Using a Thematic Teaching Approach Based on Pupil's Skill and Interest in Social Studies Teaching

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Abstract *This study investigates how social studies teachers can introduce pupil-centred activities into crowded classroom settings. This study, using qualitative research techniques, was undertaken in Social Studies and History Teacher Training Programs of Atatürk Faculty of Education at Marmara University, (1999-2002) and Istanbul Kartal Gürbüz Bora Elementary School (1998-2002). Research participants were prospective social studies and history teachers and an experienced social studies teacher from the institutions named above. The research is based on how pupils can use their enthusiasms, interests and skills in learning social studies subjects and history. In terms of orientation the study mirrors for pupils American findings that suggests that the prior knowledge and expertise of teachers in relation to their academic and professional backgrounds can have a profound influence upon their teaching styles. This study is about the use of a thematic teaching technique based on students' skills, its practice and advantages.*

Key words Curriculum, Educational policy, History, Pedagogy, Social Studies, Teaching techniques, Thematic teaching

Introduction

To develop new theoretically based innovative teaching approaches based on different teaching methods and techniques or to represent an existing one, such as multiple-intelligence theory, raises problems about putting theory into practice.

Traditionally, in a thematic, inegrated teaching approach based on Bruner's spiral curriculum concept, the task is practised concurrently by selecting appropriate content from the subject based curriculum (Proctor, Entwistle, Judge and McKenzie-Murdoch, 1995:61-69). Integration is generally used in a single class teacher system where usually the teacher teaches all curriculum subjects. This research introduces an approach whereby social studies or history courses can be planned for single subject thematic teaching. It is based on co-operative learning by using pupils' interests and skills without depending on other areas of the curriculum or other subject teachers' co-operation. It allows pupils to show their interests and use their skills. So, while the teacher fulfils educational requirements of the subject based curriculum, she/he also extends her/his teaching practice into interdisciplinary curriculum approach (see Erickson, 1995) by providing an effective co-operative learning environment in which pupils may use their skills which are developed in other areas of the curriculum.

It is thought that pupils' psychomotor, affective and cognitive skills can be improved through thematic teaching approach. According to this approach it is assumed that although students do not have all skills in relation to these domains, they can show interest and use some specific abilities to learn social studies.

Although educators rapidly assimilated Gardner's multiple intelligence theory there are problems about its practice[291] (see Armstrong 1994). Applicability of multiple intelligence depends upon detailed planning, rich teaching materials and teacher's difficulties in grouping pupils and

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[291]

activities according to perceived different intelligence which are actually not suitable for most classroom settings (activities for multiple intelligence see Bümen 2002). The approach introduced in this research enables mastery in learning by using pupils' different skills, aptitudes and interests to devise learning tasks that can motivate all pupils in classes of forty to fifty students. This approach is inclusive, engaging students who are classified as low-achievers as well as those of average and high ability.

The ideas about the applicability of the approach were discussed with colleagues and positive outcomes were also obtained from an experimental research undertaken by Yanpar-Sahin (2001) which was based on a constructivist approach and the approach was partly used in students' material making. As Vygotsky (1962) pointed out children who have different skills, learn from each other. So that while students learn by using their abilities in social studies, they also share their learning experiences with each other through group-work and its presentation. Groups' presentations provide opportunities to understand the task from different point of views. This is to say "mastery learning" can be realised by the approach. Yet Bloom (1998:5) says that if the kind and quality of teaching and the time for learning are suitable for the needs of students, then most of them will achieve the mastery learning in the task.

The research design & methodology: practising the approach/method used in the research

The problem the curriculum research and development faced was how to use cooperative learning to engage pupils on the same task who have different interests and skills in social studies.

This was a two step research study. First, the researcher developed and implemented the approach in the "Teaching Methods" course in the Social Studies Teacher Training Program of Atatürk Faculty of Education at Marmara University. History, geography and citizenship courses in elementary curriculum were selected and the prospective teachers were asked to act in role as pupils. The approach shared many features of the demonstration-modelling-implementation cycle of cognitive apprenticeship. Then these student teachers were grouped according to their skills related to art, music, text-research, drama, model-material, poetry etc. The purpose of the approach was to provide different learning outcomes for each of the groups within the same task, so that all the subjects in elementary curriculum could be integrated in social studies course. In the research process, some prospective teachers also used the approach during "teaching practice" in some elementary schools between the years 2000-2002.

The second step between 1999 and 2002 involved an action research project designed with an experienced social studies teacher who works in Kartal Gürbüz Bora Elementary School. This paper is mostly relates to qualitative data gathered from this school. Action research provides the opportunity for developing deep understanding, explanations, interpretations and thoughtful richness about the learning process from the first hand as well as giving opportunities to the teacher to develop his/her teaching practice without depending on the other research tools such as surveys, achievement tests based on some statistical methods (see Cohen and Manion, 1994). Action research based on researcher's own experience is one of the research techniques that aims to gather data from natural settings. In using this approach since 1999 the social studies teacher taught history, geography and citizenship to her students.. Positive feedback was gathered during the development and practice of this approach, from both the teacher and the prospective elementary school teachers.

The following example was taken from a seventh grade social studies class in the research's elementary school. The teacher used thematic teaching for a history subject related to the "Conquest of Istanbul". In practising the approach, first groups were formed based on the according to pupils' skills, interests and wishes. Then the groups were named and these names were written on the board as:

- Drama
- Model-material building
- Music
- Scenario
- Text-research
- Poem
- Art
- Puzzle
- Anecdote-humour-caricature
- Reporters who travel in time (History Channel)

After organising the groups, each group discussed for five minutes how to study the "Conquest of Istanbul" and received help from the teacher during discussions. Then, each group was asked to find another group with whom they could collaborate. It was observed that the drama, scenario and history channel groups decided to study co-operatively, and the text-research group gave support to the puzzle and art groups through its ideas.

The following dialogue is related to groups' preparations for the subject:
Drama Group:

Selçuk:	Ahmet, read the "Conquest of Istanbul" and write the names from the text.
Kübra:	I think we need to co-operate with the scenario group.
Ekrem:	Ok, but we have to choose people who are going to take roles in the drama.
Ugur:	I am the director.
Ekrem:	I wanna be the Conqueror [*Fatih Sultan Mehmet*]
Sehri:	Get away! Everyone wants to be the Conqueror [*laughs*]
Selçuk:	Ahmet, Have you found the characters which we dramatise?
Ahmet:	It is difficult to find a role for everyone. Let's ask the teacher. [*He asks the teacher.*]
Teacher:	One of you can play the Ulubatli Hasan, other can play Fatih's mother. Kubra you can play Fatih's father. Mustafa you can play Aksemsettin if you can dye your styled hair with a piece of chalk.[*laughs*]
Kubra:	Teacher, I would like to be the speaker.
Teacher:	Merve, would you like to be Fatih's mother?
Sehri:	Teacher, you haven't given us any role.
Teacher:	I just told my opinion because you wanted help, Sehri. Come on, you share the roles yourselves and work co-operatively with the scenario group, because you're going to play what they write.

The drama group decides to work co-operatively with the scenario group. They say that they decided about their roles and they have to write a scenario according to these roles. While the authors of the scenario group and a student who is the director of the drama group are working together, the other members of the drama group start to collect materials in the classroom to create the costumes. Among these materials, there is a scarf (*sarik*) a leather belt, colour pens, a piece of cartoon, and a long coat. They decide to use the desks as boats and horses etc.

While the music group is adapting one of the songs of Pop Star Tarkan's to the conquest, other groups are working in appropriate ways of their functions. After completing their work, each group performed their roles in front of the class, on the stage they had prepared. While doing these activities, the students used their imaginations, creative and critical ideas by doing historical empathy (for historical empathy see Dilek 2002) and using audio-visual activities.

After each group had performed, they were evaluated by the teacher and the other members of the class. They had to decide to what extent the activities reflected historical enquiry and reconstruction so the critical thinking skills of the students were used is also discussed (for critical thinking skills see Akinoglu 2002). As can be seen in the following examples, the students made their present learning more meaningful in the class by using their learning experiences they had gained outside the classroom.

Text-Research group

In this work, the text research group prepared a documentary. The text of this documentary was read by the student who was the speaker.

''2nd Murat enthrones his son 2nd Mehmet claiming that he is old and tired but it does not go long. When the Varna Battle starts, he wants his father throne back and writes a letter to him: [*a member of the group reads the letter aloud*]
"If you are the Sultan, it is against the rules not to be there when your country needs you. If I am the Sultan I order you to lead of the army. I remind you to obey my commands."

The poetry group adapted Orhan Veli's 'I am listening to Istanbul' to the Conquest of Istanbul:

"I am listening to Istanbul in ancient times, my eyes are closed.
First, there is a small breeze
The sound of the cannons beats the walls
The sound of the swords of the soldiers that never ends
I am listening to Istanbul, my eyes are closed
While the Galleons are drawing back,
From the heights, hills,
The edge of a boat is touching the sea
I am listening to Istanbul, my eyes are closed."

The anecdote/humour caricature group adapts a TV advertisement to the Conquest of Istanbul, an advertisement of a GSM company. They replaced the players Cem Yilmaz and Ajda Pekkan with Fatih and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine and the original dialogues were changed:

Nurdan: You're welcome to the advertisements of the History Channel First, Turkfatihcell is expanding its reaching area.
[*Fatih and Constantine meets in a park*]
Mustafa: My dear Constantine, Hi!

[*Constantine remains silent and with his mimics, he makes clear that he doesn't want to talk and keeps jogging*]

Mustafa: Why are you so depressed today? I am thinking of expanding my area of conquest as far as Istanbul. What's your opinion?
[*Constantine looks at him angrily*]

The model material building group produced the models of the walls of Istanbul and the boats used in the battle. The drawing group drew the pictures of Ulubatli Hasan erecting the Turkish flag on the walls and Fatih conquering the city. The time travelling reporter (he introduced himself as Ali Kirca) interviewed Fatih, Constantine and many other historical characters in his TV programme called 'History Arena' in the History Channel. The puzzle group prepared a hook puzzle and a crossword puzzle on the blackboard. The puzzles were prepared to be solved at the end of the second lesson for assessment purposes.

The role of the teacher in the application of the approach

As can be seen, the teacher sometimes acts as if he/she is a guide and sometimes an interpreter in the preparation, application and evaluation stages of the approach.

When the teacher acts as guide s/he becomes the 'architect of learning' according to the Vygotsky's pedagogical perspective. When the teacher is the interpreter, s/he aims to reveal the critical and creative ideas of the students by evaluating both the products of their work and the process as they are working in their groups. At the end of the group work, the teacher shares his/her duty with the whole class and gives the students an opportunity to interpret and evaluate the other groups' performance. As you see, this technique involves both teaching and learning and so both the teacher and the students are at the centre of the learning activities.

The "active" and "passive" learning which are often misused, and do not apply herer. Learning is in fact "active", if the learning occurs. 'Passive learning' is not a useful term to describe the teaching techniques and learning activities. Even in instructional teaching if a student is thinking silently (there is no way for us to monitor this) it cannot be claimed that her/his role is "passive". So, we must avoid describing this learning process as "active" or "passive" or claiming that being "active" is the opposite of being "passive". In other words, the process of learning and teaching includes both the teacher and the student in the process in an "active" way.

The thematic teaching approach based on pupils' skills, specific abilities and interests, joining the activities in an active way occurs both in sides of the students and the teacher. In this process, the teacher acts many roles from being a guide to an interpreter.

Discussion and conclusion

The evaluation of the quality of learning that the diverse approach promoted is difficult to gauge using standard performance tests that are designed to test a transmission mode of teaching and study that requires the assimilation of often sophisticated bodies of knowledge. The qualitative feedback indicated that in terms of oracy and motivation the approach had a positive impact upon the pupils. An important element in determining the applicability of a radical new pedagogy is if it has an adverse impact upon pupils who are taking the existing modests of assessment.

"The success evaluation exam" prepared by the Istanbul Directorate of National Ministry of Education (2001-2002) was used in this research to asses success levels of students in social studies for thematic teaching classes and direct teaching classes. In the research's elementary school, the teacher using the direct teaching method, gave importance to college preparation exams (Anatolia and technique lycees/high schools) and used the preparation tests, then did multiple test solving activities with his students. However, the teacher using the approach introduced here, did not do any preparation.

The students were considered successful if they answered 10 social studies questions out of 20 correctly. The following table shows the success rates of the classes in which the approach was used and the others the teacher used direct teaching method.

Table: The percentage of the students' success in the success evaluation exam

CLASSES	6th grades		7th grades		8th grades		Total	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Skills and Interest Centred Classes	83	51.8	94	51.0	82	57.3	259	53.4
Direct Teaching Classes	81	41.9	85	45.8	93	44.0	259	43.9

Results of the exam also show that in the 6th grade classes to which the approach is applied the number of the students who gave the "correct" answer to the 14 or more questions is 12 (14.5%). In the classes where this approach was not used the number of the students who gave the "right" answer to the 14 or more questions is 5 (6.2%). The 7th grade classes where the approach is applied, while the number of the students who gave 'right answer to the 14 or more questions is 13 (13.8%) in the other classes it is 9 (10.6%). Again in the 8th classes the percentage is 16 (19.5%) to 12 (12.9%).

In the classes in the school where the action research was undertaken, the academic success percentage is higher than in the classes that it is not used. At the same time, in the 2001-2002 academic year, when looking at the results, the students who are in the classes that the approach is used gave more 'correct' answers to the questions on the knowledge and interpretation level than the other students.

As can be known, the curriculum of social studies generally contains target behaviours that are at the level of knowledge and conception. With this approach pupils can master the task that is above their capacities by being aware of their cognitive, affective and psychomotor skills. These results can be perceived as the students who reach the application and advanced levels can easily answer the questions at a level that requires less thinking skills (knowledge and perception) by using their different skills.

At the same time this situation shows us that the educators who always criticize the curriculum must work on trying to answer the question: "what can be done?" It seems very difficult to gain the aims of the curriculum with the translated theories without considering the fact that like in the other countries, also in Turkey, there is a tradition in education.

The application of this approach, is very important because it shows us that there are many things the teachers can do even with the central (ministry-originated) curriculum and it also shows that the teachers and the students can use their creativity.

Suggestions

In summary, with this approach specially in history subjects, the pupils;

- can learn about the historical people and through developing historical imagination can try to understand the ways people I the past may have thought and felt,
- can work like "amateur social scientists" by using their research abilities,
- can take responsibilities in their groups to be able to learn co-operatively,

- can have fun while learning,
- can develop their speaking skills while discussing and interpreting.

For the teachers, they;
- use their time effectively and have every student involved in the learning process,
- spend time on creative and joyful activities because they do not have to transfer knowledge all the time,
- can find out the different skills and specific abilities of pupils and plan their curriculum according to these.

Concerning professional development, the paper suggests that a demonstration-modelling-implementation strategy enables student teachers to assimilate a sophisticated pedagogy, apply it in practice and, hopefully, assimilate it into their repertoire of teaching protocols that they can draw upon.

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Teaching Emotive and Controversial History to 7-11 Year Olds: A Report for The Historical Association

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Abstract *The English government's Department for Education and Skills funded the Historical Association to produce a synoptic report called "Teaching emotive and controversial History 3 – 19" (TEACH 3-19). Below is the commissioned research paper on TEACH to 7-11 year olds, on pages 00-00 the report on TEACH 3-7 year olds.*

The National Curriculum for History and GCSE and A-level History qualifications often include areas of study that touch on social, cultural, religious and ethnic fault lines within and beyond Britain. Such areas of study include the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the Holocaust and aspects of Islamic history. These areas are sometimes avoided by teachers to steer away from controversy in the classroom.

The way such past events are perceived and understood in the present can stir emotions and controversy within and across communities. The Historical Association's report contains exemplars of effective teaching that deals with emotive and controversial history in schools across all key stages from the ages of 3 to 19. This produced a comprehensive view of current best practice in teaching these and similar issues. It recommended proven and successful approaches that enable teachers to tackle these issues in ordinary lessons through rigorous and engaging

Context – the History Curriculum at Key Stage 2, i.e. 7-11 year olds

Key Stage 2 encompasses the final 4 years of primary education, years 3, 4, 5 and 6. Typically children in this year group are aged between 7 and 11. In some cases children in this age group are taught in Middle or Junior Schools, and in some cases in primary schools. The curriculum s subject to substantial upheaval at time of writing, as the rigid structure of the literacy and numeracy strategies which have been in place in primary schools for over 10 years give way to the more flexible approach of the primary strategy. However, especially in year 6, children's learning experience in Key Stage Two is dominated by the end of Key Stage Standard Attainment Tests [SATs] in English, Mathematics and Science, which are used in compiling league tables of primary phase schools. Schools naturally want to do well in these tests, and the educational experience of many children in the later stages of the Key Stage is of preparation to takes these tests. It is in this context that this report considers the History Curriculum at Key Stage 2, and the opportunities for teaching emotive and controversial history.

The National curriculum

A visit to a Key Stage 2 classroom will usually show that History is a popular subject. There are often interesting displays on the wall and good collections of books. However, OFSTED's recent findings are worrying. The most recent report into history in primary schools (OFSTED 2005b) notes that although pupils' achievement in history has improved since 1998, the rate of improvement has now slowed and achievement is now lower than in most other subjects. The report goes on to note:

o   Provision between schools is inconsistent with fragmented understanding of key concepts and resulting weaknesses in pupil's historical skills.
o   The balance of the KS2 curriculum, which is heavily biased in favour of literacy and numeracy, means that time for other curriculum subjects such as History is limited
o   Teachers' professional development opportunities in history are limited
o   The curriculum is delivered in a 'piecemeal' way

Despite these concerning findings, inspectors still found some enthusiasm for History in primary schools. It is in this rather mixed context for History in primary schools that this report into teaching emotive and controversial History at Key Stage 2 is set.

The National Curriculum at Key Stage 2 builds on the Key Stage 1 in two main ways (DfEE and QCA 1999). Firstly the knowledge, skills and understanding element of the curriculum is extended and deepened. In addition the suggested breadth of study is substantially increased, not only with far more 'content' but also with increased

prescription of topics. The rationale for this seems likely to be that Key Stage 2 is twice the length (4 school years). In addition however, as pupils develop through the primary phase of education, their ability to develop and understanding of complex and sometimes abstract concepts generally increases.

The Key Stage 2 programme of study has several aspects which are pertinent in the context of the TEACH project. Aspects of knowledge, skills and understanding which would be particularly relevant include:

Pupils should be taught:

2 c) to identify and describe reasons for, and results of, historical events, situations, and changes in the periods studied

3) Pupils should be taught to recognise that the past is represented and interpreted in different ways, and to give reasons for this. (DfEE and QCA 1999)

These elements are significant because they ask pupils to begin to develop skills in weighing and considering evidence, raising the issues of interpretation of history. In learning about topics in the history curriculum that are emotive and controversial, understanding how history can be interpreted in different ways is crucial. This developing sense that individuals have differences that are expressed in many ways is important. In addition the programme of study makes direct reference to diversity:

Pupils should be taught:

2 b) about the social, cultural, religious and ethnic diversity of the societies studied, in Britain and the wider world (DfEE and QCA 1999)

This element of the programme of study makes explicit the need to study history content that reflects diversity, not only in the units on British history but beyond.

Considering these elements of the knowledge skills and understanding, we can see that the curriculum is intended to promote an 'open-minded' approach to history where different interpretations are considered and tokenistic views of history are avoided.

In addition the extensive Key Stage 2 history content, exemplified in the 'Breath of study' section contains several elements that could be regarded as emotive and controversial. In addition it could be argued that most of the topics in the Key Stage 2 programme of study could be taught in a way that emphasises its emotional and controversial aspect. However for the purposes of this project, we have identified a number of topics which are regarded at emotive and controversial:

o   Community history;
o   Islamic;
o   Transatlantic slavery;
o   Holocaust;
o   Britishness;

To this end, the following table analyses the Key Stage 2 Breadth of study in terms of links to these issues.

Programme of Study reference	Links to QCA scheme Units	Description	This topic could be emotional and controversial when…
7. Local history study	12 and 18	A study investigating how an aspect in the local area has changed over a long period of time, or	… the local study includes the issues of

		how the locality was affected by a significant national or local event or development or by the work of a significant individual.	immigration and developing cultural diversity.
8. British history	6 a,b,c	In their study of British history, pupils should be taught about: a) the Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings; Britain and the wider world in Tudor times; and either Victorian Britain or Britain since 1930 b) aspects of the histories of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, where appropriate, and about the history of Britain in its European and wider world context, in these periods.	… the issues of the movement of populations are discussed. Vocabulary such as native, immigrant, invasion, settlement and colonization should be used carefully. … there is a danger of anachronistic views of the composition of the UK.
9. Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings in Britain	6 a,b,c	An overview study of how British society was shaped by the movement and settlement of different peoples in the period before the Norman Conquest and an in-depth study of how British society was affected by Roman or Anglo-Saxon or Viking settlement.	…. Issues of immigration are dealt with.
10. Britain and the wider world in Tudor times	7 and 8	A study of some significant events and individuals, including Tudor monarchs, who shaped this period and of the everyday lives of men, women and children from different sections of society.	…. Issues relating to the imposition of Imperial rule are raised.
11. Victorian Britain or Britain since 1930	9, 11,12 and 13	Teachers can choose between a study of Victorian Britain or Britain since 1930. Victorian Britain a) A study of the impact of significant individuals, events and changes in work and transport on the lives of men, women and children from different sections of society. Britain since 1930 b) A study of the impact of the Second World War or social and technological changes that have taken place since 1930, on the lives of men, women and children from different sections of society.	…. views of 'Britishness' are discussed. There are dangers in teaching of histories that focus on white, male, middle/upper class, Christian people without reference to the diversity of society throughout this period.
12. A European history study	14 and 15	A study of the way of life, beliefs and achievements of the people living in Ancient Greece and the influence of their civilisation on the world today.	… generalisations are made about ancient societies are made. These can promote tokenistic and simplistic views.
13. A world history study	10 and 16	A study of the key features, including the everyday lives of men, women and children, of	… generalisations are made about ancient

		a past society selected from: Ancient Egypt, Ancient Sumer, the Assyrian Empire, the Indus Valley, the Maya, Benin, or the Aztecs.	societies are made. These can promote tokenistic and simplistic views.

