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Scope and Concerns

The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences provides a forum for discussion of disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to knowledge creation within and across the various social sciences and between the social and the natural and applied sciences.

The Disciplinary Work of the Social Sciences

Each of the sciences of the social is marked by its distinctive disciplinary modes—the thinking practices of Anthropology, Archaeology, Behavioural Sciences, Cognitive Science, Communications, Cultural Studies, Demography, Economics, Education, Geography, Humanities, Law, Management, Media, Politics, Policy Studies, Psychology, Social Welfare, Sociology, to name a some of the principal sciences of the social. The disciplinary variation is so broad that practitioners in some of these areas may not even consider their discipline a 'science', whilst in other disciplines there is a general consensus on the scientific character of their endeavour.

What is a discipline? Disciplines are fields of deep and detailed content knowledge, communities of professional practice, forms of discourse (of fine and precise semantic distinction and technicality), areas of work (types of organisation or divisions within organisations such as academic departments or research organisations), domains of publication and public communication, sites of common learning, shared experiences of apprenticeship into disciplinary community, methods of reading and analysing the world, ways of thinking or epistemic frames, even ways of acting and types of person. 'Discipline' delineates the boundaries of intellectual community, the distinctive practices and methodologies of particular areas of rigorous and concentrated intellectual effort, and the varying frames of reference used to interpret the world.

And what is a science? Some of the studies of the social habitually and comfortably call themselves 'sciences', but others do not. The English word 'science' derives from the Latin 'sciens', or knowing. Return to the expansiveness of this root, and studies of the human could lay equally legitimate claim to that word.

'Science' in this broadest of senses implies and intensity of focus and a concentration of intellectual energies greater than that of ordinary, everyday, commonsense or lay 'knowing'. It is more work and harder work. It relies on the ritualistic rigour and accumulated wisdoms of disciplinary practices.

These are some of the out-of-the-ordinary knowledge processes that might justify use of the word 'science', not only in the social sciences but also in the natural, physical, mathematical and applied sciences:

- Science has an experiential basis. This experience may be based direct personal
 intuition of the already-known, on interests integral to the lifeworld, on the richness of
 life fully lived. Or it might be experience gained when we move into new and
 potentially strange terrains, deploying the empirical processes of methodical
 observation or systematic experimentation.
- Science is conceptual. It has a categorical frame of reference based on higher levels of semantic precision and regularity than everyday discourse. On this foundation, it builds theories which model the world and develop explanatory paradigms.
- Science is analytical. It develops frames of reasoning and explanation: logic, inference, prediction, hypothesis, induction, deduction. And it sees the world through an always cautiously critical eye, interrogating the interests, motives and ethics that may motivate knowledge claims and subjecting epistemic assumptions to an ever-vigilant process of metacognitive reflection.
- Science is application-oriented. It may be pragmatic, designing and implementing

practical solutions within larger frames of reference and achieving technical and instrumental outcomes. Or it may be transformative—redesigning paradigms, social being and even the conditions of the natural world. What, after all, is the purpose of knowing other than to have an effect on the world, directly or indirectly?

Science can be any or all of these things. Some disciplines may prioritise some knowledge processes over others, and this may be the source of their strength as well as potential weakness. In any event, these are the kinds of things we do in order to know in the out-of-the-ordinary ways that deserve the name 'science'.

The Social Sciences Journal provides a space to discuss these varied disciplinary practices, and examine examples of these practices in action. In this respect, their concern is to define and exemplify disciplinarity. The Journal fosters conversations which range from the broad and speculative to the microcosmic and empirical.

The Interdisciplinary Work of the Social and Other Sciences

Interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary or multidisciplinary work crosses disciplinary boundaries. This may be for pragmatic reasons, in order to see and do things that can't be seen or done adequately within the substantive and methodological confines of a discipline. Broader views may prove to be more powerful than narrower ones, and even the more finely grained within-discipline views may prove all-the-more powerful when contextualised broadly. The deeper perspectives of the discipline may need to be balanced with and measured against the broader perspectives of interdisciplinarity.

Interdisciplinary approaches may also be applied for reasons of principle, to disrupt the habitual narrowness or outlook of within-discipline knowledge work, to challenge the ingrained, discipline-bound ways of thinking that produce occlusion as well as insight. If the knowable universe is a unity, discipline is a loss as well as a gain, and interdisciplinarity may in part recover that loss.

Interdisciplinary approaches also thrive in the interface of disciplinary and lay understandings. They are needed for the practical application of disciplined understandings to the actually existing world. Robust applied knowledge demands an interdisciplinary holism, the broad epistemological engagement that is required simply to be able to deal with the complex contingencies of a really-integrated universe.

The Social Sciences Journal is a space in which to discuss these varied interdisciplinary practices, and to showcase these practices in action across and between the social, natural and applied sciences.

Ways of Seeing, Ways of Thinking and Ways of Knowing

What are the distinctive modes of the social, natural and applied sciences? What are their similarities and differences?

