their community. They have been told very often that these stories are not true and that they should concentrate on what the books says.

Apart from this little disbelief in their past, the younger tribal as well as the non-tribal children could express the difference between present and past. It was observed that children in the age group of 9-10 years are aware of the difference between history and past. Though their understanding is not very articulate and refined, but, they crudely knew that the two are different. The responses also show that the Santali children have a slightly different understanding of past, which is a reflection of their socio-cultural background.

The children of age 11-14 were clearer about the notions of history. The age 11-12 children brought in their exposure of history curriculum to describe what history is. For them only 'famous and big' things are incorporated in history. Their explanations
showed an understanding of the difference between history and past, which was slightly advanced from their younger counterparts. They were not confused on being asked about past versus history. A part of the conversation with an 11-year-old tribal boy, Sanjay is given,

Sanjay: History is our memory of past...
Researcher: whatever happened in past is history!!
Sanjay: Yes!
Researcher: Then can your grandfather be a part of history!
Sanjay: Yes...yes it is not in history books.
Researcher: Why is it not in books!! Have you heard about gandhiji
Sanjay: Yes. He was a famous person.
Researcher: Why is it so that we read Gandhi ji in books and not about your grand father!! You think he should be mentioned in books!
Sanjay: No, Gandhiji was the father of our nation. He did great works for our country, but my grand father did not do any such thing. That is why he is not in history books. Had he done some great work, he could also be a part of our books.

Similarly a 10-year-old non tribal boy, Rahul said

Rahul: History is about kings, and our country in past...past is recent events
Researcher: Can past become history?
Rahul: Yes!
Researcher: Your great grand father is also a past, can he become history?
Rahul: Only if he was a famous person...because we read only about famous people in History.
Researcher: Can your name ever come in History?
Rahul: Yes, if I do some great work...then perhaps after 200 years my name may come in history.

The 13-14-year-old children were even clearer on these notions. For them, history was something that is ‘relevant’ to our society, or the important episodes which changed the society. Evidently these children can give a little more refined and abstract answer to the question about history versus past.

The answers of children show that even the youngest age group was aware of the different between past and history. This understanding however became more refined with increasing age and grade. At once, when they were asked the question whether past or history is different, the younger children were a little confused. They said ‘no’ hesitatingly. But when they were asked whether they can some day become a part of history, or why their grand father is not a part of history, all children gave a convincing answer.

3.6.2. Awareness of Changes in the Dynamics of the Society:

Children were asked to mention things that might have change between 200 years and 100 years back time. The responses on this question show that the 9-10 -year-old children answered in a concrete terms. While talking about things that change over a period of time, they talked about roads, houses, clothes and food habits. For example Saurabh, a 9-10- year-old child said, “...many things were not there...no electricity, no any vehicle or machines...” The responses showed that children were well aware that things change a lot between two time periods, and could mention many visible or
simple facts about such changes. Children in the age groups of 11-12 years had a more developed understanding of the dynamics of change in a society, over a period of time. They brought in additional information about changes accompanying time, from their history curriculum. They talked about many things that have happened in the history of man kind. Some children in this age group only add information while many others think about the changes and reflect upon them as being an indicator of change in the society. For example, some children just said that ‘computer was invented, while many other reflected upon the changes that the invention of computer brought forth. Many children reflected a conceptual understanding of various societal dynamics. A grade 6 (11-12 -year-old) tribal child, Pannalal said, “...things change a lot, as people go on improving things ... earlier one rupee was equivalent to 100 rupee but now 1 rupee is only one rupee. We can’t buy so many things from that....earlier it was difficult to walk as there were no vehicles but now, we can fly in the air or go deep down a sea. ..In future also things will change. It will not remain like this...” Another boy of same age group said, “...people change their clothes...even the food was different earlier and now it is different...50 years back is also a part of history and 100 years back also. But there is a lot of difference between these two...” The response excerpts show that the child is aware of the dimensions of changes in a society that follow a piece of time however, all these are limited to visible and concrete factors that change in a society.
Chapter 3

Children of 13-14-year-old could use abstract words to describe the changes such as, *development, progress, life and society* etc. They could not only understand the dynamics of change in a society, but also analyze and express its implications. For instance Nupur, a grade 8 girl said, "...many things change with time...many inventions have helped us improve our lives...we have better clothes, houses and many facilities. Because of many inventions we can enjoy a comfortable lifestyle and vehicles..." Children in this age group talked about various things ranging from concrete to conceptual issues. They had more information about past lifestyle and its happening which enabled them to bring in more information to describe various dimensions of change in society.