Table 1 The Key Stage 2 programme of study mapped against opportunities to teach about emotive and controversial topics

The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority [QCA] Scheme of Work

The QCA scheme of work was designed to support the new National Curriculum (QCA 1998). The units were always seen by those who produced them as a starting point for planning rather than a totally 'ready made' solution. Their quality is borne out by the significant take up of the units in schools, where they are often used as medium term planning documents. The units that are suggested for Key Stage 2 are diverse and cover the wide range of the Key Stage 2 National Curriculum breadth of study. The table above exemplifies the links, and the full titles of the units are listed below:

Original Key Stage 2 units:
Unit 6A. Why have people invaded and settled in Britain in the past? A Roman case study
Unit 6B. Why have people invaded and settled in Britain in the past? An Anglo-Saxon case study
Unit 6C. Why have people invaded and settled in Britain in the past? A Viking case study
Unit 7. Why did Henry VIII marry six times?
Unit 8. What were the differences between the lives of rich and poor people in Tudor times?
Unit 9. What was it like for children in the Second World War?
Unit 10. What can we find out about ancient Egypt from what has survived?
Unit 11. What was it like for children living in Victorian Britain?
Unit 12. How did life change in our locality in Victorian times?
Unit 13. How has life in Britain changed since 1948?
Unit 14. Who were the ancient Greeks?
Unit 15. How do we use ancient Greek ideas today?
Unit 16. How can we find out about the Indus Valley civilisation?

Additional units added since 1998:
Unit 17. What are we remembering on Remembrance Day?
Unit 18. What was it like to live here in the past?
Unit 19. What were the effects of Tudor exploration?
Unit 20. What can we learn about recent history from studying the life of a famous person?

There is significant potential for approaching History in a lively way in through these units and they do address some emotional and controversial topics. One example of the potential of a unit to provide a basis for teaching emotional and controversial history could be Unit 11, What was it like for children living in Victorian Britain? The Expectations for the unit are as follows:

> *EXPECTATIONS at the end of this unit:*
> *most children will: place the changes in the period within a chronological framework; make appropriate use of dates and terms; demonstrate knowledge and understanding about the everyday lives of children in the Victorian period; show how some aspects of the period have been interpreted in different ways; select and combine information from a range of visual, textbook and documentary sources; communicate their knowledge and understanding of changes to children's lives in Victorian times in organised and structured ways*
> *some children will not have made so much progress and will: recognise some similarities and differences between the lives of children from different areas of Victorian society; ask and answer questions about the period by using at least*
> *one source of information*
> *some children will have progressed further and will: describe reasons for and results of particular events; use their knowledge and understanding of the Victorian period to make links with other societies and periods; select*

and combine information from a range of sources to reach substantiated conclusions (QCA 1998)

These expectations exemplify several issues that relate to learning experiences that are potentially emotive and controversial. The subject matter itself raises a number of potentially emotive issues such as social inequality and family breakdown. In addition there is the potential of negative labeling about 'the poor', and generalizations could be made about families at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Equally care must be taken by teachers not to make tokenistic judgments and assumptions about the lives of children from well off families. In short, a simplistic approach to this topic that leads children to believe that poor children had unhappy lives and rich children happy lives must be guarded against. It is both historically inaccurate and potentially offensive to make these assumptions. In addition to the subject matter, the unit focuses on using a range of historical sources and emphasizes the need for pupils to interpret these sources (such as school logbooks, contemporary accounts and Victorian fiction). Pupils should engage with this sort of sources in history, but must be aware that contemporary sources reflect the prejudices and assumptions of the time.

The National Curriculum and supporting QCA Scheme of Work has the potential to provide many opportunities to tackle emotive and controversial history. However as with all such opportunities, there is also the potential to deal with issues simplistically or in a tokenistic way and teachers and curriculum planners must be aware of this potential and plan carefully. Some of the constraints and barriers that might lead to simplification and tokenism are discussed in the nest section of this report.

Key Stage 2 – the pedagogical context

Key Stage 2 is the final part of most children's primary school experience. It is different in nature from Key Stage 1 for a range of reasons, including the much greater emphasis on curriculum content in many subjects, including history. There is often a distinct pedagogical difference too, as children are asked to read and write much more in their learning across the curriculum. Many children are able to work independently of the teacher for some time at this stage, however, some are not, and this can sometimes cause problems for children who have not reached the same developmental stage as their peers. In many schools, particularly in Year 6, this Key Stage is dominated by the imperative to do well in English, Mathematics and Science statutory tests, the results of which are used to compile the published league tables of primary schools. Understandably many schools focus heavily on the tested subjects and the skills needed to pass the tests. This has a significant effect on the way the rest of the curriculum, including History, is taught.

In recent years (DfES 2003) the government introduced a major overhaul of primary school approaches to teaching and learning in the form of the Primary National Strategy (PNS). In this report, the link between children's enthusiasm for learning and their attainment is cited as a reason for pedagogical and curriculum development in the primary phase, along with some aspirations for primary schools:

OFSTED reports show that the best primary schools combine high standards with a broad and rich curriculum. We want all schools to have this aspiration and to:
o *Develop the distinctive character of their schools by, for example, developing strengths in sport or music or special needs or working very closely with the local community.*
o *Take ownership of the curriculum, shaping it and making it their own.*
o *Teachers have much more freedom than they often realise to design the timetable and decide what and how they teach.*
o *Be creative and innovative in how they teach and run the school.*
o *Use tests, targets and tables to help every child develop to his or her potential, help the school to improve and help parents and the public to understand the progress of the pupils and the performance of the school. (DfES 2003)*

These aspirations provide some opportunities for curriculum and pedagogical development in History. However the strategy does not draw distinctions between the foundation subjects, missing the opportunity to emphasise that while some subjects have things in common, many, including History, have distinct teaching and learning approaches. An example of this is the opportunities that History provides to address emotive and controversial issues in a context in which they can be explored and discussed by pupils. The PNS emphasizes the benefits of cross-curricular work but does not draw out such distinctive curriculum issues in foundation subjects. It is to be hope that future curriculum

development will explore these more.

In the evaluation of the PNS by OFSTED (OFSTED 2005a) carried out two years after the strategy was first introduced to schools, it was found that schools had taken a cautious approach to curriculum redesign and that the dominance of literacy and numeracy continued to be prevalent in most schools. Specific opportunities that the foundation subjects provide to enrich the curriculum are being missed, and although foundations subjects may now be more present in classrooms, the focus of teaching objectives remains on the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills. And example of this is quoted in the report:

> *A meticulous mapping of literacy objectives against the foundation subjects ensures that pupils have the opportunity to consolidate their learning in relevant contexts in other subjects. For example, pupils' historical understanding develops through planned speaking and listening opportunities. They reinforce their knowledge in writing well-structured biographies, letters or instructions. Working in this way adds to pupils' enjoyment and relevance of both literacy and history. (OFSTED 2005a)*

In this example of good practice cited in the evaluation of the PNS, skills in speaking and listening are learned in a History context. While speaking and listening skills are of course crucial in children's work in History, good speaking and listening does not make good history learning in itself. This is an example of a common phenomenon in Key Stage 2 schools, the 'History flavour literacy lesson', where the focus is on literacy skills, which are covered through the medium of history. The problem in this is that specific History lessons that focus on history issues (including emotive and controversial ones) are lost in favour of a continued focus on literacy. This is not to suggest that all cross-curricular work is detrimental to History, far from it, links which are made between curriculum subjects are important. However when planning History lessons, curriculum planners and teachers must ensure that there is sufficient rigour in each subject so as to give proper opportunities to engage with subjects and issues such as emotive and controversial History.

Constraints, barriers and poor practice

History has always been valued as a subject of study, since ancient times, stories about the past have been kept alive, and they continue to be, even up to today. From ancient history we still have stories of Gods, wars and human endeavour, from Greece, Egypt, Britain and all over the world. In a wide variety of cultures and countries, the past is passed on. As 21st century teachers we must examine this noble tradition and ask where it fits within the current educational culture. Grant Bage (Bage 2000) examines this issue in terms of both the official and unofficial role of History in education. This is an interesting perspective, and as Bage discusses, History is both as aspect of the formal taught school curriculum and prevalent and popular in television series such as Time Team and Coast. There are even entire television channels based around History. In many ways history has never been so popular. Yet against this backdrop, OFSTED has found that in recent years pupils' achievement in History is now lower than in most other subjects (OFSTED 2005b). The reasons for this are complex, and in this section of the report, some of these reasons are examined and discussed.

Children's readiness to tackle emotive and controversial issues – child development

In a study conducted in the US and Northern Ireland, Barton, McCully and Marks (Barton 2001) examined beginning primary phase teachers' attitudes to their pupils' readiness to study history. They found that while the beginning teachers presumed that children's cognitive ability and lack of background knowledge would prevent them form engaging with issues in History, that actually the children were able to effectively learn about History and Social Studies. The study that was the subject of the paper had positive effects both on quality of teaching and crucially on teachers' perceptions of the ability of their pupils to learn history from a young age.

Hilary Cooper's influential book on teaching history summarizes the relationship between learning history and child development very effectively. She makes a case that children in the primary age range are able to engage with e historical learning effectively if they are supported with appropriate learning experiences and effective teaching:

> *Psychologists' work on reasoning, then, suggests that young children may be helped to develop arguments about historical evidence if we teach them how. It suggests that we need to provide interesting, memorable learning experiences, ask simple open-ended questions, and teach appropriate vocabulary. (Cooper 2000)*

Cooper goes on to discuss ideas about children's ability to understand other people's point of view.

> *Research into young children's thinking in history suggests that, in a limited way, they can make suppositions about how people in the past may have felt or thought (Cooper 2000)*

Cooper's examination of learning theories in the context of history indicates that it is possible and desirable to involve Primary age children in authentic History learning. It is not necessary to avoid emotive and controversial topics with children, but that with careful teaching children can begin to engage with these ideas. The issue of child development and teacher's perceptions of child development is complex and it is difficult to effectively summarize all the issues in this report. However we must recognise that young children can and do engage emotionally in History and that we should steer clear of making assumptions about what children will be able to understand.

Curriculum and teaching time

In May 2003 the Primary National Strategy was launched with the publication of Excellence and Enjoyment, a primary strategy for schools (DfES 2003) this initiative was intended to help schools maintain high standards in the teaching of the core subjects while encouraging more cross curricular and creative approaches to teaching. The evaluation of the strategy (OFSTED 2005a) suggests that these links are particularly strong between literacy and history. This means that in many schools where this cross curricular approach has been taken, that History often appears to get significant time dedicated to it, which, one would hope, would lead to higher standards. However, this contrasts with findings of the most recent OFSTED report into the teaching of history, standards in history, compared to other subjects, have slipped. One reason for this might be that, whilst the History subject knowledge is covered in the cross-curricular approach, the rigorous teaching of historical skills is neglected. This is borne out in OFSTEDs findings in the history subject report. This impacts on tackling emotive and controversial history because without the appropriate approaches to history, where pupils question, weigh evidence and engage with the sources, History teaching is reduced to a 'factual' knowledge transfer model.

Resources

The range scope and nature of resources that could be used to teach History at Key Stage 2 is vast. Some of these are discussed in section 4 of this report. In considering these resources in the context of teaching emotive and controversial history at KS2, the affect that the resources have on shaping the nature of teaching must be emphasised. Teachers in Key Stage 2 classrooms tend not to be history specialists, and with CPD limited in this area of the curriculum, may teachers rely on the schemes and resources, as well as the QCA guidelines to shape their lessons.

> *While egregious examples of bias and prejudice in school textbooks can be spotted readily enough, it has been argued that text book material by definition contains in addition to more obvious problems, hidden agendas (Marsden 2001)*

Studies into the nature of information and textbooks designed for Key Stage 2 (Marsden 2001; Scanlon and Buckingham 2002; Blake, Newton et al. 2003) have found that they can lack in rigour and accuracy, as well as be biased. It could be argued that the same should be said of any Historical text. However it is a particularly difficult situation given that primary school teachers often base their lessons around a small number of sources. In addition, may teachers reply on 'ready-made' lessons from books that give lesson ideas and photocopiable resources in one book. Although, again, its easy to be overly judgemental about these resources, its important for teachers to remember that these should count as only one historical source. One good example, however, of a ready-made resource is 100 History Lessons (HOODLESS REF). This book cites sources from books and the Internet that teachers could use, as well as providing photocopiable resources. Examples form this text are given in section 4, below. The conclusion to be drawn is that these sort of resources may have unavoidable limitations as far as teaching emotive and controversial topics go, where sources of information are often limited. However some well designed textbooks, like the example given can tackle emotive and controversial issues well.

As well as textbooks and information books, there are many books that might be loosely termed as fiction or biography for children available to teachers. A selection of these are reviewed in section 4. The range and quality

of children's historical fiction is impressive. Notable in this genre are Michael Foreman, Philip Pullman and Geraldine McCaurghrean. These authors tackle arrange of emotive and controversial topics such as war, death, identity and difference. In their book on children's historical fiction, Collins and Graham (Collins and Graham 2001) highlight the qualities of good historical fiction:

> *…an absorbing story; unclotted language; accurate research; and a concern with how ordinary people were affected by the political and social climate of the time (Collins and Graham 2001)*

Given that there is so much useful and well written historical fiction for children on emotive and controversial topics, it is hoped that teachers would make use of these in history lessons as much as traditional textbooks.

Teacher subject knowledge and Continuing Professional Development

In the most recent OFSTED report into History in primary schools highlights the need to raise the expertise of teachers in History:

> *Some of the problems highlighted in this report can be associated with the very limited opportunities for continuing professional development in history. The old local authority advisory structures have largely disappeared and there only limited alternatives in place. (OFSTED 2005b)*

In addition there are also limited opportunities for History in initial teacher training:

> *On an average PGCE primary course, the time devoted to history could be six hours training or even lower and if history is not being taught when hey are working in schools, trainees may never get the chance to teach it before the are awarded qualifies teacher status (OFSTED 2005b)*

In order to tackle emotive and controversial topic in history effectively, teachers need to have a broad secure knowledge of the curriculum and up to date resources that are available to teach it. Teachers also need to have the appropriate pedagogical skills in order to effectively challenge and stimulate pupils to participate actively in lessons. Promoting pupils engagement is crucial in the effective teaching of emotive and controversial topics. In addition teachers need the support of their peers and experts to tackle some of the difficult issues that are raise by emotive and controversial history. While initial teacher education and continuing professional development in History for primary teachers is at such low levels, it seems unlikely hat emotive and controversial topics will be taught with in any effective way in schools.

Evidence of good practice across Key Stage 2

Despite the constraints discussed in the section above there are some good examples of pupils in Key Stage 2 engaging with emotive and controversial history in effective ways. These examples deal with the issue of specific curriculum planning and linking History with issues of citizenship. Where teachers and curriculum planners in school can take heed of these issues, the teaching of emotive and controversial history is likely to be enhanced.

Planning for diversity in the Key Stage 2 National Curriculum

Table 1 in section 1 of this report (p4) maps the Key Stage 2 curriculum content against possibilities for teaching emotive and controversial history topics. Many of these topics relate to the representation of social and ethnic diversity in the history curriculum. Hilary Claire has written widely on this subject and in a series of articles for primary history (Claire 2001a; Claire 2001b; Claire 2001c) she explored the opportunities to plan for diversity in the Key Stage 2 curriculum. Claire explores the decisions that are made in by teachers and curriculum planners, suggesting ways in which the History curriculum can promote pupils' understanding social and ethnic diversity.

Issues of the significance of events, people and actions are discussed. Claire's point is drawn out when we reflect on our own time:

Lets imagine that a future KS2 Programme of Study requires a unit on Britain at the turn of the C20th. What might children in the late C21st learn about us? Well it depends on what happens next, because hindsight gives a different view on significance (Claire 2001a)

In the series, she explores how to raise issues of diversity in 3 areas of the Curriculum, Britain since 1930, The Victorians and the Tudors. She emphasises the need to consider histories carefully, eschewing white, middle class male dominated traditional accounts and using sources to uncover the significance of all groups in society.

In the first article of the series (Claire 2001a) Claire examines the issues in teaching Britain since the 1930, setting out generic principles for deciding upon significance. These are:
o   There are always several significant themes which are needed to make sense of change and continuity in a period
o   Society is too complex to reduce the experience to a single version of history
o   Identity and diversity are linked.

This article is followed by one in which teaching about the Victorians (Claire 2001b) was used to give context to a discussion about the tokenism and diversity in teaching the curriculum. It substantially builds upon point 2, above. In the article, Claire identifies several common stereotypes that are sometimes perpetuated in teaching about Victorian Britain. These include:
o   That all children in Victorian Schools encountered the same experience. In addition children form ethnic minorities are rarely represented in contemporary accounts although we know they were present.
o   That all children who worked in industry in Victorian times had the same experience, and that negative experiences of work were confined to urban areas.

In the final article in the series (Claire 2001c) explores the themes of diversity and significance in the context of Britain and the wider world in Tudor times. The central idea in this article is that in teaching about this topic, there are hidden messages about power, agency and identity. The article encourages teachers to examine the way in which they approach the curriculum in order to structure it to ensure a balanced consideration of:
o   The role of women and children in society at the time
o   The religious issues of the time
o   The role of the wider world in the development of British prosperity

Overall the series of articles sets out both the principles of a Key Stage 2 curriculum that celebrates diversity and considers historical significance carefully. In the context of this report, the practical examples that Claire suggests would be good opportunities to raise emotive and controversial topics, including national identity, gender and slavery within the Key Stage 2 National Curriculum.

History teaching and the development of Citizenship in Key Stage 2

Another powerful example of good practice at Key Stage 2 is the way in which History is beginning to be linked with what could loosely be described as the Citizenship curriculum. Although not a compulsory 'subject' at Key Stage 2, issues around citizenship are often covered in primary schools, in links with the local community, in circle time and other PHSE activities and as part cross curricular work. There are a number of good reasons for fostering links between History teaching and the issues of citizenship:

o   **History can help develop pupils' identities within their communities and society as a whole.** Claire discourages teachers from regarding their pupils as 'homogeneous' (Claire 2002) where ethnicity, sex or social class is at issue. Some of these problems are related to the curriculum and teaching materials making generalizations about the experiences of people in society. Some problems are caused by tokenistic approaches to pupils' own lives and experiences. This raises the emotive and controversial issue of national identity.
o   **Historical knowledge is important in understanding concepts in citizenship such as politics.** Concepts such as democracy are difficult to understand. History can give us several perspectives on this issue (Claire 2005) Comparisons of new and ancient versions of concepts such as this, from the autocratic versions of democracy in ancient Greece through to the fight for universal suffrage in Britain in the Victorian and Edwardian times can help children explore what it means to live in a democracy. In addition

- **History can help pupils develop skills they need to engage with ideas raised in citizenship.** Citizenship as a concept is enshrined within the Aims, Values and Purposes of the National Curriculum (DfEE and QCA 1999) in which pupils are asked to do things like distinguish between right and wrong and understand their rights and responsibilities as citizens. In order to do this it is vital that pupils develop a sense of empathy for others. History can provide a range of contexts in which this can evolve. A good example is cited by Vass (Vaas 2005) in which he suggests that children can engage with pictures of people from historical periods and imagine from these, biographies for these people.

Citizenship and History are closely linked in these and many other ways. Where these links are promoted there are advantages for pupils to develop a range of skills. If pupils are to effectively discuss and assimilate the issues in emotive and controversial history, the kind of teaching approaches described in this section should be promoted.

Resources for teaching and learning at Key Stage 2

There are many History text and reference books designed to meet the needs of Key Stage 2 teachers. These fit into 2 broad categories.

Textbooks and teacher guides

Firstly there are books that are designed as textbooks or teachers' guide sections of which support teachers' planning and other sections can be used by pupils, for example as sources of evidence as templates for work or worksheets. It is very easy to critique these as simplistic and uncreative, but in reality with most Key Stage 2 teachers non history specialists these resources are often used. One of the better examples of the genre is cited in this report in section 2 on page 9 and reproduced here.

Sources on evacuees

Background
The immediacy and authenticity of first-hand accounts, retelling the experiences of evacuees, are perhaps in many ways the best sources for young children to use. Despite problems with the level and style of language, which is, of course, not necessarily written for children, the vivid quality and detail in these real accounts will give children an experience that is as close to the event itself as is possible. There is also an excellent opportunity to make real links with the teaching of literacy, through introducing children to different styles of writing, aimed at different audiences.

Introduction
● Explain to the class that they are going to read and hear an account written by a person who was actually evacuated from her home as a child.
● Tell them that they are going to find out what sources tell us about the experiences of evacuees.

Main teaching activity
● Read to the class some stories written about the experiences of evacuees, including fiction and first-hand accounts.
● Discuss the different sorts of information each source contains, for example: in first-hand accounts, there is more factual detail; the fiction contains a great deal of description of children's emotions and feelings.
● Give out copies of the photocopiable sheet 'My life as an evacuee' on page 60 and read through the account with the class. Make sure the children understand any unfamiliar words and expressions.
● Give the children a writing frame to complete with the headings: Stories tell us and Accounts of remembered experiences.
● Work with the children to complete the first few key points from the stories they have heard.
● Organise the children to work in pairs to re-read the account on the photocopiable sheet and to note down the key points from this on their writing frame.

Plenary
● During the plenary, ask the children to explain why they think the versions are told differently.
● Ask the children to consider whether they preferred reading the story or the first-hand account and what they have learned about evacuation from each version.

Differentiation
Prepare the writing frame to match the needs of the different abilities in your class.

Teaching About Slavery--19

My life as an evacuee

Joan's story

My mother took my brother and myself to a big station called Paddington in London. She did not tell us that she would not be coming with us on the train, only that I must hold my brother's hand all through the journey. The whole of my school were there plus the teachers who took care of us. When the train left the platform and my mother still stood standing there, I felt very frightened.

We carried a gas mask over one shoulder and another [bag] containing enough food for the journey over the other. A label pinned on our lapel had our name and school in London. The journey was very long, ten hours in near darkness. On arrival at Penzance Station, we were told to climb onto a lorry and taken to the village hall which was very bright after our dark train journey.

The hall was filled with local people and us children. Ten children were told to stand on the stage whilst the local people chose the children they wanted. My brother and I were the last up onto the stage so at this point only one couple was left. They agreed to take my brother but not me, but I refused to let go of his hand. They reluctantly took us both.