In English (but not some other languages), 'science' suffers a peculiar semantic narrowing. It seems to apply more comfortably to the natural world, and only by analogy to some of the more systematic and empirically-based of the human sciences. It connotes a sometimes narrow kind of systematicity: the canons of empirical method; an often less-than reflective acceptance of received theoretical categories and paradigms; formal reasoning disengaged from human and natural consequences; technical control without adequate ethical reflection; the elision of means and ends; narrow functionalism, instrumentalism and techno-rationalism; a pragmatism without a broader view of consequences; and conservative risk aversion. These are some of the occupational hazards of activities that name themselves sciences—social, natural or applied. In

studying the social setting, however, it's not good enough just to have a rigorous empirical methodology without a critical eye to alternative interests and paradigmatic frames of reference, and without a view to the human-transformational potentials of knowledge work.

On the other hand, humanistic methodologies often take charge of the social, distancing themselves from the perceived narrownesses of scientific method. This move, however, may at times leave science stranded, separated from its social origins and ends. The natural and technological sciences are themselves more subject to contestation around axes of human interest than the narrow understanding of science seems to be able to comprehend. Whether it be bioethics, or climate change, or the debates around Darwinism and Intelligent Design, or the semantics of computer systems, questions of politics and ideology are bound closely to the ostensible evidence. Faux empiricism is less than adequate to the address the more important questions, even in the natural and technological sciences. Science is found lacking when it is disengaged from the humanistic.

The humanistic, however, has its own occupational hazards: disengaged critique and supercilious inaction without design responsibility; political confrontation without systematic empirical foundation; ideological fractiousness without apparent need for compromise; the agnostic relativism of lived experience and identity-driven voice; voluntarism that leads to a naive lack of pragmatism and failure in application.

A reconstructive view of the social, natural and applied sciences would be holistic, attempting always to avoid the occlusions of narrow methodological approaches. It would also be ambitious, intellectually and practically.

In this context, the Social Sciences Journal pursues two aspirations, two openings. The first is an intellectual opening, founded on an agenda designed to strengthen the theories, the research methodologies, the epistemologies and the practices of teaching and learning about the social world and the relation of the social to the natural world. The second opening is pragmatic and inventive. All intellectual work is an act of imagination. At its best, it is ambitious, risky and transformative. If the natural sciences can have human ambitions as big as those of the medical sciences—the fight against MS or cancer or Alzheimer's, for instance—then the social sciences can have ambitions as large as to settle the relation of humans to the natural environment, the material conditions of human equality and the character of the future person.

The Social Sciences Community

This knowledge community is brought together by a shared interest in interdisciplinary practices across the social sciences, and between the social sciences and the natural sciences, applied sciences and professions. The community interacts through an innovative, annual face-to-face conference, as well as year-round virtual relationships ins a weblog, peer reviewed journal and book imprint – exploring the affordances of the new digital media. Members of this knowledge community include academics, educators, policy makers, public administrators, research practitioners and research students.

Conference

Members of the Social Sciences Community meet the International Conference on Interdisciplinary Social Sciences, held annually in different locations around the world. The Conference was held at University of New Orleans, New Orleans, USA in 2011; University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK in 2010; University of Athens, Athens, Greece in 2009; Monash University Centre, Prato, Tuscany, Italy in 2008; University of Granada, Granada, Spain in 2007; and University of the Aegean, on the Island of Rhodes, Greece in 2006. In 2012, the Conference will be at Universidad Abat Oliba CEU, Barcelona, Spain.

Our community members and first time attendees come from all corners of the globe. The Conference is a site of critical reflection, both by leaders in the field and emerging scholars. It examines the nature of disciplinary practices, and the interdisciplinary practices that arise in the context of 'real world' applications. The Conference also interrogates what constitutes 'science' in a social context, and the connections between the social and other sciences. Those unable to attend the conference can opt for virtual participation in which community members may either submit a video and/or slide presentation with voiceover, or simply submit a paper for peer review and possible publication in the Journal.

Online presentations can be viewed on YouTube.

Publishing

The Social Sciences Community enables members to publish through three media. First, by participating in the Social Sciences Conference, community members can enter a world of journal publication unlike the traditional academic publishing forums – a result of the responsive, non-hierarchical and constructive nature of the peer review process. *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* provides a framework for double-blind peer review, enabling authors to publish into an academic journal of the highest standard.

The second publication medium is through a book series The Social Sciences, publishing cutting edge books in print and electronic formats. Publication proposals and manuscript submissions are welcome.

Our third major publishing medium is our news blog, constantly publishing short news updates from the Social Sciences community, as well as major developments in the social sciences. You can also join this conversation at Facebook and Twitter or subscribe to our email Newsletter.

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Family Histories and Identites of Integration: The Use of Family Concept in History Classroom in Spanish Kindergarten and Elementary School*

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Abstract: The forging of identities is a complex process that envelops personal, social and cultural identities. This paper looks at the role that education, especially History, plays in identities and how the use of the family concept, by working with family histories in the classroom, could help to engender more tolerant and respectful identities, in plural, in our current multicultural societies. However, this useful educational tool (family) is not used to full advantage in the Spanish curricula in Elementary School, and especially in Kindergarten, although it is a versatile concept that is close to the children's reality. On the contrary, the teaching on the family at school depicts a standard, unreal model that is far removed from today's dynamic and plural societies.