Thus, it appears that children in the age group of 9-10 are aware of the fact that our surrounding change during a given time frame. They can mention many tangible aspects of changes in our surroundings and lives. The children in 11-12 years age group, are better equipped to understand 'change'. This improved understanding is reflected in the more vivid and sophisticated manner, in which the children of 13-14-years age group describe the changes of society. They are more analytical and reflective about the changes that have occurred in past, and implications that they have brought forth.

All the children in both the cultural groups have shown an awareness that 'things change over a period of time'. However, just as their notions of past, their notions of 'change' also varies. Santali children emphasis on learning life skills such as, building
house, cooking food and wearing clothes, as a major developmental change. While non-tribal children think of change as, change in technology, models of vehicles, dressing and invention of equipments. For example a 9 -year -old tribal girl, Aarti said, “a lot of things change over a period of time. Earlier people did not live in houses; later on they started living in houses, started cooking food and wearing clothes.” On the other hand a non tribal boy Saurabh (9-10 -year-old) said “There is a lot of difference between 100 years back time and 200 years back time....there were no vehicles and no machines...but later on...100 years back there were many vehicles ...many new machines were invented.”

Besides the view of younger children, there was visible difference in the responses of the age 13-14 children also. non-tribal children used more sophisticated words than the Santali children, to describe change. For example, a non-tribal girl (13-14 -year-old), Neha said “earlier people, were different from now. They were more hard working. .. With the changing generations, the mental power of the people has also increased. .. People have developed with time...they have been inventing new machines...” Another non-tribal children boy, Swaroop (13-14 -year-old) said “200 years back we did not have many things...we used to walk, as we didn’t have vehicles... it used to take long to send messages, there was no telephone or computer...There were some social problems like ‘sati pratha’. 100 years later things changed a lot. The houses have been changed. There has been change in communication also...”
On the other hand, Santali children describe change in different terms. They used simple words, but it was evident that they could think at the same level about the change in society and its dynamics. A tribal girl, Sarita (13-14 -year-old) said

"200 years back there were only jungle and bushes. Later on things changed. After 100 years, our minds also change. Earlier people did not think of progress but now people think of that. People think that they should work hard and help their country progress..."

Another tribal boy Nandu (age 13-14) said, "Things change a lot...the clothing, eating habits and roads...all this have changed. We have learned new house building techniques..."

In their responses about the 'changes in the society', the children of both the sub cultural group exhibited an awareness of the changes, in a society, that follow a period of time. The modules of those changes however, vary in both the sub cultural group. The tribal children emphasized upon different aspects of changes while non tribal children described different aspects. The responses of older Santali children (13-14 -year-old) had lesser mentioning to abstract aspects of changes in the society than their non-tribal counterparts. Although, in her above mentioned response Sarita, talks about 'progress and change in people's mind' but the response of Nandu and other Santali children, reflects predominant concerns of infrastructure and resources as indicators of change. On the other hand the non-tribal children of this age group were primarily concerned with the decline of societal values, thinking and progressiveness as indicators of change.
3.6.3. The Sources of Information about Past:

The responses of children in both the groups show that they have been informed about history/past from both, home as well as school. All the children in both the cultural group said that their information about past primarily comes from the school curriculum. It seemed that children come to know about past through school and through their elders as well. However, since, they receive formal knowledge about History in school that is the form which they more often report.

Most of the children in non-tribal group said that they are told about past by their parents and /or grand parents. They talked about ‘old days’ and talk about how things have changed.

For example, a non-tribal girl Nupur (13-14-year-old) said,

**Nupur:** No! Not much from home. We learn about past from school only.

**Researcher:** No body in the family tells about what happened in past?

**Nupur:** My grand father tells about past, But nothing much...he just tells how people used to live in earlier days.

The Santali children said that they learn most of the past from their history lessons.

Many of the Santali also said that people in their family talk about old times. But the Santali children also said that their parents advise them ‘not to take interest in such things’ or that ‘all of these is not true. Sanjay, a 12-year-old Santali boy said

**Sanjay:** We learn about history from school. We learn in History class.

**Researcher:** Does somebody at home tell you about the old stories?
Sanjay: My grand mother tells me that people were not so skilled. They did not know how to build houses...but all those are stories. My father says not to be much involve in such things.

It is obvious that both tribal and non-tribal children reflected that they come to about past from home and school. The tribal children however, reflected an aspect to it that their elders ask them not to pay much attention to such stories about past. Which the children have come to learn and they reflect that in their answers.