My brother and I were the last to be chosen. Can you imagine what it was like for us? standing there while complete strangers decided if they liked the look of us enough to offer us a home? I think I know how slaves must have felt on the auction block – and we were just six and four years old and a long way from our mother. The last couple didn't want me – just my brother – but I wouldn't let go of his hand, so they had to take us both.

They were Mr and Mrs Opie and they lived on a farm outside Penzance and had five children, two boys and three girls. The elder two boys shortly afterwards were drafted into the army. They were a very kind, warmhearted couple and did their best to comfort us by showing us the cows, sheep, chickens and various farm animals. They also showed me how they made butter and cheese. It was a strange world to move into. I had never seen so much green space before and found it somewhat overpowering.

(extract taken from http://timewitnesses.org/evacuees/~joan.html)

These pages are reproduced from Hoodless, P (2006) 100 History Lessons, published by Scholastic

These resources are effective because they are accessible to pupils and teachers but retain historical integrity.

There are also a many reference books designed with Key Stage 2 pupils in mind. The quality of these reference books is very mixed. Many of these are highly descriptive (Blake, Newton et al. 2003) without encouraging children to engage in questioning, explaining or evaluating the history that is presented in them. However these remain popular in schools, and are often enjoyed by children. If teachers are to get the most out these resources they must

use them selectively, and encourage children to question the presentation of historical 'facts'. Emotive and controversial history topics should always be taught using a range of sources.

The Internet
In addition many schools now use a range of Internet based resources for pupils. This raises 2 major issues, firstly, the quality of the resources used, and secondly, the way in which they are used. At worst, pupils will search for information using a search engine such as Google. Results from such a search are likely to be both numerous and of varying quality. Much of the content on the Internet is both un-moderated for accuracy and appropriate. In addition it is also often text based which is unsuitable for most Key Stage 2 pupils. A Google search for 'The Tudors' or 'World War II' or 'Romans' turns up over a million hits for each, and that's just from websites based in the UK. A better way to approach searching is to collect suitable pages together for pupils to use, either by using the favourites tool or through a virtual learning environment. The quality of resources is variable, and pupils should be taught that the Internet is both unregulated and often inaccurate. When dealing with potential emotive and controversial topics in history, teachers will want to select and use sources carefully.

Some useful, reliable and good quality sites related to emotive and controversial topics in Key Stage 2 History include:

For World War IIhttp://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/
This is the World War II section of the BBC History website. It contains comprehensive information in a variety of ways, including text, images and video. Original sources such as moving images, posters and accounts of the time are available. There is also an interactive timeline. However these materials are not specifically designed for Key Stage 2 pupils and often rely on text to communicate. One particularly useful resource in terms of emotive and controversial topics includes an interactive timeline showing the many aspects of genocide and persecution in Germany between 1933 and 1945.
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/genocide/launch_tl_persecution_genocide.shtml
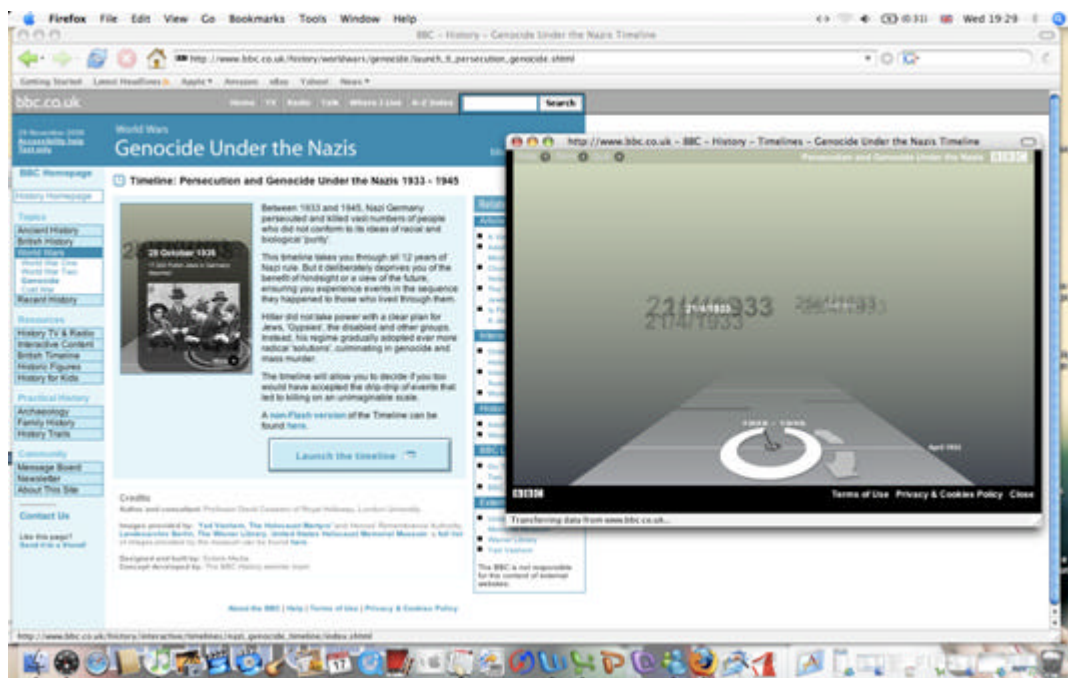
For The Tudors http://www.tudorbritain.org/
This website is run by the National Archives and the Victoria and Albert Museum. It contains games and information gathering activities that are 'ready made' for teachers to deliver in the classroom. There is an interesting section on religion, which, while providing some useful information and activities about attitudes to religion in Tudor times, provides only weak links to issues around religion today.

The main National Archive Website, the learning curve, also offers teachers ready-made activities using original sources. There is a wide range of topics

For Invaders and Settlers Good websites for recent history make the most of original available resources such as still and moving images and recorded testimony. Websites for periods in history where we have less evidence need to be more creative about their design in order not to fall into the trap of relying too heavily on text. One such website is the Battlefields Trust, which uses photos and maps as well as text http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/viking/ . The BBC History website contains a wide range of resources for teaching issues of invasion and settlement. However, while presenting a range of views on the impact of changes in Britain's make up and society, some of the activities (including a Viking Invasion game http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/vikings/launch_gms_viking_quest.shtml) trivialise the issues.

Children's Historical fiction and biography
There is a wide and interesting range of Historically based fiction available for children in the Key Stage 2 age range, including picture books, biography, stories that relate to many Key Stage 2 topics. The following is not an exhaustive list of the books, but intended to illustrate how children's historical fiction can be applied to the curriculum.

World War II
Rose Blanche by Ian McEwan
Erika's Story by Ruth Vander Zee
War Boy by Michael Foreman

Victorian Britain
The Lottie Project by Jacqueline Wilson
Victoria's Room in Britannia by Geraldine McCaurghrean

Tudor Britain
The Pirate Meets the Queen by Matt Faulkner

The power of illustrations is shown below. This carefully drawn and picture is substantially empty of humans, yet the 4 figures represented are crucial to the story. The picture would be an excellent starting point for a discussion about Erika's story of abandonment by her mother, who was on her way to Auschwitz.

The increasing quality and quantity of historical fiction for children was discussed in section 2 of this report. The examples given here are a range of good quality books. There is a range of advice for teachers who are considering using historical fiction in their teaching (Bracey 2003; Hoodless 2005; Jones 2005) .Teachers should consider:

o Using stories as a context for teaching history
o That stories can give a new perspective on a familiar topic
o That given a range of stories, children will develop crucial historical skills in comparing and contrasting the perspectives of the protagonists.
o That story can engage pupils and that this means that they will begin to understand complex concepts.

Conclusions and recommendations for development of these issues

This conclusion makes an assumption. That is that the teaching of emotive and controversial topics in history is both possible and desirable at Key Stage 2. Nothing was found in the research that suggested that this was not the case. In fact there were a number of identifiable benefits, chief of which are that children can develop a tolerant approach to the community in which they live. This is more important than ever in today's Britain.

The conclusions of this report are in three main areas:

1. The curriculum at Key Stage 2 provides lots of opportunities to tackle emotive and controversial issues in appropriate ways. However these opportunities are often lost and some of the curriculum ends up being delivered in a tokenistic and unchallenging way. There is potential for emotive and controversial topics to be drawn out in all aspects of the Key Stage 2 National Curriculum but the areas which most readily lend themselves to it are:

o World War II – where the issue of human conflict is illuminated by the difficulties of identifying rights and wrongs during conflicts and where the contribution of different social groupings in explored, including the role of women and allied soldiers from outside the warring countries. In addition the evacuation of children during the blitz has substantial possibilities.
o Britain between 43CE and 1066CE – the invasions and settlements. Although this is a distant period in history, ideas about natives and immigrants pervade this topic and when well taught, it can help undermine assumptions and prejudice about modern day natives and immigrants.
o Britain in Tudor times – although this period is seen in traditional unreconstructed histories as a 'golden age' of Britishness, the influence of the wider world on Britain was substantial at this time, and when this topic is well taught, it will provide pupils with ideas about how British development happened as a result of what happened in other countries.

2. The nature and quality of resources is very important to the ways teachers teach and pupils learn. There is a wide range of resources available to teachers, including textbooks, resource books and websites. These vary in quality and appropriateness for Key Stage 2. The central principle, however, is that teachers should choose a range of sources. They should consider carefully how sources represent the evidence. If teachers have this critical approach to resources selection they are likely to pass it on to pupils more. It should also be emphasised that especially in the area of Historical fiction there are some really excellent resources that would support teachers in tackling emotive and controversial issues in their teaching.

3. Much of what would make good quality teaching of emotive and controversial history is closely allied to good Primary phase practice. Curriculum development and good quality teacher education, both initial and in service, are very important. With the inception of the Primary National Strategy, there is potential for curriculum reform in the Primary phase. In addition, this has lead to a re-assessment of teacher support for continuing professional development. Whereas resources and time were, in the past, closely focussed in raising standards in literacy and numeracy, there is now a move to explore the Primary curriculum more holistically.

Recommendations in the three areas:

1. The National Curriculum ands supporting QCA materials be examined, and if necessary revised, to make the most of opportunities to teach emotive and controversial topics. The Primary National Strategy [PNS] to support the teaching of specific history skills as well as promote links between History and other subjects, particularly citizenship
2. The electronic and traditional publishing industry becomes more aware of how topics can promote engagement with emotive and controversial history.

3. The PNS could and should be used as a vehicle to promote the development of History teaching in all areas, including the teaching of emotive and controversial history. This should be supported by good quality professional development opportunities for all teachers.

Case studies

In selecting the case studies for this report, it was difficult to find a example or lesson which was, in itself the 'magic bullet', the solution to the issue of teaching emotive and controversial history at key Stage 2. Instead I have selected 3 instances where issues related to the teaching of emotive and controversial history at Key Stage 2 are raised

Case Study 1 – The place of Britain on the wider world in Tudor times
Context This unit is described by Cooper (Cooper 2000) as an example of how Britain in Tudor times can be taught from a perspective which avoids tokenistic and Eurocentric attitudes. The unit is designed for years 5 and 6, and explores the history through the topics of 'houses' and 'ships'. This is a good example of a history topic that is often held up as an example of the 'golden age' of Britain actually should be given a wider perspective. The study of the Armada within a Europe wide context is particularly useful in avoiding jingoistic views of the idea of Elizabethan Britain as a great civilising power in the late medieval world.

How it is taught Cooper suggests a range of teaching approaches including:

o Constructing a timeline
o Analysing pictures
o Group writing tasks
o Drawing and designing tasks
o Using portraits as sources
o Visit to historical sites

The plan for the unit involves the children in individual, group and whole class activities. This, combined with the wide variety of activities, should mean that pupils with a range of learning styles should be able to engage with the topic.

Overcoming constraints The main constraints cited in this report are child development, the curriculum, resources and teacher expertise. Cooper addresses the issues of curriculum and resources well in this example. A number of resources which illuminate the non-British aspects of the story of Tudor prosperity are suggested, especially those which link to the Indian subcontinent and the Mughal empire. Approaches to the curriculum include cross-curricular links with Geography and Mathematics as well as some good opportunities to practice a range of English and Art skills. The real strength of this example as good practice in teaching emotive and controversial history topics is in its multicultural perspective. Many of the problems of the way that history curriculum is categorised are related to the way in which it isolates issues of 'British' history. This unit looks at a British history in a much wider way.

Examples of resources/supporting materials Resources that are particularly noted for their usefulness are:
o School council booklet *Akbar and Elizabeth*
o The Globe theatre website
o Extracts from the film 'Shakespeare in Love'

This range of resources emphasises the importance of a multimedia approach to teaching resources.

Evidence of impact In the case study, several examples of children work are reproduced. The unit asked children to work collaboratively on a newspaper front page about the Armada. These examples demonstrate that the children not only learned a ranged of subject knowledge which is relevant to the topic, but crucially that they engaged emotionally in the stories. One child demonstrates an ability to empathise with the King of Spain:

(T)he Duke of Palma mucked up our invasion plan because he was not ready in Dunkruk to sail. Phillip II was very angry when he found out. On the other hand Phillip was pleased with the Duke of Medina Sidenia because he had reached Calais but loosing too many ships and not having a sea battle with Englande (Cooper 2000)

In the children's work it is possible to see evidence that they have engaged with a variety of perspectives, both British and non-British, during the topic.

Case study 2 – Immigrants and Natives, racist attitudes in history – a historical issue in its modern context
Context Another popular aspect of British history is a study of the invaders and settlers who came to Britain between 43 and 1066CE. This topic is fraught with emotional and controversial language including invader, settler, native, immigrant, invasion, migration, conquest and so on. All these words, and the ideas that they engender are emotive and controversial in society today. Therefore this topic needs to be taught in a positive and inclusive way, avoiding stereotypical ideas of 'goodies and baddies' and of 'us and the other'. Hilary Claire (Claire 2002) examines this topic in detail.

How it is taught Claire suggests that teachers choose aspects and approaches of the substantial subject matter in this topic that challenge assumptions that are often made. For example, she suggests that we
o   Challenge the stereotype of the violent invader, particularly where the Vikings are involved
o   Look for stories which include women and children, for example the story of Boudicca's rebellion against the Romans
o   Emphasise the multicultural nature of groups involved. It is inaccurate to assume that the population of Britain in 42CE before the Roman invasion shared a sense of Britishness. Equally most 'Roman' soldiers who acted as the occupying force were not from Rome, many of them coming from North Africa, Syria and Greece.

Overcoming constraints The main constraint here is that of teacher subject knowledge. Many of those delivering this aspect of the curriculum would have been exposed to traditional and unreconstructed versions of the first millennium CE. Therefore it is important that teachers widen their perspectives. Claire suggests a wide range of materials that are available and challenge stereotypes in this topic.

Examples of resources/supporting materials Kevin Crossley- Holland's story Sea Stranger, Fire Brother, Earth Father is cited as a good example of children's fiction, along with Marylin Tollhurst's book about a Viking Street. The importance of good quality children's fiction has already been discussed in this report but these are two good examples of fiction providing powerful teaching materials.

Evidence of impact In summary, Claire offers two alternative perspectives on the topic. In on case children can easily:

> *..acquire a mind set which they apply uncritically to the history of invasions, imperial projects and conquests in subsequent periods. Quite subtley, historical impartiality is undermined and opportunities are missed for children to think critically about perspectives.*

On the other hand if children start with this unit as part of their history education, and consider the absence of evidence from the defeated people, an improved outcome can be expected.

> *They (the children) can be presented with evidence of immigration and multiculturalism dating from the very early history of Britain.*

 This history unit provides a lens through which children can begin to question and challenge preconceptions and stereotypes about immigration and race.

Case study 3 - Perceptions of Germany – the influence of teaching about World War II on pupils attitudes to contemporary Germany
Context This is a small scale but illuminating study into how children's perceptions of Germany are affected by the ways in which they learn about World War II (Gray 2005). Gray also suggests what teachers can do to avoid stereotyping and misrepresenting the war so as to influence pupils' perceptions of the modern country, and their perceptions of other countries involved in conflicts.

How it is taught The project took place in a large city-edge primary school in Autumn 2002. It aimed to both elicit and discuss their perceptions of modern day Germany and Britain. Key finings included the following statistics from the Year 5 pupils:
o 27% of boys and 9% of girls believed Britain to be wrong in fighting World War II
o 93% of boys and 91% of girls described Hitler in negative terms
o Over 50% of boys and girls implicated that Pakistan, India and Afghanistan as serious threats to global peace

These statistics reflect both on the ways that history is taught and also on how this might influence children's perceptions of current global events. In his conclusions, Gray calls upon teachers to consider, in their teaching of World War II:
o Cross curricular development to combat the development of Anglo-centric viewpoints
o The importance of links with geography and PSHE
o The potential of the Primary National Strategy in making these developments meaningful

Overcoming constraints One interesting aspect of this study is the differences that Gray found between girls and boys in their views. How boys and girls respond differently to history is not explored explore elsewhere in this report, but the differences found indicate that this should be a topic for further research and investigation.

Examples of resources/supporting materials Gray cites a number of texts that examine the issue of children's development of national identity. He cites that Cullingford's book *Prejudice :From Individual Identity to Nationalism in Young People* refers to the 'triumphalism' of the history curriculum. Importantly the study examines in detail how the teaching of the QCA scheme of work unit 11b requires teachers to teach about the actions of another national group on the United Kingdom in its last home front war. Teachers should look in detail at the curriculum and consider it carefully

Evidence of impact Gray concludes that, at least in the short term, combating prejudice and stereotyping in History is best dealt with by 'teachers on the ground'. This assertion is both empowering to teachers and places a substantial responsibility upon them. Teachers need to be confident in delivering the curriculum and to do this they must understand the issues and the subject knowledge well.

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The History Curriculum in Three Countries – Curriculum Balance, National Identity, Prescription and Teacher Autonomy: The Cases of England, New Zealand and South Africa

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Abstract *The history curriculum of each of the three nations is examined against three sets of criteria: balance, national identity, and teacher autonomy versus prescription. The role of historians in rationalising the structure in each of these curricula is evaluated.*
These are seen as problems which any nation grapples with when designing a history curriculum.

England is in the process of seeking a new balance between a re-articulation of its post-colonial identity using signifiers from its role as the centrifugal power in the Commonwealth, and an equally problematic and almost schizophrenic ambiguity about its place both in and on the edge of Europe and its relationship with the USA. Alongside these concerns, the inter-relationship between England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland provides another dimension which can reduce, transform and modify pressure to focus on single-state national identity, with a newly emerging concept of Britishness given impetus by regular inputs from Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister.

New Zealand is, in a sense a rather like England, unsure of itself, though, unlike England and South Africa, it cannot and will not commit itself to specifics within a history curriculum, preferring a non-prescriptive attitude to content, encouraging presentism and social action rather than structuring a packaged development of its past for the earlier stages of education. History is given a potentially less controversial role by expressing it through notions of identity, culture, and organisation and the politically relatively neutral concepts of continuity and change. Nevertheless the 2006 consultation draft for the New Zealand Social Studies curriculum seems to reflect a society which, unlike England, is clearly not troubled by an ambiguity about its past glories and is not troubled by where it sees itself in any kind of assessment of its own nationalism. However the past is there in the form of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) (mentioned by name in Level Five of the proposed curriculum). This has led to an appeal for its place to receive the attention of stronger historical contextualisation in the curriculum from critics on a broad ideological front. Finding a new role in the wake of what Belich (2001) describes as re-colonisation is problematic and may explain some of the indecision.

The South African history curriculum emerges as a post-transitional model with a clearly articulated and self-confident rationale in a world after apartheid. Its content is set out with an internal balance across all stages, with a driving agenda of human rights, social justice and democratic values. The role of a number of historians in this process, and their partnership with the schools' advisory service, is significant and indicates a flourishing atmosphere of debate with features of social and intellectual reformation, enlightenment and renaissance.

Balance in England's history curriculum

What makes a balanced history curriculum? HMI writing in HIPSY (History in the Primary and Secondary Years)(DES, 1985) offered some guidance on criteria. There should be a balance of periods (e.g. broadly ancient, medieval, modern), there should be a balance of places (local, national, regional, world) and there should be a variety of time-span approaches (long-term, medium-term, short-term), but periods studied should be long enough to embrace the concept of change, or simply to embrace change. The sub-text of this HMI document, the brain-child of John Slater, Staff Inspector for History at the time, was that there should also be a balance between the essential skills of history (the syntactic knowledge, though this term was not used in the document) and the content of history (the substantive knowledge, and again this term was not used).

The government working party that drew up a National Curriculum for History for England took up these ideas. It divide the curriculum up into 'areas of study' or 'units' there were also other organisational dimensions that were more closely defined in the Interim (DES 1989) and Final reports (DES 1990) of the History Working Grou[, the 'PESC' formula. This relates to **p**olitical, **e**conomic, **s**ocial, and **c**ultural dimensions of periods or themes studied. For example, units 1 and 2 below in the Key Stage 1 curriculum for 5-7 year olds had a predominantly social orientation.

Is there balance in the current arrangements for Key Stages 1 to 3, i.e. 5-14 year olds? Key Stage 1 has personal or family history, local history, national and world history. It has ways of life (socio-economic), significant people (biographical) and events (narrative and even political history). Key Stage 2, 7-11, has considerable opportunities for studying ancient history or late antiquity. There is local history and discontinuous sampling of British history (i.e. gaps exist – no post-Conquest medieval history, nothing from 1603 – 1837, i.e. no 17th, 18th or early 19th centuries, no 1901 – 1929). There is no modern European or world history except seen through a British lens. There is ancient Greece which is arguably included because it represents 'desirable' classical high culture. Key Stage 3, 11-14 age range, has more choice in its one European two world history and history units, but it has no local history.

The role of historians in the original debate (1989 – 1990) was significant. Two historians were on the working group, each for half of the 12 months. The first was John Roberts author of *The Triumph of the West* (1985), the second was Peter Marshall historian of the British Empire and Commonwealth, and an expert of the history of India (e.g. Marshall, 1996). Outside the group there were other historians who were formally invited to contribute to the debate. Among these was Keith Robbins (President of the Historical Association at that time). He was very keen on developing the British agenda in the sense of Britain being Scotland, Wales and Ireland as well as England (before 1922 anyway), and for English school students knowing something of the histories of the other countries. He was strong defender of the key role of national history in education and deflected skilfully the accusations of nationalism (see Robbins, 1990, in contrast to Ball, 1993). Also involved were Raphael Samuel, Conrad Russell, and Robert Skidelsky, each from different political traditions (see Samuel 2003, Russell 1990, and Skidelsky 1990). Robbins' view of 'Three Kingdoms' history is supported by New Zealand historian J.G.A. Pocock who with Robbins believes in the conflation of the three (or four) narratives. Pocock's writings are relevant because they examine the Europeanisation of sovereignty after the UK's entry into the European Union, and the effect that this had on the New Zealand economy.