Keywords: Family, Identity, Spanish Curriculum, Elementary Education, Kindergarten

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Introduction

N BARELY A generation Spain has changed from being a country of emigrants to a host country for immigrants, like neighbouring EU countries, but with the difference that Spain has witnessed an increase in immigration in the last ten years. In 2010, 12.2% of the population, or more than five and a half million people, had been born outside the country, compared to the mid-1990s, when the figure stood at 2.5% of the total population (Cebrián *et al*, 2010). In terms of schooling, one of every ten students at all levels of compulsory education comes from immigrant families, with their different cultures, e.g. Rumanian, Moroccan, Ecuadorian. The need to encourage a school that integrates all students, regardless of geographical, religious or sexual background is no easy challenge for a country with little experience in matters of immigration and a recent past marked by a dictatorship that imposed the concept of a single identity. Yet thirty years of democracy have had some effect, and today it can be claimed that Spain is a plural country that, as occurs in the rest of Europe, is facing up to the need to assume an identity in which its citizens accept integration as something that is inherent to modern citizenship, an identity which can weather a crisis without fostering xenophobia or exclusion.

This paper is concerned with the underpinning of family as an educative resource and, mainly the use of family histories. So, this paper seeks to show how when history is taught with the assistance of resources provided by the family, such as the use of genealogies and family histories, it may be of help in Kindergarten and Elementary Education to forge tolerant and open-mind attitudes. This is particularly true in the following: first, in converting history into knowledge that relates closely to the student and that shows that we truly are the result of the changes in the past and, therefore, have the option and the need to continue to make changes. That is to say, the understanding of the nature of historical change (Barton, 2001); and second, that precisely because of these constant family adaptations and migrations in our own personal histories, we should distant ourselves from the idea of any univocal, timeless identity, i.e. any imposed national essence. Yet the use of the concept of family, like history, can generate (exclusive) stereotype images or may reveal change and (inclusive) social adaptation. Family is a unique context, as Scabini and Manzi (2011) say, that influences the contents and processes of identity. Early learning inside the family environment conditions how children see their own way of living and how interact with other people. And these processes are fulfilled in different types of families. That is to say, the structure of any family is less important than the fact of building a secure and stable context in order to guarantee the children development. So the explanation of these family histories must begin by teaching and working on what is understood by family, and it must be assumed the existence of different types of families because if not the teaching of the family concept at school might generate the opposite effect: acculturation instead of accepting diversity.

The issues developed in this paper are fully connected with perspectives and research lines that pay attention to the forge of identities. So, history has played a crucial role in creating images of the community that favour integration, since its role in national identity is common knowledge (Anderson, 1983; Smith, 2003). On the other hand, different organisations with common goals about valuing diversity in early childhood education and training are working together in an European project named DECET (Diversity in Early Childhood Education and Training)¹ which pursuits the promotion and study of democratic child care by acknowledging the multiple identities of children and families, even more necessaries in a global World (Jensen, Arnett and McKenzie, 2011). The classroom activities carried out in countries like UK (North Ireland) (Barton, 2001), or France (Lorcerie, 2001; Falaize, 2008) allow us the understanding of how household items and family histories support the learning of history by emphasizing similarities and differences between the past and nowadays, or the positive aspects of teaching the immigration and its history in early periods of the education system. From this context, we focus on the Spanish educational policies in order to show weaknesses and potentials to create identities of integration.

Spanish educational policies have not been alien to the study of the family at the primary level, but aware that this social institution is an essential pivot for the individual in finding a framework of reference within a global, multicultural world, as is today's. The family is understood as the first identifying factor and transmitter of many others. Children learn moral values and social conventions through a process of socialization, much of which involves parenting (Grusec, 2011). And it is important to teach what parenting means and the possibilities that it comprehends. As such, an aim of this study is also how the image extracted from the teaching on the family in Kindergarten and Elementary Education in Spain can be

¹ http://www.decet.org/en/partners.html

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used for the transmission of identity values, but, as occurs in history classes, the value given to the family is mainly a standard model that reinforces an identity associated with cultural values. The result is a way of understanding social organization and individuals' relations which does not exactly favour the incorporation of other types of family models. It is a model of social organization born from emphasizing clearly marked identity values: middle class capitalist, Caucasian and nuclear, hinging on values that are set in the traditional family roles. Yet the long history of emigration in Spain together with the emigration it is currently receiving could serve to illustrate the plural reality of the country and help to forge true integrating and tolerant identities.