Historians are still interested in a continuing discourse about the role of history in the National Curriculum. There are two linked debates being conducted at the same time: how

history should be taught, and what emphasis should be placed on the British narrative. Involved now are David Starkey (see Starkey, 2006), Simon Schama (see Schama, 2000, 2001, and 2002), and Martin Daunton (President of the Royal Historical Society). The RHS has regular meetings with DfES Minster Andrew Adonis, and even Gordon Brown at number 11 (RHS newsletter autumn 2006). Starkey enraged some listeners in February 2005 by denigrating the work of E.H.Carr (1987) and the notion of skills-based and source-based enquiry in schools. Like Simon Schama, he supports the idea of the story being told, understood and remembered in schools. There has been some resistance among historians and in the national press to Gordon Brown's Britishness agenda (see below), but insofar as it reflects a consensus of what civilised values are then there is a consensus for it, but doubts about its tendency to trespass into the forbidden territory of British exceptionalism.

National identity in England's history curriculum

The word 'inheritances' was used in the Final Report of the History Working Group (1990), and preferred to 'heritage' or 'identity' or 'identities'. There were some strong criticisms of the perceived neo-Conservative agenda as seen in some of the chosen units (e.g. Ball, 1993 and Kelly, 1995).

The debate has recently been given a new impetus by a series of speeches on 'Britishness' by Gordon Brown (e.g. Brown 2006). The Fabian Society day conference on Britishness in January 2006 raised awareness of the existence of a strong grass-roots counter-culture especially among the Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities of England's metropolitan areas. This is reflected in critiques by Paul Gilroy (author of *The Black Atlantic* and *There's no Black in the Union Jack*) and Francesca Klug (the human rights expert), both present at the conference workshop on history. This is a taste of Brown's vision:

> And, of course, true to our ideals of liberty, responsibility and fairness, Britain leading the way in new measures to make the world safer, more secure and fairer – not just debt relief, the doubling of aid and, reflecting our openness as a nation, by securing a world deal on trade, but, from that foundation, proposing, true to our internationalism, a new way forward: a global new deal – universal free schooling for every child, universal free health care for every family – where the richest countries finally meet our commitments to the poorest of the world. So a modern view of Britishness founded on responsibility, liberty and fairness requires us to:
> • demand a new constitutional settlement;
> • take citizenship seriously;
> • rebuild civic society;
> • renew local government;
> • work for integration of minorities into a modern Britain, and
> • be internationalist at all times. (Brown 2006)

One driving force for Gordon Brown's speeches was the series of suicide bombings on the London Transport system on July 7th 2005, and the belief that a shared body of distinctly British values can be taught through a mix of citizenship and history, especially focusing on a post-1707 British history (the date of the uniting of the Scottish and English parliaments) with a stronger element of the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Brown made many references to the apparently approved master narrative of Linda Colley (19xx). However, Colley's analysis of the three factors determining the success of Britain as a great power (Protestantism, a hatred of 'popery' and particularly France, the willingness to use war as a political weapon) offers little comfort or help to a vision of History Education as a unifying, healing force that provides a sense of a common identity. Current developments even raise the profile of history as a divise element.

England (and 'Britain') has the problem of being associated by its past and present settler peoples with a very proactive role in colonialism and with slavery and the slave trade before their abolition(s). This affects relationships with Commonwealth countries like India and Pakistan. This has recently been further complicated by the dimension of international terrorism, some of which has been traced back to Pakistan (some of the July 7th 2005 suicide bombers had connections with Pakistan). Britain also has its ongoing alliance with the USA and its uncertain relationship with Europe as factors in creating an independent sense of identity. In many ways family history and local history are escape routes from the conflicts, dilemmas and pressures that issues of identity place of the history curriculum.

Prescription and teacher autonomy in England
Colin Richards (1999) has described the period from 1967 to 1988 as the 'unregulated curriculum', and the subsequent period which coincided with the introduction of the national curriculum and the national numeracy and literacy strategies, as 'regulated' with a consequent impact on teacher autonomy. The wish to re-examine the right balance between teacher autonomy and pupil entitlement, perhaps by a 'core' curriculum was an issue raised by Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan in his 'Great Debate' speech at Ruskin College Oxford in October 1976. Matheson (2002) indicates that this marked the failure of a period of experimental social democracy, and a rejection by the Labour party leadership of the liberal principles of R.H.Tawney in a move from teacher autonomy in the sense of control over the curriculum and its mode of delivery, to entitlement and accountability. However, even Mrs Thatcher was horrified by the amount of prescribed detail in the national curriculum of 1991/2 that was eventually trimmed by Sir Ron Dearing in 1993- 94 (Thatcher 1993).

New Zealand
Balance in history New Zealand's Social Studies curriculum
There is no guidance on this. However the online materials that teachers can draw upon (see Table XX) have a built-in but unstated rationale which corresponds broadly with commonsense advice on a balance of close and distant localities and chronological periods. History is not called 'history' as such in the earlier stages (Grades/Levels x – x) but is subsumed in Culture and Heritage and Time and Continuity. There is a built-in progression of learning, but this is expressed in terms of outcomes. There is no guidance on knowledge focuses as in South Africa. This lack of guidance has been criticised by Ann Low-Beer (1986) and Sue Ferguson (2001). The lack of knowledge among New Zealand's teachers about one specific event (the Treaty of Waitangi) has been highlighted in a recent PhD on that topic (Kunowski 2005). There has been a revival of interest in New Zealand's history with high sales of the late Michael Cook's popular Penguin edition (2003). New Zealand has other historians, both indigenous and expatriate, namely Keith Sinclair and James Belich in the former category, and John Pocock in the latter. Those with recent political experience have joined the debate, especially Simon Upton, a former Minister of Health, who has devoted much of his own 'Upton-online' website to his concerns about how history is neglected in New Zealand. His critique of Michael Cook's thesis is that it gives insufficient weight to how the British and European Enlightenment period developed – an era which contributed to the conditions and context through which the land became a part of the British empire. Upton would like the history of Christianity to be on the agenda too, as it has and had such an influence through the early missionaries and later. It is seen as having been a key unifying catalyst in this bi-cultural society.

In any history curriculum the relationship between academic scholars and teachers is a crucial one. Can any themes useful to New Zealand be found in their pages? Just as Gordon Brown finds some comfort in Linda Colley's analysis of 18th century Anglo-Scottish, New Zealanders

may find clues in their search for a historical rationale in James Belich's books. His balanced and detailed appraisals of Maori history include their military tactics, strategies and achievements during the unsettled wars of the 19th century. There may be too much of a struggle to unravel Pocock's more complex analysis which sets Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* in the times when it was written, and uses Gibbon's great work as a template to explain or develop the theme of 'Barbarism and Religion'. But Pocock's rationale suggests that New Zealand needs to see its history not in relation to the mother country alone, but alongside the histories of the USA, Canada and Australia. Mark Sheehan in a recent paper suggests that New Zealand needs not a history of New Zealand, but a history *for* New Zealand.

Peter Roberts (1998) reports on the ideological conflicts which have resulted in a lack of robustness in the curriculum decision-making process. The term 'political correctness' has been used by the Left and the Right to label the other side, as well as the use of moral absolutism and moral relativism, which appear in the submission from the Education Forum in the mid-1990s during the consultation period on the draft of the Social Studies curriculum (1995, 1996). The polarisation of the debate has had the unfortunate effect of creating two camps armed with sloganised arguments, and a descent into caricatures of the truth. The emergent view is both confusing and misleading. On the one side is apparently a forward-looking agenda, committed to enhancing the economy and opportunities for employment, reluctant to impose a commitment to study the past in a systematic way in the earlier years of school. To support this the traditional history curriculum is viewed as having a backward-looking 'academic' agenda, indeed as an old-fashioned and elitist school subject which is irrelevant.

History is accessible to all, and is neither essentially elitist nor economically irrelevant. The way it is taught or learnt can over-ride any governmental or innate predetermination. It has no fixed academic status and any attempt to use it for purposes of social engineering can be subverted by the teaching profession. Both syntactic and substantive elements have plasticities which are mouldable in the hands of an experienced teacher. Scholarship feeds into even the most popular of New Zealand histories, the best-seller written by the late Michael King, and is the property of all citizens, not just of academics. Knowledge of the national and related local, regional and international stories, and of the histories that feed into them and from them cannot be categorized by reference to social class or relevance to current economic success. It is about the structure of cultural literacy – a universal need.

The historian James Belich has recently (2001) expressed his concern about the state of history in New Zealand's schools and universities.

> I have discussed the problems and achievements of current historical scholarship elsewhere. The achievement is very considerable – indeed, it provides the sources that have made this book possible. But there is, I think, a persistent reluctance to accept the realities of recolonialisation and a tendency to focus instead on the more independent national history we would like to have happened. Outside scholarship, the message from past and present to each other is considerably worse. Though the Treaty House grounds are no longer a sheep farm, an investigation in 2000 found 'a deep lack of knowledge of the country's icon heritage attractions' among the public at large. Secondary school pupils still engage with New Zealand history to a stunningly limited degree. In 1999, of 65,000 pupils who sat School Certificate, fewer than 9,000, or 14 per cent, did history of any sort .Of 46,000 doing Sixth Form Certificate, only 10 per cent did history. Of 27,000 sitting the University Bursary exam, 5,000 did history. This amounted to a slightly healthier 18 per cent but, of these, over 60 per cent did Early Modern British history, 'Tudors and Stuarts', with les than 40 per cent doing New Zealand history – in fact some schools do not offer it in the

seventh form. In short the vast majority of New Zealand senior secondary school students still have little knowledge of their own country's past. One reason for this cultural self-lobotomy is depressingly simple. Education has been underfunded since 1975. The money, and the teacher time and energy, for new textbooks and retraining is not easy to find. But the problem also stems from the recolonial system, and from a failure to fully recognise it or its legacies. (Belich 2001: 546)

He goes on to explain what he means by recolonisation, and here inadvertently he supplies one of the rationales for the involvement of historians in curriculum change. His experience as an historian gives him an insight which can help New Zealanders understand themselves.

My own mixed feelings about recolonialisation may already be evident to the reader, and I wish to confess openly to them. I have to acknowledge it was a remarkable historical phenomenon: an amazing transcending of distance, a spatial miracle that made light of 12,000 miles and plugged London almost as firmly as Auckland into the New Zealand socio-economy. For almost a century, 1880s – 1970s it made New Zealand a virtual Scotland. As a comparative historian, I am intrigued by the possibility that the New Zealand pattern of progressive colonisation and recolonisation may help unravel problems in the histories of Canada and Australia, which also appear to have undergone both processes. This might also extend to the United States, where the Midwestern and far-western states arguably played New Zealand to New York's London, and at much the same time. As a New Zealand historian, I have to recognise that recolonisation had many benefits as well as costs. As a New Zealand historian uneasily engaged with the present, I have to accept that the system also has left legacies benign as well as malign, the useful as well as the redundant. (Belich 2001: 547)

The expatriate historian J.G.A.Pocock has also made a contribution to the debate about New Zealand's past, present and future, concluding that

… the issue of New Zealand's sovereignty must be an ongoing shared experience, a perpetual debate leading to several *ad hoc* agreements if necessary, to which the *Maori* and *pakeha* need to accustom themselves permanently. The alternative, an eventual rebirth of the violence and bloodshed of the 19th century 'Land Wars', cannot and must not be entertained. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Pocock, accessed November 12 2006; see also Pocock, 1992 and 2005)

Pocock has focused on New Zealand history in the context of his Enlightenment specialisation in his recent *The Discovery of Islands* (2005) where there are three chapters in his Part IV 'New Zealand in the Strange Multiplicity' devoted to New Zealand issues: The neo-Britains and the three empires (2003); *Tangata whenua* and Enlightenment anthropology (1992); Law, sovereignty and history in a divided culture: the case of New Zealand the Treaty of Waitangi (1992/1998). His first part also refers to what he calls 'the antipodean perception'.

National identity in New Zealand's Social Studies curriculum
Seeking a solution to problems of national identity is a key feature of the Social Studies curriculum, but it is defined in the bi-cultural terms of the twin, parallel and combined identities and histories of Maori and 'Pakeha'. The first volume of James Belich's history of New Zealand is entitled 'The Making of Peoples', and there is a key line in the Treaty of Waitangi '… we are one people'. The role of Maori in two world wars and in local and national government is exemplified in the online curriculum examples. Gallipoli and Cassino are seen as battles in the First and Second World Wars where a significant contribution was made by New Zealanders,

both 'Pakeha' and Maori. This contribution was reinforced by the visit of Helen Clark with 300 New Zealand service personnel to London for Remembrance Day (November 11th 2006).

Myra Kunowski who argues strongly for a critical knowledge of the country's history, cites political concern about the neglect of teaching about the Treaty:

> In the New Zealand setting, knowledge and understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi has been seen by recent governments to be fundamental to knowing who we are. The New Zealand Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Helen Clark (2003, 2004), has frequently stated that she would like to see more history taught in schools in order that New Zealanders do not grow up in ignorance of the past and, when articulating official government policy, has also made clear that the Treaty of Waitangi cannot be locked away as an historical document and considered to be no longer relevant. This message received tangible support in the 2003 Budget (Cullen, 2003) which allocated $6.5 million for a programme of public information on the Treaty to assist both Maori and Pakeha in arriving at a btter understanding of the agreement and its significance in the present day. (Kunowski 2005: 2)

The National Party too, currently in Opposition, are concerned about Treaty issues (see English 2002).

Prescription and teacher autonomy in New Zealand's Social Studies curriculum
Teacher autonomy is a key feature of the New Zealand Social Studies curriculum. It is a 'design your own curriculum' model. The challenge from critics (e.g. Low-Beer 1986 and Glowski 2002) relates to entitlement and accountability, the very issues which caused a change of direction in England in the 1980s. The evaluation of the Social Studies curriculum by the Australian Sue Ferguson focuses on the structure and the underlying pedagogy.

> The document sets out an excellent set of aims and objectives. The essential learnings and the perspectives are excellent along with the settings.

> The tight structure of the achievement objectives and the indicators is disappointing. There is no indication of the cognitive processes that are to be undertaken in the learning. It would be possible for teachers to adopt a didactic approach to teaching and learning activities and to technically address all the achievement objective and indicators.

> This document is the most unsatisfactory of all the documents considered in this study. The structure of the achievement objectives does not provide schools and teachers with sufficient advice to implement programs that fulfil the aims of the learning area. (Ferguson 2002)

Thus the lack of advice or guidance on settings has attracted recent regional criticism. However there are non-statutory units available rather along the same lines at the English QCA Schemes of Work at this website: http://www.tki.org.nz/r/socialscience/curriculum/SSOL/years1-3_e.php. This material was been produced by UNITEC Institute of Technology in Auckland under contract to the Ministry of Education. Examples of these online history units at various stages can be found in Appendix 2B.

Joanna Le Metais in her report for New Zealnad's Ministry of Education seemed to be recommending even less prescription than before, which is surprising:

> Experience in England suggests that, by consolidating teachers' understandings of how their existing practice can contribute to, and be reviewed to meet, the objectives, content,

pedagogies and assessment of student achievement of the Curriculum, it has been possible to reduce the level of prescription in subsequent versions. (Le Metais 2002: 70-71)

But nevertheless the latest draft (2006) (see Appendix 2A) reflects the Le Metais advice.

A curriculum that is less dependent on prescription through documentation has the potential to respond more flexibly to local needs and changes over time. It also allows for some negotiation of the curriculum with students, a factor which has been shown to increase motivation. (Le Metais 2002: 71)

James Belich suggests a deeper set of reasons about why self-assessment (and possibly, because of this, an understanding of its own history) is not a New Zealand strength, and he harks back to recolonisation to explain this. This is the final paragraph of his book *Paradise Reforged*.

My final reason for rejecting the evasion of recolonisation is that this evasion has unnecessarily marred our recent past and, to some extent, our present. In economics it led, as we have seen to the misdiagnosis of the problems of the last quarter-century. Good or bad, restructuring in itself was never going to compensate for the disconnecting of the town-supply district from its town. In culture, recolonisation has left us with an acute case of the tall-poppy syndrome and a flawed capacity for self-assessment. It is almost as though we still expect the really tall poppies should be in London, and that London will handle our cultural quality control. These problems are less likely to be resolved if we fail to recognise their recolonial roots. The failure to recognise the legacies of recolonisation, good and bad, and to recognise the traumatic but exciting process of decolonisation for what it is, may prevent us from realising the full potential of that process. The failure to recognise recolonisation's rise and fall has also left many New Zealanders insecure. They are uncertain about their capacity to manage change, to reject the bad and accept the good, or even to tell the difference between them. They are uneasy about burgeoning pluralism, partly because no-one has explained to them that it was the old homogeneity and conformism that was artificial, and not the new 'coming-out' of difference. They are uncomfortable about their identity, unsure about how the three fit into each other, and about what they actually mean. these are malign legacies not so much of recolonisation itself, but of the failure to understand it. For the sake of our future as well as our past, New Zealanders must face up to the realities of our modern history. Recolonisation is a ghost that must be laid only by confronting it. (Belich 2001: 549)

South Africa
Balance in South Africa's history curriculum
There is a clear structure in the South Africa history curriculum, broadly corresponding with the advice given in England in the HMI report of 1985. There is balance of historical periods, and there is local, national, regional and world history. The periods studied are certainly long enough to illustrate the dimension of change.

The ministerial committee involved in the curriculum subgroup included the historians Yonah Seleti and Jeff Guy (both of the University of KwaZulu-Natal) and Albert Grundlingh of the University of Stellenbosch. There was then further input into the content framework once the first draft was around from Vivian Bickford-Smith, Nigel Worden and Chris Saunders (each of the University of Cape Town). The involvement of this number of academics at a formal level is greater than that during the structuring of the English curriculum 1989 – 1990, and one senses a collegiality and commonness of purpose leading to a creatively constructed curriculum

National identity in South Africa's history curriculum
Recent developments in South Africa's history are a significant factors in the structure of its history curriculum. The end of apartheid in 1994 and the relatively peaceful transition of power to a non-white majority are events which form a backdrop to the documentation. There are very clear statements which place the history curriculum in the context of a shared understanding of national identity. The model adopted reflects Michael Ignatieff's (1993) preference within two conflicting models of national identity: the ethnic and the democratic.

These (1 – 3) are quotes from the South African National Curriculum:

(1) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provides the basis for curriculum transformation and development in South Africa. The Preamble to the Constitution states that the aims of the Constitution are to:

o   heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
o   improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person;
o   lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and
o   build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

Education and the curriculum have an important role to play in realising these aims. The curriculum aims to develop the full potential of each learner as a citizen of a democratic South Africa.

(2) Values, human rights issues and teaching approach
The Social Sciences Learning Area makes a crucial contribution to understanding and transforming society and the environment. The values of our Constitution form the basis of all values in the Social Sciences Learning Area. These values, together with human rights and environmental issues, are integral to teaching and learning in Social Sciences. They should influence the way key questions are formulated and, through this, focus the content. When working with History and Geography within Social Sciences, various issues should be explored – race, gender, class, xenophobia, genocide and the impact these have had in the past and the present. It is important to examine power relations in the past and present, including access to and distribution of resources, the exercising of political power, gender relations, and the influence they have had and continue to have on people's lives.

(3) The Social Sciences Learning Area Statement:
o   has been designed to give space to the silent voices of history and to marginalised communities.
o   aims to develop a sense of agency in learners. It is important that young people understand that they are able to make choices in order to make a difference for positive change. They should be encouraged to do this not only in an historical context of learning from the past, but also to make choices in the present and for the future, for the development of an ethic of sustainable living.
o   aims to provide learners with knowledge, understanding and skills which will enable them to make judgements. Respect for and appreciation of all cultures and languages is integral to this critical questioning as a basis for developin responsible citizens in a Learning Area. It promotes democracy. In exploring the causes of conflict – both political

and environmental, in the past and present – learners should gain insightsthat will contribute to peace and the development of non-violent responses to conflict.

Prescription and teacher autonomy in South Africa's history curriculum
There is certainly greater prescription in the knowledge focuses in South Africa than there is in New Zealand. The end of the apartheid period (which had lasted from1949 to 1994) marked a major change in political structure and this was inevitably reflected in the new curriculum. There was some continuity however.

> The right to construct national 'core' syllabuses in all South African schools subjects had been vested in the four 'white' provincial education departments since the 1960s. The content of these syllabuses, which were constructed by majority Afrikaner committees, was allowed to be supplemented by the other (racially determined) education departments, when they drew up their own versions. Usually, however, very few changes were made to them and, despite the 'separate' character of apartheid, all schools used these white syllabuses. While they were regarded as prescriptive, the syllabuses were never specified in detail. Topic headings only were supplied. This meant that textbooks became crucial instruments in the transmission of the history taught in classrooms, as it was the textbooks that decided what version of history was taught. In very many schools the textbooks (often only one title) were the sole resources available to teach and learn history. (Siebörger in Foster and Crawford 2006:2)

As with the English curriculum the outlines do not specify detail, and this can be supplied by teachers. Local history affords the opportunity for a great deal of curriculum development. The consensus which was implicit in the emergent curriculum implies a willing groundforce of teachers co-operating to implement the curriculum.

Discussion and conclusions

In the constantly changing world, there are many ways to construct and redefine history curricula. One of these is to leave the decision to individual schools or even individual teachers. Another is to seek a broad consensus through a partnership of interested agencies and these might include parents, politicians, curriculum advisers, teachers and historians. Each of the three societies discussed above have features of transition and each have had to address issues of colonisation, as well as post-colonial self-evaluation and an adjustment to a process of restructuring in the light of recolonisation or resettlement, though in different ways and different degrees in each case. The professional perspectives of historians can help in the process of self-evaluation (as has been seen with the insights of James Belich into the state uncertainty in New Zealanders' perceptions of their own identities. However it seems that the strong involvement of university historians in the South African curriculum project proved effective, and such a process could be classified as an apolitical factor in the creation of any successful curriculum anywhere in the world. It may indeed be a course of action from which New Zealand might well profit.

Perhaps the kind of benevolent prescription which is a feature of South Africa's curriculum is impossible in New Zealand and will not be until there is national debate on where the country is historically and how this has happened (Belich 2001). It is ironical that as I write (November 2006) much of the political agenda in Britain seems to be being dictated by events which are happening in Pakistan, other parts of the Middle East, and the USA. This is a subtle mix of different agendas, the colonial, post-colonial and re-colonial being among them, but in curriculum terms it marks a sea-change which reveals the inadequacy of a neo-conservative

approach in a world increasingly driven by reactions to al-Qaeda initiatives. Thus a curriculum will emerge which reflects the development and ramifications of this situation (see Nichol 2006).

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Appendices
Appendix 1: English National Curriculum History

Template of substantive knowledge or 'knowledge focus' for history in English schools since September 2000		
Key Stage 1 (ages 5 – 7) 4 areas of study within 'Breadth of study' Changes in their own lives and the way of life of their family or others around them	**Key Stage 2 (ages 7 – 11) 6 units within 'Breadth of study'** Local history	**Key Stage 3 (ages 11 – 14) 6 units within 'Breadth of study'** (there is nothing that corresponds with local history, but local history is seen as a dimension in the British units below)
The way of life of people in the more distant past who lived in the local area or elsewhere in Britain	British history 1 Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Vikings (overview and choice)	British history 1 Britain 1066-1500
The lives of significant men, women and children drawn from the history of Britain and the wider world [for example, artists, engineers, explorers, inventors, pioneers, rulers, saints, scientists]	British history 2 Britain and the wider world in Tudor times	British history 1 Britain 1500-1750
Past events from the history of Britain and the wider world [for example, events such as the Gunpowder Plot, the Olympic Games, other events that are commemorated].	British history 3 Choose between Victorian Britain Britain since 1930	Britain 1750-1900
	Regional history (Europe) Ancient Greece	European study before 1914
	World history – choose one from: Ancient Egypt Benin Aztecs Maya Indus Valley Sumer Mesopotamia	A world study before 1900
		A world study after 1900

Table 1: The English history curriculum: content or 'breadth of study' in all three key stages (DfEE/QCA 2000)

Syntactic template or 'outcomes' for all 3 key stages of English history curriculum
Chronological understanding

Knowledge and understanding of events, people and changes in the past
Historical interpretation
Historical enquiry
Organisation and communication

Table 2: The English history curriculum: The template of principles of 'knowledge, skills and understanding' for all three key stages (DfEE/QCA 2000).

Appendix 2A
Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum

From the Draft for Consulation 2006 http://www.tki.org.nz/e/tki/

Social Sciences
Identity, Culture, and Organisation
• Students learn about society and communities and how they function,
about the diverse cultures and identities of people within those communities, and about the impact of these on the participation of groups and individuals.
Place and Environment
• Students learn about how people perceive, represent, interpret, and interact with places and environments to understand the relationships between people and the environment.
Continuity and Change
Students learn about past events, experiences, and actions, and their changing interpretation over time, to understand about the past, the present, and possible futures.
The Economic World
Students learn about the ways in which people participate in economic activities and about consumption, production, and distribution and use this knowledge to understand their place in the economic world.

Social Inquiry
Through social inquiry, students ask questions, gather information, and examine the background to important societal ideas and events, explore and analyse values and perspectives relating to these ideas and events; and develop understandings about issues and the ways that people (themselves and others) make decisions and participate in social action.

Level One
Through this process and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
people belong to groups for particular reasons;
individuals and groups have social, cultural, and economic roles and responsibilities;
the past is important to people;
places in New Zealand are significant for individuals and groups;
the cultures of people in New Zealand are expressed in their daily lives.
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:

Level Two
Through this process and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
people have different roles, rights, and responsibilities as part of their participation in groups;
people and groups make choices to fulfil their needs and wants;
cultural practices reflect and express peoples' customs, traditions, and values;
time and change affect peoples' lives;
places influence people and people influence places;
particular people make significant contributions to New Zealand's society;
the role of Maori as tangata whenua is significant for communities in New Zealand.

Level Three

Through this process and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
formal and informal groups make decisions that impact on communities;
cultural practices vary but reflect similar purposes;
people have different perspectives on places that affect their use of those places;
people make decisions about access to and use of resources;
people remember and record the past in different ways;
the migration of tangata whenua is significant for people in New Zealand;
the movement of people affects cultural diversity and interaction in New Zealand.

Level Four
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
leadership of groups is acquired and exercised in ways that have consequences
for communities and societies;
people pass on and sustain culture and heritage for different reasons and this has
consequences for people;
exploration creates opportunities and challenges for people, places, and
environments;
events have causes and effects;
producers and consumers have rights and responsibilities;
New Zealand has particular local and national systems of government;
people participate individually and collectively to respond to community
challenges and issues in New Zealand.

Level Five
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
nations develop systems of government that affect people's lives and reflect
different types of decision making;
cultural interaction impacts on cultures and societies;
people move between places, which has consequences for the people and the places;
economic decisions impact on people, communities, and nations;
the way people manage resources has impacts for environmental and social
sustainability;
the Treaty of Waitangi is responded to differently by people in different times and
places;
ideas and actions of people in the past have had a significant impact in shaping people's
lives and identities in New Zealand's developing society;
people in New Zealand seek and have sought economic growth through business,
enterprise, and innovation.

Level Six
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
individuals, groups, and institutions work to promote social justice and human
rights;
cultures adapt and change, and this has consequences for society.
History
there are causes and consequences of past events that are of significance to New
Zealanders and that shape the lives of people and society;

people have different perspectives about past events that are of significance
to New Zealanders.
Geography
natural and cultural environments have particular characteristics and are shaped
by processes that create spatial patterns;
people interact with their environments in particular ways.
Economics
as a result of scarcity, consumers, producers, and government make choices
that affect New Zealand society;
the different sectors of the New Zealand economy are interdependent.

Level Seven
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
communities and nations meet their responsibilities and exercise their rights in local,
national, and global contexts;
different cultural beliefs and ideas can lead to conflict and tension.
History
historical forces and movements have influenced the causes and consequences
of events of significance to New Zealanders;
people have different interpretations of events that are of significance to New
Zealanders.
Geography
natural and cultural patterns and processes change over time and vary in scale and
from place to place;
perceptions of and relationships with natural and cultural environments differ
and have changed over time.
Economics
economics provides an understanding of contemporary New Zealand economic issues;
economic issues in New Zealand are interrelated.

Level Eight
Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:
Social Studies
ideologies shape society, and individuals and groups have different responses to these
beliefs;
the rights, roles, and responsibilities of individuals and communities are influenced by and
impact on the nature of reform.
History
the causes, consequences, and explanations of historical events that are of significance
to New Zealanders are complex and contested;
trends over time reflect social, economic, and political forces.
Geography
natural and cultural environments are shaped by interacting processes that occur at differing
rates and scales;
people bring diverse values, perceptions, and responses to the environmental, social, and
economic choices, constraints, and consequences of planning and decision making.
Economics
well-functioning markets are efficient, but governments may need to intervene where
markets fail to deliver efficient or equitable outcomes;
there are many influences on the nature and size of the New Zealand economy.

Through this process, and in a range of settings, students understand that:

Appendix 2b – Online curriculum materials for New Zealand Social Studies

Years 1-3

Boats, Trains, Cars and Planes
In this unit students travel through time to learn about developments in transport and how this has changed New Zealand communities.

Cakes and Candles
This unit looks at the ways different groups celebrate birthdays and some of the traditions associated with this important celebration in children's lives.

Celebrating Birthdays
Conduct an inquiry into birthday customs and traditions around the world and plan a classroom birthday party for Q-Bear.

Down on the Farm
There's lots happening down on the farm, so join the class inquiry into the different types of work people do on dairy farms around New Zealand. The unit includes preparation for a farm visit and plenty more.

Our Community
This community based Inquiry takes students on a tour of their neighbourhood to look at community resources and to think about why places are important to people. It involves Social Decision Making and constructing a Box City.

Fill Your Trolley - Supermarkets
Students find out about the different resources people use and the types of jobs people do at the supermarket.

Hammer and Nails
Nicky's room has been building houses. They have put them on real concrete piles, nailed and glued the walls, added a roof - requiring a roof shout last Friday - put in spouting and septic tank lines, and are about to paint. Aren't five year olds amazing? -Huirangi School Newsletter, August 2000

Helpful Hands
Students conduct an Inquiry and use Kid Pix to learn about the role of the school caretaker, and to explain why the caretaker belongs to the school group.

The Pyramids of Egypt
Step back into Ancient Egyptian times to explore how and why the past is important to people.

Reduce Reuse Recycle
In this integrated social studies/English unit, students will learn about recycling and the environment, and write a fact file that describes two jobs that people do in the

recycling process.

Years 4 - 6

At the Woolshed
New Zealand boasts a flock of 46 million sheep and is the second largest wool producer in the world. Learn about how and why people manage the production of this important New Zealand resource. The unit includes a visit to a wool shed to see part of the process in action.

Boats, Trains, Cars and Planes
In this unit students travel through time to learn about developments in transport and how this has changed New Zealand communities.

Cold Down Under
From early explorers to scientists, poets and conservationists, in this unit students carry out an Inquiry into how different groups view and use the Antarctic.

Crimes and Consequences
In this unit students explore how and why people make and implement rules and laws. The unit includes an Inquiry, some Values Exploration and Social Decision Making.

Cyber Cash
This unit focuses on banking, outlining ways people manage their financial resources and finding out why people use banks to do this.

Destination: Korea
Students travel on a mock flight to South Korea to take a look at the Korean education system and way of life. This unit involves carrying out an inquiry and a values exploration.

Egypt
The students carry out an action learning inquiry that examines the different ways that Ancient Egyptians recorded their lives.

Hillary Challenge
Take up the Hillary Challenge to learn about how people record and remember the life and achievements of Sir Edmund Hillary in different ways.
This unit is designed for use with the *Hillary - Nothing Venture, Nothing Win* CD issued to all New Zealand schools during May 2003.

The Pyramids of Egypt
Step back into Ancient Egyptian times to explore how and why the past is important to people.

Tall Poppies: A Look at Leadership
A look at leadership. This Internet focused unit examines how people become leaders

of groups, and how they exercise that leadership.

Te Ao o te Tiriti - The World of the Treaty
Explore rights and responsibilities through Te Ao o te Tiriti in this unit with an Essential Learning About New Zealand Society focus.

Te Kawa o te Marae
This unit is designed to help children prepare for a visit to a local marae where they will learn about marae protocol and Maori culture and heritage.

To Matou Wahi - Our Place
An integrated English/Social Studies unit in which students are encouraged to investigate and explore the history of their local community. Local dignitaries and kaumatua are invited to talk about early settlers and the development of the area.

Turrets and Treachery
In this integrated social studies/English unit, students travel back in time to learn how and why people made and enforced rules and laws in medieval times.

Why Celebrate
Whether it is New Year, a wedding, a harvest or other festival, people all over the world celebrate in many different ways. Students explore a variety of these celebrations and learn about how they have similar purposes.

Years 7 - 8

A Long Way Home
A Long Way Home looks at refugees today and in the past. This Internet based unit investigates how people organise themselves in response to challenge and crisis. It also focuses on the causes of those events and the ways they affect people's lives.

Classroom Trade Day
In this unit students participate in a classroom simulation of an APEC Trade Fair. They will learn about how and why countries view and use resources differently as they trade, and the consequences of that.

Crafty Consumers
This unit explores ways people use money differently when they buy goods and services. It also examines how and why individuals and groups seek to safeguard the rights of the consumer.

Dr Livingstone, I presume?
An integrated English/Social Studies unit. Students identify the experiences and challenges that people face as they explore and find out about new places. They are encouraged to explain why and how explorers have undertaken journeys.

Hillary Challenge
Reach the summit by taking on the Hillary Challenge and learn how Sir Edmund Hillary's achievements have impacted on others. This unit is designed for use with the *Hillary - Nothing Venture, Nothing Win* CD issued to all New Zealand schools during May 2003.

Land of Plenty
New Zealand is made up of many ethnic groups who have migrated here. This unit is about a few of the immigrant groups that left their homeland for the unknown - New Zealand. It looks at how and why these groups pass on their culture and heritage in New Zealand.

Outbreak: The Influenza Epidemic in New Zealand 1918
In this unit students study the causes of the 1918 influenza epidemic and the effects it had on people's everyday lives.

More than a Holiday: Labour Day
Samuel Parnell's struggle to promote workers rights in New Zealand is celebrated each Labour Day. In this unit, students learn about his ideas, create a cartoon strip that tells his story and take a look at current issues relating to children and work.

Picking up the Pieces
This unit explores the effects of a natural disaster by looking at the experience of the people of Gujarat in India, who faced a major earthquake in January 2001. Students look at the short and long-term effects of the earthquake and describe how aid

organisations helped to provide for people's needs after the earthquake.

Silk Stockings and Sand-traps
In this unit the students interview a New Zealand woman who experienced World War II. They analyse ways women's lives changed during this time, and the response to this.

Tangata Whenua: The First Innovators
This unit looks at the ways early Mäori settlers interacted with the environment and how these interactions are reflected in the environment today. It links to a number of aspects of Essential Learning About New Zealand Society including Mäori migration, settlement, life, and interaction in various areas of New Zealand over time; changing patterns of resource and land use and the location and significance of important natural and cultural features of the landscape.

Tropical Rainforests: An Endangered Resource
Here's a chance for your students to conduct a Social Studies Inquiry into the ways people use the tropical rainforest resource differently. They can also use online resources to explore some of the important issues that relate to this topic.

Utter Isolation
In this unit students study the culture and heritage of Tristan da Cunha, the world's most remote inhabited island.

Years 8 - 9

Access Denied
This unit is built around a co-operative group assessment activity and provides useful examples of self and peer assessment schedules. Students investigate aid agencies that are working to help people gain both access to resources and basic human rights.

Drink Anyone?
Access to safe water and sanitation can be regarded as a basic human right. This unit examines factors that prevent people from gaining access to water. It encourages students to consider what types of social action could be taken to improve people's access to this essential resource.

Footsteps of a Nation
One of the 'footsteps' in New Zealand's past that has had considerable impact on relationships between people in New Zealand today, is the Treaty of Waitangi. This unit examines the impact of this founding document on relationships between Maori and European-Pakeha in the past, today and the future.

Fortune's Cookie
Ever since the first Chinese goldminers arrived in New Zealand in search of fortune's cookies, they have been subjected to discrimination. This unit explores the impact of racist hysteria on Chinese New Zealanders from the 1860s until the present day.

Go West
How was the West won and who precisely was it won from? What would make you pack up your family and travel for 6 months in harsh and dangerous conditions to a new home? You think you had a bad day try being a pioneer woman in the American West. Why would someone feel "the only good Indian was a dead Indian"? All this and more in Go West.

Greenies versus Greedies
How do people manage access to resources goods and services so that the resources themselves are protected? Students examine differing values positions about the sustainable management of resources and decide how access to resources can be managed effectively.

Hillary Challenge
The challenge: find out how people have viewed the impact of Sir Edmund Hillary's ideas and actions over time. This unit is designed for use with the *Hillary - Nothing Venture, Nothing Win* CD issued to all New Zealand schools during May 2003.

The Holocaust
A unit based on the Holocaust in Germany and Nazi occupied Europe 1933-1945, which relates the events of the Holocaust directly to the need to maintain human rights today. It examines ways in which people in the past have fought to maintain

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and regain their Human Rights.

A Just World

An Inquiry based unit that allows students to take on the role of detective and investigate cases of human rights abuses around the globe. They then decide on possible social action that people could take to fight for social justice and human rights.

The Killing Fields

A unit based on the superb resource, **Borany's Story**, which follows members of a Cambodian family as they are forced to move from their home in Phnom Penh, struggle to survive the Killing Fields, and ultimately begin new lives as refugees in New Zealand.

Kiwi Identity

Who are we? Is there such a thing as a common Kiwi Identity in twenty first century New Zealand? How do national and cultural identities develop? What is New Zealand's best know icon? You may find the answers in this unit.

Leave Only Footprints

What is ecotourism? What does it mean to be a socially responsible traveller? Students explore the concept of ecotourism and apply their knowledge to planning an environmentally sound tourist resort.

Lice 'n' Latrines: New Zealanders at Gallipoli

Students use a variety of web based resources to inquire into past events at Gallipoli during the "Great War" and explain why this distant peninsula is such a significant place for many New Zealanders.

Money Doesn't Grow on Trees

Based on the UN's CyberSchoolBus Poverty Curriculum, this unit examines factors that influence people's access to resources, goods and services.

Our Small World

This unit, written by DevZone, uses the video Our Small World and the internet to explore the shrinking population of the Tokelau Islands and the impact on New Zealand. The unit covers the Place and Environment achievement objective 5.1, supported by Resources and Economic activities achievement objective 5.1.

The Rock and Roll Era

Mods, winklepickers, 45s and beatlemania. This was the language that helped define the culture of the baby boomers in the Sixties, but today's teenagers may never have come across these terms. Students investigate how youth culture is developed and maintained, and explore different people's values about aspects that defined the Rock and Roll era.

A Sacred Gift

Tongariro National Park is a significant place for many people. It was gifted to the

people of New Zealand by Te Heuheu over a century ago. Students explore the park and investigate how ideas about conservation have changed over time.

Situation Vacant?
What type of work did people do in the 'olden days'? How does it differ from the work they do now? Students conduct a Mini Inquiry into the changing nature of work in a chosen sector of the economy.

Sanctuary on the Faultline
Students use a variety of resources to discover the special character of the Karori Wildlife Sanctuary and explain why it is, and will be, significant for people.

Saying Sorry
Helen Clark apologised in 2002, on behalf of the New Zealand government, to the Chinese community for the imposition of the poll tax from 1881 to 1941. Why was the poll tax imposed? What impact did this discriminatory policy have on the lives of early Chinese settlers? This unit uses the values exploration and social decision making processes to explore the viewpoints of Chinese New Zealanders about the apology and its aftermath.

Some Place
Why are different places and environments significant for some people but not for others? This unit uses two related local area case studies to inquire into reasons why places are significant for people.

The Stolen Generation
A range of values exploration activities is provided to explore the issue of The Stolen Generation. This is the result of the policy of assimilation in Australia which changed the lives of up to 100,000 mixed race Aboriginal children. There are moves in Australia to redress this injustice including an annual "National Sorry Day" and calls for the current government to apologise formally to the Aboriginal community.

Sunshine Sisters
"We want men to 'stand out of our sunshine', that is all..." said Margaret Sievwright, a New Zealand suffragist in the nineteenth century. The Sunshine Sisters unit examines the strategic role of a few key suffragists in New Zealand in the late 1800's. The long term impact of women obtaining the vote is examined by comparing women at work, in politics and in society today with their 'sisters' in the past.

Time Tourist: A Trip to Ancient Rome
Looking around the world there are some places that people find fascinating. Students will take a tour back to Ancient Rome and investigate why this ancient society is still significant for people today.

Walk Like an Egyptian
Students take a tour of significant places in Egypt. They explore the Great Pyramids, the Sphinx, the Valley of the Kings and Queens and the Temples; investigate how the actions of the Pharaohs in constructing such monuments have been viewed through

time; and consider the impact of tourism on these historic places.

When Cultures Meet
Students look at the impact of cultural interaction on Pacific Peoples, both in the Pacific and New Zealand. Included is a fascinating study of Tatau - Samoan tattooing.

Who's the Boss
Students investigate how two different systems of government are organised, and how they affect peoples' lives, by examining Pol Pot's dictatorship in Cambodia and democracy in New Zealand. The unit includes a Social Decision Making assessment activity.

World Famous in New Zealand
This is an inquiry based unit, focusing on how people have viewed the ideas and actions of two of New Zealand's most notable women - Kate Sheppard and Princess Te Puea Herangi. What was it about these two women that have made them 'World Famous in New Zealand' and why are they not as well known as they should be? There is also the opportunity in this unit for students to conduct an inquiry into other notable New Zealand women.

Years 11 - 13

Cultural Interaction: The Great Immigration Debate
The presence, interaction and differences between cultural groups in New Zealand is one of the biggest issues facing our nation. In this unit, events in the history of our immigrant nation are examined in the light of current responses to newcomer immigrants. Case studies of Chinese, Maori and European migration are used and linked with the contemporary immigration debate. The impact of cultural groups on New Zealand society is considered in 2.2 (*Examine ways people influence society*). An Inquiry (Achievement Standard 2.3) looks at the response of New Zealanders to newcomer immigration, and values positions taken in the immigration debate are examined in Achievement Standard 2.4.

Fields of Death
Landmines have killed and maimed (and continue to kill and maim) millions of people, many of them children, around the world. Students investigate the impact of landmines on people and places, and examine actions that are being taken to address this major global issue.

For Sale: Aotearoa New Zealand
New Zealand is a valuable commodity. Not only is it a destination for over two million tourists each year, but increasingly it is a source of interest for overseas investors. This unit examines the marketing of New Zealand at a regional and national level and the consequences this could have. It also considers the controversial sale of New Zealand icons and real estate (such as Young Nick's Head) and the conflict of viewpoints that emerge. (Achievement Standards 1.4 and 1.5).

Getting into Genes

The genetic engineering debate is ongoing. This unit enables students to examine viewpoints for and against genetic engineering from individuals, consumer organisations, pressure groups, government agencies and major companies. In addition, this unit explores how individuals have acted on their opinions about this global issue.

Kiwi Kollaboration

New Zealand has a number of commitments to a wide range of international organisations, for many different purposes. This unit, which prepares students for the Social Studies 2.5 achievement standard *Plan social action in relation to a social issue*, explores these commitments in the past and currently. It is very topical due to ongoing media debate about our role in international affairs.

On Ice

Antarctica is known as the Last Great Wilderness - but will it continue to stay this way or will the ambitions of explorers, scientists, nations and tourists destroy this continent? This unit examines Antactica's resources on and the decisions made about their use. Conflicting values over resources are assessed in a 1.4 values exploration assessment and students are encouraged to form their own decisions in an Achievement Standard 1.5 (Talkback host: Antarctic tourism).

Our Melting Pot

This unit was designed to introduce Year 11 students in a richly multicultural school to senior Social Studies. It begins the process of preparing students for NCEA by gently integrating two formative achievement standards related tasks into the study of cultural change.