Methodology

Our starting point is an analysis of the current educational law in Spain with the idea of establishing how the concept of family is broached and what it implies in the sphere of Spanish education. We analyze the curricula in force and the shortcomings that can be detected in these. Besides the legal framework, we have tried to access the reality of the teaching in classrooms of contents related to the family in terms of social sciences (in the main, Geography and History), through analyzing textbooks, which have been the backbone of syllabuses, so establishing both the contents to be dealt with and the timing of these (Souto, 2002). We have based our work on research published in The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences (Miralles and Alfageme, 2010) that analyzes eighteen textbooks of Early Childhood Education (students of 3 to 5 years). The pedagogical approach to family concept was observed through both contents and pictures. The textbooks considered were from Edebé, Everest, Santillana, SM, Algaida (Anaya) and Edelvives, the most widespread publishers in Spain, as Gimeno notes (2000, pp. 29-30). The books were published from 1996 to 2004 and are widely used by the teachers consulted in the research. A questionnaire, which was validated by a workgroup, and that allowed coherent criteria was designed to analyze the textbooks' didactic content and their illustrations. The questionnaire covers: a) technical data, namely: publisher, educational level, authors, year and place of publication. One issue that has been especially considered is whether there are specific teaching units on the family or not. It has also been checked whether family contents appear in other units; b) curricular items: didactic objectives, contents, methodology and evaluation, and c) information about the family pictures, by taking into account those that have at least an adult and a child in a context of family relationships. Images have been classified between those that refer to objectives and contents and those which are merely used as an illustration without any pedagogical purpose. Besides, two large types of contents have been considered: formal and conceptual ones. Among the first are information about numbers and types of images (pictures, drawings, colors...), size of the familiar picture, real or childish representation, etc. Regarding conceptual aspects, attention has been paid to family representation, that is to say, if the approach assigns stereotypes to gender, ethnic condition, etc. or by contrast, there are family pictures with no preconceived roles.

We have also focused the analysis on those textbooks from the most widely used publishers in Elementary Education (Anaya, Santillana and Vicens Vives), and from the two cycles in which the family is present as content in its own right, i.e. in the textbooks for the first four years of this stage. Alongside these we have, for purposes of illustration, included examples from other publishers in order to have some random counterpoint that might provide a wider

and richer vision. In short, a further 16 textbooks are scrutinized. The idea, as mentioned, was not so much to perform a detailed, systematic analysis of the presence of genealogies in the textbooks (and hence in the classroom) but to get an overview of this and so be in a position to make an initial "diagnosis" of the use being made of this resource.

Finally, for our proposal of the value of family history in creating an integrating identity we have used quantitative demographic data from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (National Office of Statistics) on the last housing census published in 2001 and from the projected data from the 2011 census. The work is completed with specialized bibliography on Spanish emigration during the latter half of the twentieth century. Our starting point is that many Spanish homes have an enormous potential thanks to the migratory tradition of Spanish families, both at the domestic and the international level. A large part of this population which experienced these movements directly or through immediate and close family are still alive, so today's Kindergarten and Elementary School pupils still have access to this information through easily accessible, significant family interviews.

Empirical Findings

The Family Concept in the Spanish Education Policies

As mentioned, social sciences, and in particular Geography and History, focus at all levels of education on helping to achieve social and citizenship competence, i.e. on understanding the social reality and helping to live together in democratic and tolerant citizenship (Spanish Decree 1631/2006). Indeed, Geography and History are not technically taught as subjects apart but are immersed in the area of knowledge known, precisely, as "Conocimiento del medio natural, social y cultural" (Knowledge of Natural, Social and Cultural Environment), which is heavily dominated by Geography and History since, as the law states, it is a basic requirement that students know the historical and social reality, with the emphasis on its evolution, achievements and problems. In other words, importance must be given to the changes and lasting aspects of a society that help to explain how it has reached its current state. While at Secondary level the subject contents make a lot of sense, at Elementary and Kindergarten levels there should be more weight on the socialization of the pupils (Cuenca, 2008), which means that Geography and History are subjects where the effort should be clearly on transmitting values, attitudes and ways of proceeding or, as the Kindergarten Education law envisages, on "basic norms for coexistence and social relations" (Real Decreto 1630/2006), which at Elementary level becomes the "acquisition of basic cultural skills and the development of social skills" (Real Decreto 1513/2006). This is a complex aim that in reality stems from such a basic issue as showing the pupil who he or she is and what elements make up the society in which the pupil will have to move. This need to show pupils "their self and its circumstances" is why attention is placed in the three experimentation areas of the Kindergarten stage (Knowledge of oneself and personal autonomy; Knowledge of the Environment and Languages: communication and representation), on the formation of one's own personal and cultural identity and respect for differences. Something similar holds true in the later, Elementary stage, with its gradual building of identities and the recognition and respect for "the other". This too becomes an element with an important presence, albeit in this case restricted to three areas of knowledge: Citizenship and Human Rights; Knowledge of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment, and to a lesser extent, Foreign Language.

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In the first of these, its characterization-justification indicates that one of the specific aims is to work on aspects like "one's own identity and that of the other, learning to listen, turntaking, sharing and caring for materials, expressing oneself alone or with others, relating to peers and to adults". One of the content blocks taught here, *Community Life*, "...deals with coexistence in relationships with the environment, the that form the basis of democratic societies (respect, tolerance, solidarity, justice, equality, mutual aid, cooperation and culture of peace), with how to tackle coexistence and conflicts in membership groups (family, school, friends, locality) and with the exercising of the rights and duties that correspond to each individual within these groups, identifying diversity, rejecting discrimination and valuing participation and its channels".

While not going into the issue of whether it is necessary to go from the particular to the general when creating identities, a question that lies beyond the scope of this article and one which has already been debated by Nadal (2000), the curriculum does follow the route from the individual towards the social, from the actual pupil, as a body, towards more abstract and impersonal notions of culture or living in society. It is a journey involving one element that, on account of its notable presence in both media (the pupil's individual one and that of society) and because of its importance as an educating agent in the early stages, stands out as being a key in the creation of identities. That element is the family. Indeed, the importance of the family as an institution of influence from the perspective of transmission of basic knowledge (habits, skills, norms for living together: Gimeno, 2006), is something that been fully taken on board, accepted and recognised by society as a whole. Proof of this for Spain (and for other nearby countries: Cuenca, 2008) is that in the second cycle of Kindergarten and Elementary Schools' curricula the family is given capital importance as a first order educating agent, almost on a par with the school².

It is the responsibility of the family, insofar as it is a key element of children's environment (Elzo, 2007), to collaborate in the pupil's socialization and this entails, amongst other tasks, to show the pupil who he or she is and in what social framework his or her life is unfolding (Zabalza, 1987). But at the same time, the family, the family origins, constitute an elemental part of this identity, making it both "judge and jury" in any identity creation-formation process. Thus, if we aim to ascertain how this identity creation is broached among pupils in the early stages of education, we must perforce look at the use made of the family concept. This will show that there is a clear imbalance between the importance given to the family as an educating agent and how it is treated as an element to be studied within the sphere of Social Sciences. This disparity is all the more apparent at Kindergarten level, where it is supposed that the value of the family is given even more weight, theoretically.

Moreover, if we focus on the treatment given to the family as a valid, necessary element for forming identities amongst the pupils of the early learning stages, then we observe a still greater disparity between the use made of it at Kindergarten level and at Elementary. While in the latter the family is used as a tool to initiate the pupils in the creation of integrating identities and in the knowledge and respect for otherness (as well as teaching them the concept of historical time), it seems suitable at Kindergarten level, where the family theoretically has more weight and importance as an educating agent, that it is scarcely, and not

² Our analysis will focus on the ministerial curricula decrees, obviating any differences that may exist between autonomous communities. A partial analysis of the autonomic legislation can be found in Alfageme, Miralles and Molina (2009).

particularly well, used. It is a reduced use of the family concept, which cannot be justified at all on the grounds of the child's maturity or other like arguments. Incomprehensibly, the family as a starting element for dealing with the creation of identities (given that it is the pupils' first identifying factor) seems to get "forgotten" at this stage, nor is it used as a tool to show pupils values like the respect for difference. It all seems rather startling to say the least.

The first issue that stands out when analysing both curricula is that the "responsibility" for dealing with the family concept falls mainly, although not exclusively, in two areas of knowledge and experience related to the teaching of Social Sciences – Knowledge of the Environment in Kindergarten and Knowledge of the Natural, Social and Cultural Environment in Elementary. Indeed, in the second cycle of the curriculum of the former, there is no reference to family related aspects in either of the two compulsory areas – Knowledge of oneself and personal autonomy and Languages: Communication and representation. As regards the Elementary curriculum, the only area of knowledge in which the "family" concept appears as content or teaching material is Citizenship and human rights (very similar to what occurs with identity references).

We begin by analysing the curriculum for the second cycle of Kindergarten education. The first direct reference to the family as study material (i.e. not as an educational agent) appears under the general aims, specifically, aim number two, where it is indicated that there should be observation of the child's immediate environment, starting with the family. The next mention of the family is to be found in the third block contents of *Knowledge of the Environment*, entitled "Culture and living in society", which envisages the study of the family as social group of membership and as a key institution in life in society, i.e. as a socializing element of the pupil. This approach, with its emphasis on the importance of the family as a socializing agent, as a part of the child's socio-cultural environment, is again present when the family is mentioned for a third time in the curriculum, as study material, in the third assessment criterion under *Knowledge of the Environment*. It is indicated here that pupils should be able to identify and know about the most important social groups of their environment, which obviously include the family, and value their importance.

Thus, from the indications of the curriculum, the use and treatment made of the family concept in the education of children from three to five years is not particularly broad nor, necessarily, diverse. In contrast with the importance bestowed on it as an educational agent, when envisaged as an element of study its use reduced and focused on the family's "socializing" facet, although, as we shall see, from a very narrow perspective, too.

The family is not a difficulty or a phenomenon of complicated accessibility, but rather an accumulation of educational opportunities (González and Muñoz, 2006), which include diversity, the different family types, family histories with their migratory movements. All of these suppose a truly educational value to be made use of and, therefore, one that should necessarily be in the curriculum. In this regard, the family is used for equality between sexes, but not so much to show the diversity of the family. Indeed, rarely is this dealt with directly and when it does appear, it is treated as a secondary issue. It is not a problem of the teachers of these two stages—the minimal presence of such an important issue is clearly apparent from the treatment it receives in the textbooks (Miralles, Delgado and Caballero, 2008; Miralles and Martín, 2008; Alfageme, Miralles and Molina, 2009).