Our Small World

This is a unit developed by DevZone to look at cultural adaptation and changes in roles and responsibilities in the Tokelau Islands. It uses the video Our Small World supported by resources from the Internet to create a visually interesting unit with a wide range of activities. Two assessments (for achievement standards1.1 and 1.5) are provided.

Ronald Rulz OK?

Love them or hate them, McDonalds have had an enormous impact on more than just our diet. The process of McDonaldisation has, according to sociologist George Ritzer, spread way beyond the fast food industry and into our lives. How McDonaldised are you?

War and Peace - the Battle for Vietnam

Nearly three decades on from the finish of the Vietnam War, the Americans, their allies (including New Zealand) and the people of Vietnam still feel its effects. This unit examines beliefs and ideas held during the time of the Vietnam War and how they changed society and continue to change it. It addresses Achievement Standard 1.1.

We Protest!

This unit starts by asking students to become detectives, to inquire into a mysterious

death. They then apply the Inquiry skills they have practised to an investigation of Treaty of Waitangi issues and examine ways in which people participate in society (Achievement Standard 1.2).

Appendix 3
The South Africa History Curriculum (Grades 4 – 12)

South Africa		
Grade 4	**Grade 5**	**Grade 6**
Histories of leaders in South Africa, Africa and the world (eg Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph, Robert Sobukwe, Steve Biko, Rosa Parks, Mahatma Ghandi)	**Southern Africa** Early societies: hunter-gatherer societies, Khoisan and African farmers until 1600 AD in southern Africa including: Living within an environmental reality Including interactions involving co-operation and conflict Appropriate technology Forms of political leadership (eg chiefdoms) Stories that explore systems of belief.	**South Africa** Early contact and colonisation at the Cape: Co-operation, trade and conflict between the Dutch and the Khoisan Colonial settlement, land registration and dispossession Cape slavery and Indian Ocean slave trade
Stories of families and communities, which express human values of concern for others, triumph over obstacles, resistance against wrong, and valuing human rights (eg District Six, Sophiatown, provincial or local examples such as Magopa)	**Africa** Egyptian civilisation: Relationship between rulers and peasants/cultivators Civilisation built on environment Trade and communication Belief systems Arts, culture, technology Links between Egyptian and Mediterranean civilisations (e.g. Phoenician, Greek, Roman)	**Africa** Representations of Africa on early maps **Islam in Africa** Spread of Islam, centres of learning, travels and accounts of Ibn Battuta, Muslim scholarship and historical reporting on Africa, West African empires (e.g. Mali and Songhay) **Trans-Saharan trade** Salt, gold, the desert and Sudan, interactions between Tuareg, Muslim traders from North Africa **Africa and slavery**

		Trade, European conquest, internal and trans-Saharan slave trade, Atlantic Ocean slave trade
The history of transport over time: from the earliest ways of transporting goods and people to the most modern, on land, sea and in the air	**World** An early civilisation, such as Mesopotamia, the Indus River Valley, China, the Americas: Relationship between rulers and ordinary people The role of the environment and technology in early civilisations Trade and communication Farming and the rise of cities Culture and belief systems	**World** Development in mapping, including representations of Africa on early maps, science and technology in the world: Investigating various contributions from different parts of the world **Exploration and exploitation from the 14th century** Asia, Americas, Africa Technology and travel Impact on indigenous people Economic and political interests Tiers of government Children's rights in the Bill of Rights Participation in clubs and societies in the school community (e.g. debating society, oral history club)
The history of communication and the media over time	**Local and provincial studies** An aspect of local/provincial studies: Heritage, identity and symbols (eg buildings, monuments, sites, landmarks, persons of historical significance)	**Local and provincial studies** An aspect of local or provincial studies linked to African or world themes covered, (e.g. investigating an Iron Age site in the local area or province)

	Oral tradition and the significance of place names, names of rivers, mountains and other landmarks Role of democratically elected leaders Participation in the democratic process in the classroom	
History of the local area or district (eg people, places, resources, beliefs linked to natural features, buildings, the school, sites, symbols and monuments, museums)		
Oral tradition and place names, names of rivers, mountains and other landmarks		
Key features of democracy (eg voting, elections, a constitution, freedom of speech, protection of human rights)		
Stories from the past about human rights' violations (e.g. stories about children like Hector Petersen)		
Values and approach	**Values and approach**	**Values and approach**
Promote an understanding of the different perceptions of time, such as different calendars used in the world today Promote an understanding of different attitudes and beliefs about place in different societies Explore aspects of the social experience of apartheid through music, artwork, love stories - focus on the impact of apartheid on peoples' lives Promote and encourage	Focus on the egalitarian values that informed most hunter-gatherer societies. Give attention to the harmony between people and their environment in these societies Point out how male-dominated societies and histories have excluded women Encourage learners to make use of relevant terms and concepts such as 'archive' and 'interpretation' Encourage learners to	Examine the struggle over land, labour and resources as key themes in understanding early colonisation Explore the cultural, religious and trade relations between Africa and other countries in the world Promote an awareness of the violation of human rights in the period of exploration, colonisation and slavery (stereotypes and racism) Recognise different

questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy	begin to confront issues such as bias and stereotyping	perspectives on the emancipation of slaves
Promote an awareness of the importance of telling stories of the past and valuing objects of historical significance	Assist learners to make the distinction between fact and opinion	Promote and encourage questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy
Encourage the use of and respect for all languages in South Africa when learners interview people	Promote and encourage questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy	Promote knowledge of the contributions of indigenous communities and early civilisations to science and technology
Assist learners with knowledge construction and interpretation, ensuring that this is informed by the values of our Constitution and human rights	Explore issues relating to human rights in early civilisations	Explore the effects of science and technology on people and the environment
Draw links between the past and the present (e.g. current events)	Highlight the skill and creativity of human beings in different contexts (e.g. methods of communication, buildings, technological inventions, works of art)	Promote the construction of knowledge from sources and evidence in the context of the Constitution
Organise visits to places of historical importance in the local community in the context of the content studied (e.g. apartheid heritage sites such as the Nelson Mandela Museum in Umatata)	Highlight the contributions to knowledge, science, technology, mathematics made by early societies and civilisations	Encourage the use of and respect for all languages in South Africa when learners interview people
	Ensure that the process of constructing knowledge from sources and evidence is shaped by the values of the Constitution	Draw links between the past and the present (e.g. current events)
	Promote awareness of the need to conserve the environment and respect heritage sites	Organise visits to places of historical importance in the local community in the context of the content studied (e.g. heritage sites such as archaeological sites)
	Encourage the use of and respect for all languages in South Africa when learners interview people	
	Draw links between the past and the present (e.g. current events)	
	Organise visits to places of historical importance in the	

	local community in the context of the content studied (e.g. local Iron Age and archaeological sites)	
Communication skills	**Communication skills**	**Communication skills**
You should encourage learners to discuss and debate their ideas with one another. With guidance, they can begin to construct historical knowledge by using a variety of sources (oral, visual and written). They also begin to identify different interpretations of the same event. They can write paragraphs and construct their own books, collages or posters, and communicate their learning through art, drama, dance and music.	Learners begin to write longer pieces of history using terms accurately. With guidance, learners can begin to construct interpretations of the past based a variety of historical sources. They should be encouraged to communicate their learning and historical information in various ways, including: • Art, posters, music, drama and dance • Simple graphs, maps and diagrams	With your help, learners should be able to develop and write arguments for debate about aspects of the past they have studied. They will present historical information using graphs, tables, maps and diagrams.

South Africa		
Grade 7	**Grade 8**	**Grade 9**
South Africa Looking critically at emerging colonial frontiers: Contact, conflict and dispossession on the Cape eastern and northern frontiers **Migrations, wars and land dispossession during the 18th and 19th Centuries:** Trade, wealth and Indian Ocean contacts with southern Africa Reinterpretations of the Mfecane/Difaqane and the	**South Africa** Power, class, capitalism and labour: South Africa's mineral revolution Indian indentured labour in South Africa: Gandhi and the struggle for rights Land and Power: the South African war 1899-1902: Women and children in the concentration camps The involvement of black people in the war Land and Power: dispossession and	**South Africa** Nationalism and identity in South Africa: how are identities constructed? Afrikaner and African nationalism **Apartheid and resistance** Passive Resistance of the 1950s: jazz, film, shebeen culture, Alexandra township, Sophiatown Women and the struggle against apartheid The armed struggle and state repression of the

Great Trek The myth of the empty land (new state/Kingdom formation). Destruction of the African Kingdoms as a result of imperialism	segregation (Union of 1910, 1913 Land Act)	1960s Forced removals, homelands and labour control: social experiences and impact on the lives of South Africans **Apartheid under pressure in the 1970s and 1980s** Black Consciousness, the student uprisings in 1976, political and civic organisations, rural struggles, education as a site of struggle, youth and worker organisations, religious and sport struggles, state repression **How did the world respond to apartheid?** Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world's response to apartheid: 1970s - 1990s **A new vision for South Africa: 1990 - 1999** South Africa in the 1990s: negotiations leading to the 1994 elections, South Africa's Constitution, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Land Claims Court and land restitution
Africa Origins of Humans: Earliest archaeological evidence from southern Africa and East Africa **Kingdoms of southern Africa:** Mapungubwe, Thulamela,	**Africa** Colonialism and the African experience: How did African societies experience colonialism? Aspects of control over resources, labour, culture, identity and political power	**Africa** Global capitalism, new forms of colonialism, the information age, HIV / AIDS and Africa An economically unequal and divided world A new vision for Africa? Historical context of and

Great Zimbabwe: cattle, gold, ivory and iron Development of Swahili coastal communities in East Africa	Impact on HIV / AIDS	debates on the African Renaissance unity achieves)
World History of Medicine: Including indigenous medicine, medicine in early Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Mediterranean; traditional healing. Women in history (e.g. their roles in exploration, conflict, peace, rights movements)	**World** Industrial Revolution in Britain and Europe: Ideology: capitalism Linking with nationalism, colonialism in Africa and World War 1 Exploitation of men, women and children Socialism and the rise of trade unions and political rights **Aspects of World War 1** Experiences of trench warfare Women in war Changing role of women in the economy and politics (linking to the South African experience) **Origins of Democracies** Aspects of the American, French and Russian Revolutions	**The World** Nationalism, totalitarianism, fascism, racism and genocide after WW1: How and why did the holocaust happen? Nazi Germany, science and theories of racial superiority Question of identity and race: How identity can be manipulated (e.g. as a tool of genocide in Nazi Germany and oppression in South Africa) **Impact of World War 2 on modern societies** The United Nations Declaration of human rights The American
Local/Provincial studies An aspect of local or provincial studies from the above themes such as how a place has changed over time Champions of human rights at a local and provincial level	**Local/provincial studies** An aspect of local or provincial studies, focusing on previous theme (eg the changing role of women in society, dispossession, segregation, conflict and war, impact of HIV and AIDS, forms of organisation such as political parties or	**Local / provincial studies** Impact of one of the above themes on local or provincial history (eg the impact of forced removals or HIV / AIDS in the learner's local area Relationship between provincial and national

National Holidays Participation in a community project promoting understanding and the respect for human rights	political movements) The Constitution, local government and elected leaders Participation in a community project promoting history (eg starting a community archive)	govemment Statutory bodies that protect South African citizens and how to access them Participation in the community project promoting history (eg starting a community archive)
Values and approach	**Values and approach**	**Values and approach**
Encourage an appreciation for the significance of fossil finds in South Africa and Africa in the unfolding story of human evolution Draw attention to silenced voices in historical reporting (eg oral history) Avoid focusing only on state formation in dealing with African societies - give attention to the forms of political organisation as well (eg kinship groups, age groups, religious leadership) Explore human stories in history (eg love relationships) Promote and encourage questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy Encourage an appreciation for conservation of the environment and the protection of archaeological sites Encourage learners to use abstract historical terms (eg ruler, law, parliament,	Question the concepts of industrialisation, capitalism, socialism, colonialism and nationalism, and the link between these Emphasise Africa as an agent of history with an established social, political and economic history that predates colonialism Investigate colonialism from an African perspective - the impact on African societies and their responses to the colonial powers Draw attention to silenced voices in historical reporting (eg oral history) Promote and encourage questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy Explore issues of class, gender, racism, colonialism and imperialism in the context of the mineral revolution in South Africa Highlight the benefits and the brutal effects of the process of industrialisation, including the process of	Draw attention to silenced voices in historical reporting (eg through oral history) Deal with continuing issues of racism, class, gender and xenophobia in South Africa today, and how the lessons from the past can help us to confront these issues Extend learner's knowledge of concepts (eg democracy, fascism, Marxism, capitalism, totalitarianism, nationalism, colonialism, genocide) Locate post- colonial Africa in the context of colonialism and its continued impact today Ensure that learners understand the dynamic nature of culture, heritage and identity, and how culture and identity can be used as tools of exclusion and oppression (eg Nazi Germany, apartheid South Africa, ongoing conflicts such as in Middle East) Explore the impact of colonialism, war, Apartheid, capitalism and globalisation

power, oppression, exploitation, discrimination, poverty, prejudice, identity, patriotism)	transforming independent farmers into wage labourers and the effects on the environment	on the environment
Ensure that myths of 'race' and 'the empty land' are challenged	Highlight the devastating effects of war on people, the environment and the resources - Who goes to war? How are they and their families affected? What do women and children do in times of war?	Promote and encourage questioning as an important educational activity for participating in a democracy
Highlight the brutal effects of imperialism and war		Assist learners to identify values and attitudes that human actions have been based on in the past (eg the struggle of human rights in South Africa during Apartheid)
Focus on experiences of marginalised groups in history (eg landless people, women)		
Promote an understanding and recognition of the significant role that women played in world history (eg as scientists, mathematicians, politicians, political and military strategists, peace negotiators, rulers, human activists)	Explore stories of human interest in history (eg biographies)	Assist learners with knowledge construction and interpretation, ensuring that this is shaped by the values of our Constitution and human rights
	Draw links between past and present (eg current events)	Focus on the experience of ordinary people, women and men, girls and boys (eg stories and biographies)
	Organise visits to places of historical importance in the local community in the context of the content studied (eg heritage sites, museums and archaeological sites)	Explore experiences of apartheid (eg places and associations, oral testimonies, struggle music, literature, theatre, memoirs, graves)
Draw links between the past and the present (eg current events)		Draw links between the past and the present (eg currents events)
Organise visits to places of historical importance in the local community in the context of the content studied (heritage sites, museums, archaeological sites)		Organise visits to places of historical importance in the local community in the context of the content studied (eg heritage sites and museums such as the Robben Island Museum and Apartheid Museum in Gold Reef City)

Communication skills	Communication skills	Communication skills

Learners should explore some of the feelings people may have had in the context past situations and communicate these feelings (eg writing, posters, drawing, role-play, music). They should debate historical issues, giving their own interpretations of sources, with increasing confidence. They should be increasing able to produce structured pieces of historical writing.	You will encourage learners to show understanding of a person's viewpoint within a given historical situation. They should construct their own knowledge and interpretation based on the historical resources, and then communicate this knowledge and understanding in a variety of ways.	Learners should now be able to select, organise and use relevant information from historical sources in constructing their own perspectives of the past. In this way, they should be able to produce well-structured pieces of historical narratives, description and explanation.

South Africa

Grade 10	Grade11	Grade 12
1. What was the world like in 1450? (What were the bases of power/power relations/ technology/ economy and trade?) Africa: Songhay China (Ming) the Americas India (Mogul) Ottoman Empire How were European societies organised at this time? How were southern Africa societies (including Zimbabwe) organised in relation to the above?	1. What was the world like by 1850? African state formations Americas Europe Asia	1. What was the impact of the Cold War in forming the world as it was in 1960s? • USSR/USA - creating spheres of interest • What was the role of China? • Areas and forms of conflict: Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Middle East • What role did the UN and other multi-lateral organisations such as the OAU, NAM play in attempting to mediate conflict?
2. What was the impact of conquest, warfare and early colonialism in the Americas (Spain), Africa (Portugal, Holland) and India (France, Britain)?	2. What was the nature of imperialism in the 19th and early 20th centuries? What were the consequences of imperialism for Africa and Asia in terms of power	2. How was uhuru realised in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s? (What were the ideas that influenced the independent states/what types of states were set

What was the nature of the shifting dominance by Europe of the world – Portugal, Spain, Holland, England? What was the nature of the emerging attitudes to race during this period (e.g. Sarah Baartman)?	relations and trade? What was the link between imperialism and WW1? How did imperialism and colonialism entrench ideas of race – segregation, assimilation, paternalism? How did imperialism dominate indigenous knowledge production?	up/what were the possibilities and constraints? What was the impact of internal and external factors on Africa during this time?)
3. What was the connection between slavery and the accumulation of wealth during the Industrial Revolution? What was the link between the Atlantic slave system and racism?	3. What were the range of responses to colonialism in Africa and Asia? Strategies of response Resistance – armed and passive/diplomacy Other forms of response Cultural / political, trade unionism, identities, peasant movements Nationalism in Africa and Asia (Indian)	3. What forms of civil society protest emerged from the 1960s up to 1990? 1960s: civil rights, disarmament, student movements, peace movements, Black Power movement and women's movements 1970s: Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa Apartheid South Africa and Eastern Europe in the 1980s
4. The quest for liberty: How did the American War of Independence challenge the old basis of power? Who benefited? French Revolution and the ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity and individual freedom. What sort of liberty, equality and fraternity? How did the ideas play out in the relationships between the French and other people e.g. Africa, Haiti? The ending of slavery in	4. Challenges to Capitalism: Russian Revolution and the establishment of the communist state - Marxism-Leninism and Stalinism	4. What was the impact of the collapse of the USSR in 1989? South Africa Africa: reflection and re-imagining the nation in the 1990s – a case study from central, west or north Africa Dominance of the USA.

British colonies (e.g. the Caribbean, the Cape Colony) and the US: What brought about the ending of slavery? What economic causes were there? (cf 3 – new needs of an industrialising economy) How important a role did slaves play in achieving their freedom? How much freedom did they obtain? In terms of human rights, power and poverty, did American society change after the Civil War?		
5. Industrial Revolution: How did the Industrial Revolution lay the foundations for a new world economic system? How did the Industrial Revolution change society? (Mass education, trade unionism, civil movements)	5. Crisis of Capitalism: the Great Depression in the USA and its wider impact in terms of the emergence of fascist economies and states e.g. Nazi Germany and Japan.	5. How did South Africa emerge as a democracy from the crises of the 1990s? The collapse of apartheid in South Africa – coming together of internal and external pressures. How were the crises managed: conflict, compromise, negotiation, settlement, elections? The Government of National Unity and the making of the new Constitution Dealing with the past and facing the future New identities and construction of heritage
6. What transformations occurred in southern Africa between 1750 and 1850?	6. What was the impact of pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism on the 19th and 20th centuries, including the eugenics movement in the late 19th century and its impact on ideas of race and racism in the USA, Australia, Europe	6. What do we understand by globalisation? The global economy: new forms of capital – new poverty, new wealth. Neo-colonialism – the role of the IMF, World Bank, multi-lateral organisations, OPEC

	and particularly leading to genocide in Nazi Germany?	The information age Globalisation of culture Migration of people e.g. refugees The position of Africa in the global world: constraints and initiatives (NEPAD, AU, SADC, African Renaissance)? What are the responses and challenges to globalisation – localisation, extremism, and movements of civil society e.g. environmental movements? How different is the world today from 1960?
7. How did the world change between 1450 and 1850?	7. Competing nationalisms and identities in Africa: The roots of Pan-Africanism to 1945 What were the roots and nature of South African nationalisms and identities – African and Afrikaner nationalism and English jingoism, Indian and 'Coloured' identity? Impact of WW2: How did the nature of the political quest for independence in Africa change from 1945? (Radicalisation of Pan-Africanism) How does nationalism impact on the construction of heritage and identities	7.What are the ideologies and debates around the constructed heritage icons from the period? For example, what are the ideologies and debates around South African heritage symbols and representations today? How have the findings of palaeontology, archaeology and genetics transformed the notions of race?
8. What are the constructed heritage icons from the period that are celebrated today? For example how	8. How unique was apartheid South Africa? How was segregation a	

and why has Great Zimbabwe become central to Zimbabwean nationalism? What are the critical issues about humans on display (e.g. Sarah Baartman) and the way museums depict humans?	foundation for apartheid? How far was apartheid in South Africa part of a neo-colonialism of the post-WW2 world? (1948-1960) How did apartheid entrench ideas of race What was the nature of resistance to Apartheid during these decades and how was this resistance part of wider resistance in the world to human rights abuses?	
	9. How did the world change between 1850 and 1950?	
	10. How has the South African past been publicly represented – for example in museums and monuments?	

Teaching Emotive and Controversial History to 3-7 Year Olds: A Report for The Historical Association

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Abstract *The English government's Department for Education and Skills funded the Historical Association to produce a synoptic report called "Teaching emotive and controversial History 3 – 19" (TEACH 3-19). Below is the commissioned research paper on TEACH to 3-7 year olds, on pages 00-00 the report on TEACH 7-11 year olds.*

The National Curriculum for History and GCSE and A-level History qualifications often include areas of study that touch on social, cultural, religious and ethnic fault lines within and beyond Britain. Such areas of study include the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the Holocaust and aspects of Islamic history. These areas are sometimes avoided by teachers to steer away from controversy in the classroom.

The way such past events are perceived and understood in the present can stir emotions and controversy within and across communities. The Historical Association's report contains exemplars of effective teaching that deals with emotive and controversial history in schools across all key stages from the ages of 3 to 19. This produced a comprehensive view of current best practice in teaching these and similar issues. It recommended proven and successful approaches that enable teachers to tackle these issues in ordinary lessons through rigorous and engaging teaching while at the same time challenging discrimination and prejudice.

**TEACHING EMOTIVE AND CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY TO 3-7 YEAR OLDS:
A REPORT FOR THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

Evidence for this report is derived from statutory curriculum requirements,
o   The Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage and the National Curriculum;
o   materials to support the curriculum including QCA history schemes of work and assessment
    activities;
o   recent government policies such as Every Child Matters and the Primary Strategy; * Ofsted
    Reports;
o   research into children's thinking and case studies of aspects of children's learning;
o   examples of curriculum organization;
o   research studies linked to pedagogy;
o   resources in particular children's books;
o   relevant websites.