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The Family Concept in Textbooks. One Approach to Acculturation

For this section we simply gather some of the data from a previous piece of research published in this journal by Miralles and Alfageme (2010). We have included a further 16 books from six publishers in our treatment of the use of genealogy in Elementary Education.

After analyzing the textbooks for the use they make of the family, the conclusions were as follows. In the first place, there was a cold description of the family environment with no in-depth treatment of values. The curricular materials analyzed did not help much because they did not sufficiently depict the current family reality and human relationships. Moreover, it was surprising that almost 20% of the publications continue to portray a conservative vision of the family with clearly defined social roles of men and women. The family model represented has a stereotype look and belongs to Western middle-class. 69.2% represent current families, 21% have a stereotype appearance, and only in 8.6% of cases is it from other epochs, with frequent depictions of the Holy Family. As stated, when focusing on objects and material goods, 90.4% is middle-class, in a few cases families seem to be lower-class, and just once is an upper-class family depicted. The Western European cultural model is represented in 98% of the images; a South American family appears once, as does a Sub-Saharan African family. Regarding disabled people, they are present in 7.1% of the family pictures, which is the only figure that is really in accordance with the actual Spanish context. In other words, the choice of illustrations should follow ethical standards, with much more attention to the transmission of values and contents (conceptual and attitudinal) in a clear didactic way. Because of the importance of the family, textbooks intended for Kindergartens should devote a specific teaching unit to this, which publishers do not always do.

As regards the use of genealogy in Elementary Education, we have seen that this is scarce indeed. Only in five of the sixteen books are family trees used (see Chart 1). But of greater importance than its assiduity is the use to which genealogy is put when dealing with the two big subject matters which at Elementary level are directly related to the concept of the family–educating future citizens in certain values and an initiation of pupils in historical knowledge and understanding. The problem is not only the scarcity, but also that no really good use is made of what is there. Very rarely is it used to show anything more than the main family relationships.

Chart 1: Genalogical Representations in Primary School Textbooks

Book	Teaching Unit (Pages.)	Page and Use Made of the Resource		
Anaya 1 st year	6. The Family (58-69)	61: "Read and learn". An illustration of a family tree spanning three generations: grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts and grandchildren.		
Edebé 1 st year	4. The House and the Family (34-41)	38: "Who lives in the house?" Representation of a family tree: grandparents, parents and grandchildren.		
Santillana 1 st year	5. Family and Friends (42-47)	44. "Write the names of your family". Pupils write the names of their close family: father, mother, grandfathers, grandmothers (basic genealogical reconstruction)		
Vicens Vives 1 st year	4. The Family (36-51)	40. "Complete Daniel's family". A three-generation family tree (grandparents, uncles, aunts, parents, grandchildren) with photographs and spaces to fill in the names.		
Bruño. 3 rd year	14. Your History (208-221)	210. "The Family Tree". A text explains a girl's family relations and why she has made a three-generation family tree. Explanation of what a family tree is.		
Source: own elaboration				

The family trees, family reconstructions, photographs and illustrations of family scenes or portrayals mainly reflect the traditional family structure: a man and a woman, their children and, frequently, the previous generation (the grandparents). Little concession is made towards "new" family types: there is no place for homosexual or mixed race couples, nor for "blended families" (where children from different relationships live together), and only on few occasions are single-parent families and international adoption portrayed (Chart 2). While it can be stated that there has been some progress in textbooks in terms of educating for the equality of the sexes, the same does not old for the diversity of families that exists. The ethnic plurality that exists in Spain does not appear in school textbooks.

Chart 2: Genealogical Activities that Show Family Diversity

Publisher	Year/Teaching Unit	Activities Based Exclusively on the Traditional Family	Activities Dealing with the Diverse Nature of the Family	
Anaya	1 st : The Family	4	0	
Santillana	1 st : Family and Friends	2	1	
V. Vives	1 st : The Family	2	2	
Edebé	1 st : The House and the Family	1	1	
Santillana	2 nd : Living together	0	2	
Anaya	3 rd : Living in a community	1	2	
Bruño	3 rd : Your history	2	0	
Source: own eleaboration				

This scant interest in showing any diversity of family typography is again apparent when we analyze the teaching proposals focusing on the family theme or on the educational experiences carried out therein. In general, the emphasis is placed on education in equality of the sexes, and hardly ever on today's diverse nature of the family. One example is the interesting teaching idea given by Rosa Fierro for Kindergarten School pupils in a relatively recent publication (Fierro, 2002). Although there are references to the different family types in the list of contents, the actual activities emphasise the sharing of household jobs, the tasks performed by the parents and the children's collaboration in these. A similar example is the experience in Malaga (Spain) developed by María Carvajal for the same age group. It clearly shows the various elements that make up the young child's environment (the pupils have to "reconstruct" and show their classmates, their affective world, their personal history and immediate family and social environment), but again it fails to include this important facet of diversity (Carvajal, 2007). All this, despite there being no question that the family and genealogy have so much to offer in the education in values and so much to teach pupils in terms of the options of Spanish society, which is far from being closed and homogeneous.

Emigration in Indigenous Spanish Families

So far the overview does not appear to favour using the family as a tool to instil values of integration and tolerance, but there are many life stories within Spanish society that could be used to transmit empathy with the need for acceptance and integration. Long before Spain became a destination for populations, Spaniards had been prey to those circumstances which force people to leave their homes and go in search of a future, with the fear of the rejection that the outsider can suffer. While not going into detail about the long migratory tradition of the Iberian peoples, we focus here on the migratory movements of indigenous Iberian families between 1950 and 1973 (Nadal, 1984). The two dates are significant for various aspects. In the first place, because the mid 1900s saw the Franco dictatorship provoke a hefty exodus of political exiles who, fleeing the fascist regime and the poverty that beset Spain,

opted to emigrate in the main to other European countries that were engaged in rebuilding after the Second World War. Germany, France and Switzerland received over one million Spaniards, while almost half a million others headed for the traditional Latin American destinations of Venezuela, Mexico, Uruguay or Chile. The worldwide economic crisis of the 1970s and the consolidation of democracy in Spain the following decade saw not only a fall in the number of emigrants but even the return of the political exiles of the Franco regime.

A second issue is that today nine million Spaniards live outside the province of their birth. This figure, together with an immigrant population of 12.2 %, means that more than a third of the population has moved away from its place of origin. Domestic movements were from rural to urban areas in the 1960s and 70s (Cámara Izquierdo, 2009). This led to provinces with high levels of industrial activity and services like Madrid, Barcelona or Biscay having positive migration balances, as opposed to eminently rural provinces like Castile-La Mancha, Castile and Leon, Extremadura, Andalusia or Aragon, which saw their populations decrease. What is of interest here for our study is that provinces like Biscay and Barcelona are characterised by high nationalistic, separatist feelings, compared to the rest of Spain, which date from the end of the nineteenth century. During the 1960s and 70s these areas witnessed the arrival of large numbers of people from inland Spain in search of work. As occurred with the emigration abroad, the 1970s economic crisis meant that as of 1973 the migratory movements began to stabilise. This led to immigrant quarters in Basque and Catalan cities, as well as the appearance of discriminating terms to refer to the inland immigrants, such as charnegos (literally a cross bred hunting dog) in Catalonia or maketos (literally dumb/stupid) in the Basque Country (Marín i Corbera, 2006; Pérez, 2000).

Thirdly, a large part of the population that directly or through close family experienced emigration are aged between 65 and 90, which accounts for 18% of the population in Spain (National Office of Statistics, 2011). However, the traditional Mediterranean family structure, where older members of the family have been looked after in the home, has declined in the last decades, to the extent that only 4.2% of homes house three generations (National Office of Statistics, 2004). While pupils today are not in daily contact with their grandparents, the weekend and holiday visits to the family mean that contact with older family members are easy. After all, 38% of Spanish houses are occupied by a person of over 65. This supposes a very good opportunity to delve into family histories that might shed light on stories of migrations, uprootings, struggles and integration.

Perspectives of Family Uses as Teaching Tools

There are examples in Spain of innovation projects in which the aim of the pupils' work and experimentation aim is to show the huge diversity of family situations among the pupils themselves. Nevertheless, these are today a minority compared to the many other works in which the family is held up to show values like solidarity or equality, but rarely diversity. There is a predominant idea to promote gender equality but always from the standpoint of the modern, Western, nuclear family. The examples abound: Escudero (2008) does not use the family for education in values and citizenship. While the study does treat intercultural education, equality between men and women and sexuality, none of the 80 activities it describes focuses on the analysis of the family or family models other than the traditional one.

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Perhaps, though, the most significant example appears in the activity proposed by Kloppe and Elena (2002: 37) for working with the family concept with children of 5 and 6:

"Using hoops and chalk, we draw a family tree on the ground. At level one, we will put four hoops, one for each grandparent; then two more, the father and the mother; then at the third level the same number of hoops as there are children. The idea is to dramatize the small history of any. "One day a man and a woman met and fell in love with each other. Not very far away another man and another woman did the same. They formed two families. After a while the first couple had a son and the second couple had a daughter. The children grew up. The boy became a man and the girl became a woman. One day out walking they met and fell in love. They formed a family themselves and became father and mother. Years later, when they were older, they became grandparents."

Leaving aside the possible ideological explanations, there is the possibility that this neglect of tolerance towards different types of families from our own is due to the fact that it is a relatively new phenomenon (divorce, recognition of homosexual marriages, immigration...). In countries where family diversity is more established (especially in the Anglo Saxon world), the references to different family types and the use of these in the classroom for educating in values like diversity and multiculturalism, are common: two clear examples are Lucy and Mark O'Hara (2001) for Britain and Margaret Ferguson (1999) for North America (a really interesting case for us since it describes an experiment in a classroom where cultural diversity is the norm).