**Where do opportunities currently exist in the Foundation Stage and Key Stage 1?
The Context**

The development of children's understanding of emotive and controversial history during the
foundation and Key Stage 1 is closely linked with both their social and cognitive development.
As children develop as social beings there are potentially more opportunities for encountering
conflicting situations and issues which impact on them emotionally in their every day lives. Early
years practitioners work hard to encourage children to develop positive social relationships; they
foster the understanding of rules and behaviours; provide models for dealing with conflict and
disagreement and support children in their interactions with each other and within broader social
groups. Children in the foundation stage and in Key Stage 1 are beginning to learn their place in
the world; their own unique identity and the identities which they share with the rest of their
group. In effect, children are experiencing in their daily lives many of the circumstances which
underpin the controversial nature of history. Consequently, studying the dilemmas and conflicts
experienced by earlier societies and individuals in the past may contribute to children's own
developing understanding of dilemmas and issues which they face in their own personal and
daily lives.

In terms of their cognitive development studying emotive and controversial history provides
opportunities for young children to extend their knowledge of the world and consequently
supports their conceptual development. The processes of doing history – asking questions –
making observations – explaining and drawing conclusions are all key skills which support their
overall learning. The role of language is central in developing children's understanding and in
communicating their understanding to a wider audience. Studying emotive and controversial
history may provide opportunities to use talk for a variety of purposes; communicating thoughts,
feelings and ideas; negotiating roles; making friends; asking for help, clarification or information;
relating; reflecting; reporting; narrating; arguing; presenting ideas; persuading; explaining and
instructing (McDonagh and McDonagh 1999: 10)

Statutory Frameworks: The Foundation Stage Curriculum.
The foundation stage curriculum incorporates a more holistic approach to curriculum planning.
History is not identified as a discrete subject, but is incorporated within the Early Learning Area,
Knowledge and Understanding of the World in the Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation
Stage. Specific history input is identified within the Early Learning Goal, 'Find out about past and
present events in their own lives and in those of their families and other people they know'

(DfEE and QCA 2000: 95). Learning opportunities which would support children in this area of learning and which are particularly relevant are;
' activities based on first-hand experiences that encourage exploration, observation, problem solving, prediction, critical thinking, decision making and discussion' and 'opportunities that help children to become aware of, explore and question issues of differences in gender, ethnicity, language, religion and culture' (page 82). The guidance also acknowledges the 'diversity of insight' which parents may provide into faiths, cultures, history and places.' (p85).

As young children learn about themselves and identity – teachers' questions which might promote them to think more critically about themselves and to appreciate difference as well as similarity include –
Who am I? How do I know that it is me? What other things apart from how I look make me me? What is the same about me and other children? What is different about me that makes me who I am?

Since the Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage adopts an holistic approach to children's development, relevant principles may be found within other learning areas. For example, within personal, social and emotional development - opportunities for children learning to respect themselves and others, respecting cultures, learning about relationships, opportunities for problem solving (p29). In communication, language and literacy – opportunities to speak, listen and represent ideas (p 45).

History National Curriculum at Key Stage 1 The history curriculum at Key Stage 1 provides teachers with considerable freedom to develop the history curriculum to meet the needs and interests of their children. It builds on the children's experiences within the Foundation Stage and extends opportunities for children to acquire a broader knowledge and understanding of the past.

Children's own personal and family histories Within the breadth of study at Key Stage 1 children learn about their own personal histories and those of their families through studying 'changes in their own lives and the way of life of their family and others around them'. Such histories may require sensitive handling by the teacher taking into account children's different backgrounds and experiences.

Anything linked with family histories has the potential to be emotive and controversial and needs dealing with sensitivity and awareness of different home situations and family structures. Children may recount painful experiences about their own lives and this may impact not only on their own feelings, but also other children within the class who hear their stories. Family trees which illustrate relationships within families are also potentially sources of controversy.

Knowledge and understanding of ways of life in the past The breadth of study includes studying the way of life of people in the more distant past living within the locality or elsewhere in Britain. This requirement is sufficiently broad to permit teachers to introduce potentially controversial and sensitive issues such as the experiences of children or the differences between rich and poor people within societies at different periods of time. In observing changes in ways of life, teachers may question who benefited from these changes and in what ways? Did all people necessarily benefit? There are opportunities to explore controversial issues through studying the diversity of different societies in the past.

Changes in the local community – the movement of peoples to, from and within the community may be studied. Children may study how different buildings, shops, schools, leisure facilities

have changed/ remained the same. Some changes permit children to explore changing community needs; e.g. traffic free zones; location of markets and shops. In addition children may consider how changes have impacted on individuals within the community; for some individuals changes might have had a positive impact and for others change might have been more problematic. Change is controversial and looking at different people's experiences may enable children to appreciate different perspectives and points of view.

Older members of the community may regret the loss of particular aspects of their ways of life; e.g.; leaving doors unlocked, the absence of corner shops, the sense of community spirit. Exploring their different views offers young children additional perspectives on the world and may encourage them to question their own beliefs and values and what they consider as important.

It is important to introduce children to people from a range of cultures. Milner (1984) suggests that children as young as 3 or 4 are aware of racial differences, and many enter school with preconceived notions about different racial and ethnic groups (Plinney and Rotherham:1987). If this is the case, it is important that children are introduced to diverse histories from an early age. Moreover, for young children this is also important for the development of their own sense of their own identity.

Children may also have misconceptions about people who lived in the past and their ways of life which in some contexts could be controversial. Teachers need to be alert to particular stereotypes which may be manifested; e.g. native Americans called Red Indians; histories which portray people in the past as less civilized or backward; gender stereotypes.

Stories of significant people Teachers also have the choice to select which significant people children may learn about. Currently teachers tend to make their selection from a restricted number of people with Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole being the most popular figures. However, there are many opportunities to include other significant people who would be more relevant for the project.

Selection of particular people may be controversial and some sensitivity may be required in dealing with different gender roles. For example positive female role models might be antagonistic for some cultures.

This requirement also permits opportunities for teachers to include significant people within the locality. Bage (2000) drawing on principles from Foxfire draws attention to the principle that 'connections of the work to the surrounding community and the real world outside the classroom are clear' (Wigginton 1989: 26-8|) and alerts the reader to possibilities at Key Stage 1 for children to ask questions such as; 'which people and what things in our community can help us find out about people who are now dead and so cannot tell us for themselves?'

Significant events Similarly, teachers may also select past events from the history of Britain and around the world and the Gunpowder Plot, the Olympics and Remembrance Day are popular topics. A more judicious selection of significant people and events however, could raise young children's awareness of controversy more fully. Re-telling the story of the Gunpowder Plot is often closely allied with the celebrations linked with Bonfire Night. In the current context, it might be appropriate to encourage children to explore motivation more fully and also to question whether Guy Fawkes' attempts to blow up parliament were justified and should be celebrated? What other ways may conflict be resolved?

The topic of remembrance may raise several sensitive issues for children who have already experienced conflict or whose families might be involved in warfare. Questions such as why do remember? and in what ways should we remember? are potentially sensitive since they could relate to children's immediate experiences or those of their families. This point is emphasized in the Scheme of Work, What are we remembering on Remembrance Day? (DfEE and QCA:1998). The points to note remind teachers of the strong links between history and the spiritual dimensions of the curriculum and comment, ' Teachers will need to consider the extent to which these issues are appropriate for the particular circumstances of their school, as well as level of detail.'

www.ncaction.org.uk has examples of children's work showing their explanations of: Why do we have remembrance day? Why do we have war memorials?

www.theirpast-yourfuture.org.uk provides stories from war veterans which could be starting points for teachers

Knowledge, skills and understandings

nowledge, skills and understandings which underpin children's learning within the breadth of study provide opportunities for children to engage with historical enquiries and to ask and answer questions about the past. The requirement that, 'pupils should be taught to: recognize why people did things, why events happened and what happened as a result' (DfEE and QCA 1999:104) offers opportunities for young children to explore motivation and recognize that people may hold alternative viewpoints to their own. Children are required to identify differences between ways of life at different times. Exploration of change introduces children to ideas about whether change represents progress- who benefits from change and who does not? These requirements are crucial for the study of history and an understanding of the past, since they open up possibilities for reflection on experience which are outside children's immediate environment.

The National Curriculum also requires children to consider historical interpretations by identifying different ways in which the past is represented. Linked with this also is the emphasis placed on using a range of sources of information to find out about the past. These requirements have the potential to introduce young children to historical controversy and in particular to the fact that history may be interpreted from a range of perspectives. These are important skills to develop in dealing with controversy.

Interrogation of different sources of information may be controversial. Sensitivity may need to be employed when young children look at pictures about different ways of life in the past. There is the tendency by some teachers to encourage children to note things which people in the past do not have – a deficit view of the past. Children can then get the impression that people in the past were not as clever as they are now – and everything is necessarily better now. This could be emotive if children began to compare life in the past in Britain with currently developing countries. For example – they didn't have any electricity in this Victorian house – that wouldn't be very nice would it? And then learning about a village in an African country or maybe where children's relations live which has a limited electricity supply.

Images which challenge stereotypes are important sources of information for young children. E.g.; female explorers such as Mary Kingsley; the black presences in England both before and after world war 2. However, such images are not always commonly supplied in many published resource materials.

Other misconceptions may arise from children's experiences of the present. Claire discusses children looking at school pictures 25 years ago and now. A child notices that most of the children in the old picture are white, whereas in her class they are now nearly all black. The student asks the children why this might be – and the child replies, 'Because in that picture the children prayed to God to make them white so that white people wouldn't say horrible things to them. (Claire :2005b).

Schemes of Work for history
Whilst there is the potential for children at Key Stage 1 to engage with emotive and controversial issues in history, few teachers appear to realize this potential. The schemes of work for history (DfEE and QCA: 1998) were designed to support teachers in their own curriculum planning and to provide models which teachers could adapt for their own schools. In fact the publication of the schemes of work has led many schools to abandon their own schemes in favour of those produced by QCA. This has had a reductionist effect on the curriculum which has been noted by OfSTED who comment on children's limited historical experiences deriving from the schemes of work in several of their reports.

Many schools have adopted the scheme of work linked with Florence Nightingale. The Scheme of Work raises an important question – why do we remember Florence Nightingale, but there is little opportunity within the activities for children to compare her work with those of others living at the time which would develop children's more in- depth understanding of significance and also raise controversial questions. The recent publication of assessment materials linked to the life of Mary Seacole (see below) encourages children to explore more fully how and why people are remembered.

In general the schemes of work avoid investigations which may create controversy.
How are our toys different from those in the past? provides a range of interesting investigations, and teaching activities but avoids any questions which might be viewed as controversial. A more critical approach to this scheme of work could be developed through the inclusion of questions such as Did everyone have toys like this? If not, why not? or how were these toys made?

Similarly the Unit on What were homes like long ago? could be made more relevant by drawing children's attention to the differences between rich and poor people's homes in the past and providing an opportunity for children to reflect on the disparity in life styles. Children could then be encouraged to explore questions such as if you were poor – what would you feel like and how would you try to make your life better? Similar questioning about lifestyles and opportunities could be developed in Unit 3 What were seaside holidays like in the past?

The above examples illustrate how more controversial issues may be addressed through the selection of questions which involve children considering the diversity of society and also in exploring different interpretations of the past.

The publication of the schemes of work has also had a profound effect on the publication of resources for history at Key Stage 1. There is a wealth of resources linked to people and events identified within the schemes of work, but little else is published to reflect the diversity of historical experiences beyond the schemes of work.

Teacher assessment activities Key Stage 1.
Recently published assessment materials for history at Key Stage 1 (QCA:2006) suggest opportunities for assessing children's knowledge and understanding which could potentially include sensitive and controversial issues. For example, unit 1 – what was life like for people around us in the past? has suggestions for assessing children's knowledge and understanding of family and community history. The unit on How should we remember Mary Seacole provides opportunities for children to consider the nature of historical interpretations and of historical significance. Exploring questions such as Why did British people remember Florence Nightingale but forget Mary Seacole? and How should we remember Mary Seacole introduces children to historical controversy and encourages a questioning approach to historical investigations.

Inclusion statement with the National Curriculum
The National Curriculum statutory inclusion statement has three principles for developing an inclusive curriculum which are relevant for the research (www.qcarespectforall) since they draw attention to the importance of tailoring the curriculum to meet needs within a diverse society through:

* setting suitable learning challenges
* responding to pupils' diverse learning needs
*overcoming potential barriers to learning and assessment for individuals and groups of children

Respect for all suggests that the following should be considered when planning a history curriculum.

o   Teaching Britain within a world perspective
o   Exploring personal, family and community identity
o   The history of minority ethnic groups in Britain, including the development of Britain as a multicultural society
o   Understanding that migration, movement and settlement are recurring experiences
o   Pupils reflecting on their own cultural identity and debating, 'what does it mean to be British?'
o   Key political concepts, including resistance, democracy, rights, equality, justice, citizenship
o   Studying diversity (social, cultural, religious, ethnic) in British and world history
o   Recognising that for a particular historical event or process there will often be a diverse range of feelings and experiences
o   Studying different perceptions of, and narratives about the same event.
o   How different versions of the past have been arrived at
o   Challenging stereotypes
o   Including the viewpoints of non-British societies
o   The motives and achievements of significant individuals or groups who have opposed others and/or struggled for justice
o   The culture of minority ethnic groups who have been persecuted, and their contributions to other cultures.

Most of the principles above could be adopted within the Foundation and Key Stage 1 curriculum and could open up possibilities for developing more children's awareness of controversy more fully.

Opportunities within the current frameworks.
Developments in line with the Every Child Matters Agenda provide closer opportunities for working with local communities and families. This may raise teachers' awareness of particular family and community history sensitivities. It might also provide greater opportunities for tapping into these histories to resource children's learning in school.

Excellence and Enjoyment (DfES:2003a) outlines ways in which schools are to be encouraged to develop the curriculum to meet the needs and interests of their children. Particular points of relevance to the research are the requirements that schools will develop their distinctive character and ethos which might include developing close links with the community: be creative and innovative in their teaching and take ownership of the curriculum. These requirements do provide potential opportunities for schools to explore more controversial and emotive issues in history.

The new Primary Framework also argues for developing opportunities of learning literacy and mathematics across the curriculum. Speaking, Listening, Learning: Working with children in Key Stages 1 and 2 has examples of links between history and speaking and listening objectives (DfES and QCA: 2003b)

History and citizenship – citizenship and history?
There are close links between history and citizenship and several examples (particularly in terms of personal histories) used later in this report clearly exemplify these links. Many teachers may find it difficult to distinguish between the two subjects. It may be worthwhile for the project to provide some guidance here. In terms of early years education, it might be helpful to remind

teachers of the key questions linked to history - how do we know? What sources of information have we used? Are they reliable? to remind teachers that history is a critical analysis of the past.

Constraints, barriers and poor practice.

OfSTED subject report (www.ofsted.gov.uk/publications/annualreport0405/4.1.5.html) HMI note the improvements in history achievement, teaching, leadership since 1998. They comment that improvements have been greater at Key Stage 1 than at Key Stage 2 and suggest that this may be due to the flexibility of the Key Stage 1 curriculum which permits teachers to build around pupils particular needs and interests, as well as introducing them to particular historical methodology.

However, HMI note that history still remains a subject where the progress that pupils make and the quality of teaching are weaker than in most subjects. This is because of
o   schools' narrow interpretation of the National Curriculum. (At Key Stage 1 the events and personalities linked to the history schemes of work dominate the curriculum and provide few opportunities for extending children's knowledge and understanding of controversial and emotive issues).
o   Pupils' knowledge and understanding of key events are too fragmented; they do not know enough about key events, people and issues.
    (Limited range of people and events noted above and teachers do not always make links between the children's existing knowledge, prior learning experiences in history and new learning opportunities).
o   Assessment insufficiently used to support pupils' progress and not enough clarity about standards attained.
    (Teachers tend to assess children's progress in history through content coverage or children's enjoyment of the subject rather than the development of specific historical skills and understandings).

Of the issues identified for future consideration by HMI several have relevance for the research.
o   Lack of effective planning in many schools which leads to piecemeal and fragmented knowledge. Also insufficient attention to planning for skills and concepts.
    (Teachers need to take into account children's developing skills and thought processes and plan for their development. This would include planning for opportunities for children to engage with controversial issues and to build on them through the foundation stage and Key Stage 1).
o   Schools don't address relevance of history to children's everyday lives.
    (History activities which link to children's own families and communities are important here. Also teachers need to become more experienced in creating analogies between past events and ways of life and the ways of life of children within their class).
o   Emphasis on the core subjects and history is seen as light relief – 'fun'. HMI argue however, that history needs rigour. It can also support the development of pupils' literacy and numeracy. Schools do not take enough opportunities for this at the moment. Playing safe and sticking to QCA SOW rather than addressing own pupils' needs and interests.
    (History generally has a limited time allocation on the timetable and is generally timetabled in the afternoon, following the basics in the morning. Many schools do not take opportunities of linking history with other curriculum areas – in particular literacy skills).
o   History can provide good context for studying citizenship. It can contribute to each of 5 outcomes of ECM e.g. by providing key information and understanding which will help them

as adults; providing knowledge of personal histories and others – leading to emotional health.

o Freedom accorded by Excellence and Enjoyment – more creativity.
  (Schools are not generally responding fully to the new freedoms yet).
o Assessment not for learning in many schools. High attainers suffer most.
o Lack of appropriate CPD, LA advisers and lack of time on ITE courses.

In her annual report 2005-2006, HMCI makes several comments which are pertinent to history. She notes that the quality of teaching overall is best in the foundation stage and in year 6, with the weakest years being Years 1, 3 and 4. Continued improvements are reflected in the teaching of English, maths and ICT, but the foundation subjects and science demonstrate little significant improvement. HMCI attributes this to teachers' weak subject knowledge and lack of professional development. These are key factors in teaching controversial and emotive issues.

In the foundation years, HMCI note that.' Children's achievements are highest when their interest and imagination were captured from the time they arrived.' This provides a good rationale for developing more history in the early years!

In Key Stages 1 and 2 HMCI notes evidence of a broader approach to English teaching although speaking and listening is under- represented. Teaching controversial and emotive issues provides a real context for a wide variety of talk.

History and geography continue to be marginalized through little available time. The subjects are taught using disjointed activities which fails to build up children's subject knowledge, skills and understanding.

Outside the core, assessment procedures are very limited and have an adverse effect on pupils' achievements. Few teachers are secure in assessing pupils performance against national benchmarks. Lack of detailed information concerning pupils' progress in foundation subjects detracts from the rigour and quality of schools self evaluations.

Although school leaders generally welcomed the emphasis in the PNS on greater flexibility and freedom the literacy hour and daily maths lesson remained in nearly all schools – some schools providing greater flexibility.

Is teaching about controversial and emotive issues appropriate for young children?
Teachers often view that it is not appropriate to confront children with controversial and emotive issues. This view has its roots in several approaches to pedagogy. Alexander suggests that childhood as an age of innocence where children need to be protected (1984) is firmly rooted in primary ideology. Ross (1984) also argues that primary teachers reluctant to engage with controversial issues.

On the other hand, children are faced with puzzling and sensitive occurrences in the world all the time and teachers need to support them in making sense of them. Many teachers are afraid or reluctant to deal with controversial issues and this does create lost opportunities.

However there remains controversy as to whether certain topics are suitable for very young children. Totten(1999) argues that attempts to teach the holocaust to young children should be discouraged. The holocaust is too complex for children to be able to acquire any understanding of what occurred and he also argues it is too horrific. Although teachers do attempt to teach the Holocaust to young children, lessons are often about respect and tolerance and efforts to

reduce prejudice. Totten argues that this dilutes real Holocaust education. His view is supported by Short and Reed (2004) who suggest that teachers of young children should spend time on matters 'relating to prejudice and social justice rather than on the Holocaust itself (Short and Reed 2004:127). The importance of the relationship between class teachers and their children in helping them understand the Holocaust and in responding to their questions in emphasized by Deckert Peacman. In terms of history at Key Stage 1, this debate provides an interesting context for considering whether the story of Anne Frank should be taught and in what ways.

Children's cognitive development
It could be argued that dealing with controversial issues in history is too abstract for young children. Piagetian constructs of cognitive development posit the view that young children are unable to think in the abstract and deal with fairly sophisticated concepts. Piaget's (1932) research on moral development suggests that children would find difficulty in appreciating reasons behind certain events.

More recent scholarship however, suggests that children are more sophisticated in their thinking and are more capable in thinking in the abstract than Piaget would have suggested (Donaldson: 1978, Dunn:1998, Wood:1998). Donaldson (1978) found that children were capable of deductive reasoning and that this was dependant on how relevant and related to their immediate concerns their reasoning was based. .

The legacy of Piaget and child centred notions of learning based in the Plowden Report (CACE:1967) that 'learning should always begin with the child' has been interpreted by some teachers to mean that children should only learn about and through first hand experiences. Consequently some teachers have been unwilling to teach children about distant times past since it was removed from children's immediate experiences. Ofsted (1999) found that at Key Stage 1 teachers tend to neglect the distant past and places.

Teachers' concerns about teaching controversial issues.
Holden (2005) notes some primary teachers' reluctance to engage with possible controversial issues, with concerns about 'what parents might think' if anything political was to be discussed. Her research with parents on whether they would support teaching about topical issues, democratic processes and the law is of some significance for TEACH. She comments that some parents from the inner city school where she was researching thought that children were too young to learn about topical issues and would not be interested. However, other parents commented that they found issues such as Kosovo difficult to explain and welcomed teachers in school spending time on this. She quotes one mother as saying; 'I'm a mother, you know, I didn't pay that much attention in history….If there was someone else who was more able to explain why, it would be nice, because there's lots of questions they're asking.' Many parents from this school disliked the idea of teaching about politics. One parent said she did not vote and did not think her daughter would. Consequently she thought learning about this 'a waste of time' and didn't want her child to learn about this. This comment provides a useful insight and perhaps needs to be taken into account in schools where the Pankhursts have been selected as significant people for Key Stage 1 children to learn about. Parents from a village school interviewed by Holden were more enthusiastic about teaching about topical events in the classroom, but thought democracy and law should be left until secondary school. Holden notes that there was some concern about teacher bias when topical or political issues were discussed – p5.