Although the family disappears as priority study matter in the third cycle of Elementary Education in the Spanish curriculum, it is far more present than and used much more diversely than in the previous stage, so it can be used to foster values that can be gleaned from family histories. Genealogy is a tool that can be used to introduce the concept of historical time – insofar as different generations are represented - and also to inculcate values related to diversity and multiculturalism, since it provides a clear, graphic representation of the different types of family that exist and the constant migration of people. (In fact, in the second cycle of Elementary Education, the fourth content block includes "family structures"). With regard to historical time, from a look at the classroom experiments published in specialist journals it seems that both personal history (AAVV, 1989; Rodríguez Suárez, 1997; Mérida, 1999) and family history (Sala, 1976; Grupo Aula Oscura, 1997) are widely used resources for teaching pupils the passing of time and for initiating them in work methods pertaining to History. However at the Kindergarten stage there is a lot more importance given to personal history (which is also used more frequently), where family related aspects are not always included, than to family history. In fact, one tool that is directly related to family history – genealogy – is rarely to be found in these publications. A good example of this is that in the numerous teaching proposals that Adams (1997) offers, genealogy, simple family trees, are nowhere to be seen in the activities. It seems needless to say that to omit these types of elements when forging identities is to forego one of the main teaching uses to which the family

As regards multiculturalism, family histories can be used to show the needs of an integrating society by highlighting the real migration experiences that Spanish families have gone through. Activities can be used that go beyond the mere identification of relations and that

seek to use that contents of social sciences like demography, social organization and ethnography to show the plurality and variety that the history of the country harbours. Research activities aimed at gleaning information from members of the family could help to teach how family organization (number of children, gender roles ...) responds to the conditions at a particular time, and in a particular place; the steps taken by generations to attempt to solve the problems created by their circumstances: the migrations of families in their search for personal betterment; the problems they faced when emigrating and how they responded to be able to cope with the problems of uprooting the family; how they maintained their own customs within the family in order to remember their roots and how they merged into the new societies that received them; those elements that made emigration preferable to remaining in one's homeland, which, in the final analysis, may provide the keys to the elements that give a sense of belonging in the new community. As we have said, Spain has the advantage of being a country in which the survival of traditional family structures enables pupils to have access to their grandparents and uncles and aunts (the large family) and therefore, a guaranteed contact with histories of migration, given the huge migratory movements that Spain experienced during the second half of the twentieth century both domestically (from the country to the towns) and internationally (emigration mainly to France, Germany, Algeria, Argentina, Mexico, Cuba). The family history, and not just the child's own history, has the potential to be used as a tremendous tool in making History meaningful, as well as useful in achieving social and citizenship skills that focus on forging integration identities.

Conclusions

Integration in schools through acculturation, through the renouncement of personal or group identities for a homogeneous culture or identity inevitably fosters exclusion and social conflict, which are inevitable in a world or permeable frontiers and global communications. General identities need to be favoured within under more flexible, tolerant and integrating conditions since if a large part of the population feels that it is not reflected in the pubic institutions or in the discourses these generate – educational policies that promote obsolete national biographical – then they will reject the society in which, by accident or design, they are members of. Traditionally, History lessons have been used to create a univocal national awareness through national icons, models of behaviour and forms of social organization that have lasted over time. The result today is that many students today have no identification with the images of the past so often presented to them; the contents have no focus for solving the problems of the world they are living in. It is a simple matter, then, for there to be a rejection or indifference towards the subject matter.

Continuing to teach History through such channels may be what has caused the considerable loss of prestige to its teaching, since it can appear pointless to acquire historical knowledge that has no bearing on the changing nature of countries. This phenomenon is not peculiar to Spain, but something that is perceived the world over. The response of some countries to improve the teaching of social sciences – in the main Geography and History – has been to educate towards a historical awareness and thought based on forming critical thought which, in turn, can explain where the individual stands in life, why he or she forms part of a certain group and, if possible, improve the current situation. Our idea consists of making better use of the family and family histories as resources for History classes because, as we have said, this offers a wealth of possibilities for enquiring which allow the pupil to perceive, for ex-

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ample by creating a family tree and by working with the cultural material passed down in their own homes, how historical knowledge can be generated. This will teach not only a definition of the concepts but where and how to obtain information. It can be defended that History serves to satisfy both the educational needs of children and adolescents and how these can be apprehended (Prats, 2001). Furthermore, and what is truly noteworthy in responding to our global world, the sharing of family histories by the pupils can provide insights into the constants and dissonances that lead to an understanding of how society has come to be as it is and its capacity to accept integration. Using these exercises as bioepics we can help to generate those integrating identities of History in which pupils can participate in both understanding how historical knowledge is generated from sources (and therefore with a certain degree of subjectivity, depending on how and to whom questions are asked) and that these sources constantly speak to us of adaptation and the need to accept on the part of a community. Family histories, genealogies, can be useful tools to show this plurality, especially so given the very characteristics and history of the Spanish people (family structure, history of migrations ...). Yet for all that to make sense, we cannot typify a single family model and hold it up, as is being done in Spain today. Teaching a univocal family model brings with it acculturation, the imposition of a model for coexistence which has little to do with a complex, plural society faced with the problems that arise from a multiculturalism that is galloping along faster and faster. Moreover, the desire to educate in tolerant values, using participative and personal tasks for the pupil cannot be left to secondary and tertiary education. They can, and must, begin at the outset, in Infant and Primary Education.

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