Assessment for learning and working from children's misconceptions

HMI note that assessment of historical understanding is not addressed well in Key Stage 1. Assessment is often based on topics covered rather than the development of children's historical skills and understandings. Worksheets which require children to colour in or respond to very closed questions are inadequate for assessing their historical understanding and this is particularly relevant for assessing their responses to controversial and emotive issues in history.

Teachers need support in accessing children's misconceptions and in planning assessment activities which will enable them to plan for future learning. This requires support in the way activities are planned; questions which are asked; and ways in which teacher directs thinking and intervenes.

Planning for progression in children's experiences.
The different models of the curriculum which separate Key Stage 1 and the Foundation Stage create challenges in planning for progression both within and across the key stages. In particular, both key stages focus on personal and family histories yet there is little indication what progression in children's understanding of their own histories or those of their families might entail.

Examples of good practice. The report includes discussion on particularly successful approaches to teaching emotive and controversial issues.

Importance of story in early years for developing understanding of emotive and controversial issues.
Story is central to the development of young children's understanding of history. Stories permit children to engage with ideas and concepts outside their own immediate experience and to explore ways in which the past was different/similar to the present. They introduce children to people's different beliefs and values; what people in the past thought was important and what motivated them to act as they did. In doing so, stories enable children to reflect on their own understandings and things which are important to them as well as to appreciate other people's points of view. Egan (1991:103) reminds us that story is of crucial importance for making sense of the world by introducing learners to emotions such as joy, sorrow, anger, love, hate, fear and security and to concepts such as good and bad.

A useful reminder of the centrality of story in developing understanding of human values is outlined at www.becal.org.uk which states: 'Both individuals and communities construct stories as a primary means of understanding and negotiating their lives. Key characteristics of stories can be summarised as follows:

o   the use of story in making sense of human experience

o   the construction of meaning and purpose for our lives

o   stories giving us reason for action

o   stories are built on an underlying structure of beliefs and commitments

o   the use and abuse of story in building community identity

o   the importance of our own story in rendering self-identity

o   hearing the stories of others is a means of negotiating truth and right

o   hearing the stories of others is a means of negotiating the values that others hold .'

Bage (1999) identifies key characteristics of story within the Teaching- as- story-telling project (TASTE). Characteristics which are most relevant for the TEACH project are:

o   stories change people;

o   stories explain and moralise

o   stories initiate people

o   stories explore people

o   stories analyse consciousness

(Bage 1999:32).

In the early years folk tales may be used to explore human emotions and different beliefs and values. In the story of Goldilocks, was it right for her to steal the porridge, break all the furniture and then run off? Surely the giant was right to become angry with Jack for stealing the golden goose? These are initial questions which introduce young children to some of the processes and thinking skills which are needed in addressing learning about controversial and emotive issues in history. Stories which provide alternative explanations of well known stories are also important here e.g.; the story of the 3 Little Pigs from the Wolf's point of view (Scieska:1989), the wolf's version of Little Red Riding Hood.

Traditional tales and fables may be used to introduce children to a range of human emotions and dilemmas. The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse provides opportunities for children to explore difference; the mice and the cat's bell – bravery; King Midas' golden touch – greed; feeling the elephant – knowing and believing. Fisher (1996 and 1999) identifies a range of stories for developing thinking. Discussion questions which may promote thinking are suggested and their links with cognitive development identified. The cognitive functions of the questions which he suggests are all key for developing children's abilities to deal with controversial and emotive issues.

Stories for Thinking: discussion questions Questions	Cognitive function of questions
*What do you think….. What is your view/opinion/idea about this?	Focusing attention
*Why do you say that? Can you give me a reason?	Reasoning
*What do you mean by…? Can anyone explain that to us?	Defining/analyzing/clarifying
* Has anyone got another thought/idea/example? Who else can say something about it?	Generating alternative views
*How could we tell if it was true? How do you/we know?	Testing for truth

*Who agrees/disagrees with….? Why? Can you say who/what you agree or disagree with?	*Sustaining dialogue/argument*
*Who can remember what we have said? What are the ideas/arguments we have come up with?	*Summarising*

(From Fisher:1996)

Research investigating young children's responses to stories indicates some developing complexity in their thinking and their ability to draw inferences. Initially, children may demonstrate a capacity linked with the Piagetian view of 'immanent justice'. For example, in fairy stories children may say the bridge broke because it knew the boy crossing it had stolen the apple – at this stage children expect good characters in stories to be successful and stories are constructed around what they believe to be true. However stories provide opportunities to question motives and why things happen even for very young children. For example, young children could reason that the 3 Little Pigs recognized the wolf because of his gruff voice (Cooper: 2002). There is also a half way stage; for example did Cinderella exist? – (Applebee in Tucker 1981:70) argues that most 6 year olds said yes, but that she couldn't be visited since she lived too long away. Another example of this intermediate stage concerns a 5 year old's response to Jack and the Beanstalk; he knew the story was not real since he knew there are no such things as giants, but thought Jack's mum was real, 'because my mum talks to me like that' (Cooper 2002:69). Cooper discusses how 5 and 6 year olds coped with different interpretations of the same story and their search for meaning. Farmer and Heeley (2004) have evidence of similar reasoning by young children on whether a story is true or not.
Such research provides useful insights into children's potential approaches to dealing with controversial and emotive issues.

Through story young children learn to sequence events and to explain their order. The ability to reason, identify reasons for particular events and the consequences of them are fundamental in helping children get to grips with understanding of controversy and recognition of emotive issues. Vass (1999) argues that historical skills integrated through stories make the past more intelligible to children and he identifies a range of different approaches to telling stories.

Children often confuse fact and fantasy; they are not always aware that a story or event is true. The horrific nature of some stories told in the past has less relevance/fear for children than a story which they could actually imagine happening to them. For example, all children are fascinated by the ancient Egyptian mummification process but it is unlikely that they are able to connect that such procedures were conducted on real people.

Stories which represent histories from a range of cultures develop young children's awareness of diversity, alternative viewpoints and ways of life – all of which are important in helping children begin to grasp the nature of controversy in studying history. In selecting history books therefore which reflect a range of cultures and societies it important to ensure that different communities are represented accurately and that stereotypes are not being perpetuated. In evaluating the appropriateness of certain stories it is useful to note whether the customs and lifestyles of different peoples and societies are explained together with the values which underpin them.

Sherwood and Spafford (1998) in their teachers' pack on *Whose Freedom were Africans, Caribbean's and Indians defending in WW2?* make the observation which is relevant for all age ranges. ' If pupils are not taught about these diversities, the result will be a (perhaps unintended) view of the world as composed exclusively of people of European ethnicity. This must inevitably result in a sense of superiority in those pupils who are European and a sense of inferiority in those who are not. This is equally damaging to both groups- those who have been taught that only they have history and those who have been taught that they have none.'

Importance of play
Play based activities are important for developing and reinforcing children's knowledge and understanding of the past and and offer ways for children to explore potentially emotive and controversial issues (Cooper: 2005, Claire: 2005, Woodhouse:2005). A classroom play area provides opportunities for children to act out their developing historical understanding; to try out what they have learned and to modify it within their existing understanding. Play provides opportunities for children to explore alternative occurrences and outcomes as they introduce their own interpretations and viewpoints into their play. Through play children may explore stereotypes which may be controversial e.g.; different gender roles within the home; attitudes to child rearing and they may develop awareness of different lifestyles and values.

Potentially controversial and emotive issues may be addressed through play. For example, a museum educator uses puppets to talk about potentially sensitive issues which might effect children whom she is working with. The puppet 'did this', or 'thought this' or' this happened to the puppet' are all possible ways to enable children to distance themselves from the events and emotions being expressed. Using puppets may also encourage children to offer advice – what would you have done? and suggest resolutions to conflict. This approach to teaching about sensitive issues has also been adopted by persona dolls (Claire:2005b). .

Children may be encouraged to act out situations in a story which they have heard. Freeze framing enables them to reflect on particular events within a story. Children could re-tell the story in their own words and may be helped to do this by props from a story sack. 'I'd like to ask' and hot seating are valuable ways to develop children's questioning skills. Hot seating provides opportunities for children to acquire information concerning questions which genuinely interest them and also enables teachers to assess their understanding of key historical issues. The device of a conscience alley provides opportunities for children to explore what decisions they might have taken when confronted with controversy in the past.

Planning for emotive and controversial issues in the curriculum for early years.
Children's engagement with emotive and controversial issues may be both planned and unplanned. Experienced and confident teachers are able create safe learning environments and to respond on the spot to children's questions/comments which might be controversial e.g.; negative responses to different family histories.

Children's different experiences also need to be monitored and planning needs to take account of progression in exposure to different experiences, together with children's developing understandings and skills. Guidance for teachers to help them plan for progression would be useful.

Cooper (2002:133) identifies links with key skills and history activities across the foundation stage and Key Stage 1.

Key Skills	Foundation Stage Activities	Key Stage 1 Activities
1. Communication skills: working with others.	Role play, stories, speaking and listening, experimental writing for different purposes	Play, oral history, stories, discussion, reading and writing for different purposes
2. Application of numeracy skills	Counting, ordering, calculating, similarities/differences, sets, patterns, space, shape, measures including time.	Sequencing (in own lives, stories, photos, artifacts) time-line calculations, sets, similarities/differences.
3. Thinking skills	Problem-solving, information- processing, reasoning, enquiry, creative thinking, enquiry skills, exploration, observe objects/materials., predict, use critical thinking, awareness of differences.	Deductions and inferences from sources, investigate materials/artifacts, photos.

Controversial issues in history would provide opportunities for the development of thinking skills listed above.

Similarly core values may also be linked to historical activities.

Core values	Foundation Stage	Key Stage 1
1. Physical development	Recognise importance of keeping healthy, how to do this; physical skills.	Changes in diet/work/play; imaginative play; models and constructions, using large and fine motor skills.
2. Spiritual, moral, social and cultural education.	Respect for beliefs, cultural backgrounds of others; valuing children as individuals, their ideas; art, design, dance, play, stories	Value children's ideas, biographies, stories and pictures from different cultures, understanding that interpretations may vary, cross-curricular links.
3. Equal opportunities	Inclusion; ethnicity Special educational need; challenging thinking about gender.	Challenging stereotypical images; stories of influential women, women as story-tellers.

These core skills and values would need mapping onto curriculum programmes of study across each Key Stage.

Alternatively, Wood and Holden (1995:10) provide a checklist of questions designed to promote planning for gender and cultural diversity in the early years. The checklist has been adapted below to help teachers plan for controversial and emotive issues in history.

Has the planning ensured that……

1. the experiences of ordinary people (men, women and children) are included? (*including some of their diverse experiences and experiences which have created controversy or conflict*)
2. examples of images and situations which challenge stereotypes are include? *(Native American female chiefs; female explorers, pioneers, social activitists; black soldiers in the world wars*
3. a variety of teaching strategies which actively involve children are used? *(opportunities for questioning and reflecting on puzzling situations, exploring alternatives and drawing conclusions)*
4. past and present links are made? – showing a continuum of experiences? *(use of time lines, past to present)*
5. issues of justice, fairness, respect, identity are introduced? *(rights of people to their land, rights to vote, have an education. Issues of disparity in wealth and opportunities)*
6. the histories of minority groups (including the views of the minority group) are portrayed? *(Voices of different communities and their experiences)*
7. local-global links are demonstrated? *(Trading links now and in the past; movement of peoples;)*
8. children acquire language to enable them reflect and communicate their ideas to others in sensitive ways? *(Talking in different contexts; vocabulary and phrases to support children in recognizing different opinions and being able to express their own views sensitively. Use of tentative words such as probably, perhaps, might have).*

In introducing young children to historical skills and processes teachers need to make opportunities for introducing possible controversial issues. Karen Thomson has a whole school plan for Citizenship Education taught through RE, geography and history which demonstrates children's progression in understanding key issues through these subjects. For history this includes;

Year 1: Homes _ linked to the right to shelter today

Year 2: Victorians – the right to play and to education

Year 3: the Greeks - democracy – how did the Greeks govern their states contrasted with different forms of government today?

Year 4: the Romans – Was it fair that the Romans invaded and occupied Britain? Did they have the right? Positive and negative effects of consequences. How have other civilizations affected Britain's culture? Ownership of land as a source of conflict; how is the occupation of countries being mirrored today?

Year 5: the Tudors – government and power – was it right that Henry commanded ultimate power and authority? How should countries be governed to allow fairness and equality? Should humans have the right to sentence each other to death?

Year 6: the Victorians – rights of the child – laws and acts of parliament. How changes in Victorian times are being mirrored today in the developing world.

In terms of implementation, Karen Thomson adopted a whole school approach; teachers observed each others' lessons using a citizenship lesson observation plan. They fed back to each other ways in which citizenship issues had been addressed through their lessons. The article includes comments on how useful the teachers had found it and children's responses (Thomson:2006).

Recommendations

Teachers need further support in developing techniques to enable children to explore controversial issues. They need to develop approaches which support children's questioning and investigations. Such approaches would include:

o   Helping children to make links and connections between what they already know;
o   Making distinctions between different answers to enable children to learn about different ways in which questions may be answered;
o   Encouraging children to explore different points of view and to explain the points of view which they have;
o   Discussing with children any disagreements or inconsistencies which they find in the answers which they have given;
o   Modelling talk including specific phrases and vocabulary and responses to different sorts of questions;
o   Considering the different roles of the teacher in developing children's appreciation of the issues (the neutral chair approach; the balanced approach and the stated commitment approach – after Crick).

Further resources and case studies are required to enable teachers of young children to explore how to address sensitive and emotive issues.

Drawing on the most recent report for 2005-2006 from HMCI, the following recommendations are made.

o   More professional development to strengthen teachers' weak subject knowledge and assessment of children's progress in history. Teachers need support in benchmarking children's progress against national criteria.

Although there is some evidence of a broader approach to English teaching, speaking and listening is under – represented. Since speaking and listening is crucial for teaching controversial issues in the foundation stage and Key Stage 1, teachers need further support in planning activities for talk in a variety of contexts, in supporting children's talk and in providing alternative models of discourse.

History and geography are often taught through disjointed activities - teachers require further professional development in identifying useful links between subjects and in planning for children's progression across different curriculum areas.

There could be greater links with citizenship education and also human rights education for example. In terms of history learning this would introduce have the potential for introducing more controversial opportunities. Teachers need support in planning within new found curriculum freedoms.

Resources

Useful picture books – personal and family histories.
These books provide opportunities for children to sequence events in individual lives and to grasp some understanding of a past which is different from the present. However, they present few opportunities for dealing with controversial or emotive issues - although some such as Burningham (1984) and Waddell (1992) do introduce the idea of the death of a beloved grandparent. However, the value of these stories to the project lies in the teacher's imaginative and creative use of the story. Many teachers might need further support to develop these skills

with their children. Children could be encouraged to identify similarities and differences with their own lives and to explain them. Recognition that people experience different lives and that different things are important to them are early opportunities for children to engage with alternative viewpoints and interpretations which are at the heart of controversial history.

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Ahlberg, J. and A. (1988) *Starting School.* London, Puffin.
Burningham (1984) *Grandpa*, London, Jonathan Cape.
Bradman, T (1989) *The Sandal.* London, Anderson Press.
Fox, M. (1987) *Wilfrid Gordon McDonald Partridge*, London, Picture Puffins.
Paton Walsh, J and Williams, S. (1993) *When Grandma Came*. London, Picture Puffins.
Williams, M. (1989) *When I was little*. London, Walker Books.
Waddell, M. (1989) *Once there were giants*. London, Walker books.
Flournoy, J. (1985) *The Patchwork Quilt*. Oxford, Bodley Head.
Paton Walsh, J, (1997) *When I was little like you*. London, Puffin.
Rogers, P. (1995) *From Me You to You. A family history through three generations.* London, Orchard Books,
Humphrey, P. (2000) *When Grandma was Young.* London, Evans.
Ives, P. (1995) *Granny's Quilt.* London, Puffin.
Phillips Mitchell, R. (1997) *Hue Boy.* London, Puffin.
Waddell, M. (1992) *Grandma's Bill*. Hove, McDonald.
Baker, J. (1992) *Window.* London, Random House.

Other biographies – these are of ordinary people's lives.
Bridges, S.Y. (2002) *Ruby's Wish*. San Francisco, Chronicle Books. Biography of little Chinese girl who was one of the first girls to attend a Chinese university.
Coles, R. (1995) *The Story of Ruby Bridges.* Leamington Spa, Scholastic
Hoffman, M.(2002) *The Colour of Home*. London, Frances Lincoln. Story of little boy from Somalia during his first days in an English schools. Hassan paints pictures of his old home in Somalia and of the night when the soldiers came and set fire to his house. He tells his story to his teacher through a translator.
Joseph, L. (1998) *Fly Bessie, fly.* London, Simon and Schuster.
Keenan, S. (1995) *Frederick Douglas: Portrait of a Freedom Fighter.* Leamington Spa, Scholastic.
Walvoord Girard, L (1994) *Young FrederickDouglass: The Slave who learned to read.* Albert Whitman and Co.

Picture books which provide alternative viewpoints
Willis, J and Ross, T. (1988) *Dr Xargle's Book of Earthlets*. London, Andersen Press. Provides an alternative view of babies through the eyes of Dr Xargle. Useful for encouraging children to recognize alternative viewpoints and to question their own understandings.

Scieszka, J. (1989)*The True Story of the 3 Little Pigs*. London, Viking.
Trivizas, E (1995) *The Three Little Wolves and the Big Bad Pig*.

Other history stories
Gerrard, R. (1998) *Wagons West!* London, Puffin Books. Story about traveling across the US, describing the dangers which they encountered.
Brill, M.T. (1993) *Allen Jay and the Underground Railroad.* Minneapolis, Lerner Publishing Group. Recounts story of a young Quaker boy who helps a fleeing slave escape on the Underground Railway.

Mahy, M. (1987) *The Man whose mother was a pirate.* London, Puffin.

Martin, S. (1980) *Pirates,* London, Macmillan.

Oppenheim S.L. (1992) *The Lily Cupboard. A story of the holocaust.* London, HarperCollins. The story describes how a young Jewish girl is hidden in the countryside away from her parents.

Waddell, M (1985) London, Puffins. Story going west again describing adventures including being attacked by Indians. Mentions that Indians don't like them because they are stealing their land. Also his sister dies on the journey.

Other resources

Refugees: A Resource Book for Primary Schools. Contains activities, personal testimonies and background information. www.refugeecouncil.org.uk

Kosovan Journeys. Two refugee children tell their stories in this A3 book for Literacy Hour Reading. www.refugeecouncil.org.uk

Why Do they have to fight?
Refugee children's stories from Bosnis, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka and Somalia. A source book of refugee children's stories and paintings. Although planned for KS2 and KS3 – some of the information may be useful for KS1 teachers. www.refugeecouncil.org.uk

Rowe, D and Newton, J. (1994) *You! Me! Us!* Citizenship Foundation. The full story of Farouk and activities linked to the story may be found at The Citizenship Foundation website. www.citizenshipfoundation.org.uk

Resource Pack
Who Needs Florence Nightingale? CD Rom resource form Ireland in Schools. www.irelandinschools.org.uk

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New Life : the role of the school in supporting Refugee children.

Rethinking the "Bush Doctrine":
Historical Thinking and Post-September 11 Terrorism

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Abstract *In this paper, I discuss the implications – and necessity – of teaching historical thinking in this "age of terror." I show that despite an increasing volume of books, resources, and lesson plans on post-September terrorism, there is a dearth of relevant history education publications in North America on how to integrate terrorism in school history in ways that foster students' historical understanding and sense of agency. To do so, I first problematize education, narrative, and terrorist issues through a disciplinary perspective, and then offer a way to engage students in the critical examination of political narrative constructions in the context of the current "war on terrorism."*

Introduction

Narratives are extremely powerful historical tools. They are imaginative constructs of social discourse that provide people with coherent interpretations of past, present, and projected human experiences. Narratives, as Ross (2001) recently argued, are extremely serviceable, even more so in times of high uncertainty and stress. "Just at the moments when people are most disoriented, such as the period following September 11," he observed, "we struggle to make sense of events, and shared narratives which are reinforced within groups help people find reassurance and to cope with high anxiety." But just as narratives give shape to collective experiences, they also locate their power and meaning not so much in the events they wish to describe but in the hands of those who purposely craft them. And this has serious implications for the post-September 11 (hereafter "post-9/11") world in which we live. Political leaders consciously know that the construction of *political* narratives – public power-driven stories – can contribute positively to public support for their decisions and actions. "Insofar as narratives affect our perceptions of political reality," Patterson and Monroe (1998) rightly contend, "narratives play a critical role in the construction of political behavior" (p. 315). Consider, for example, the following US and French interpretations of post-9/11 terrorist response.

As part of his global war on terror, US President George W. Bush confidently addressed the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in September 2002. In his controversial Presidential's remarks, he declared to the international community that despite UN sanctions, Iraq under Saddam Hussein represented a dangerous and immediate threat to the stability of the Middle East, the US, and ultimately to the entire world. Saddam Hussein's arsenal of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) was, for President Bush, the *chief* reason to lead a "coalition of the willing" that would topple this terrorist regime promptly.

> *We meet one year and one day after a terrorist attack brought grief to my country, and brought grief to many citizens of our world. Yesterday, we remembered the innocent lives taken that terrible morning. Today, we turn to the urgent duty of protecting other lives, without illusion and without fear…. Our principles and our security are challenged today by outlaw groups and regimes that accept no law of morality and have no limit to their violent ambitions. In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies. This threat hides within many nations, including my own. In cells and camps, terrorists are plotting further destruction, and building new bases for their war against civilization. And our greatest fear is that terrorists will find a shortcut to their mad ambitions when an*

outlaw regime supplies them with the technologies to kill on a massive scale. In one place – in one regime – we find all these dangers, in their most lethal and aggressive forms, exactly the kind of aggressive threat the United Nations was born to confront.… We know that Saddam Hussein pursued weapons of mass murder even when inspectors were in his country. Are we to assume that he stopped when they left? The history, the logic, and the facts lead to one conclusion: Saddam Hussein's regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence. To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we must not take. (White House, 2002b)

As self-evident as this political discourse may seem to many, the so-called "Bush Doctrine" of pre-emptive military interventions, drafted in the aftermath of 9/11 as part of the so-called *National Security Strategy* (NSS) (White House, 2002a), has raised particular concerns in the international community, and provoked divergent assessments and accounts of how to respond adequately to "outlaw groups and regimes" currently engaged in a "war against civilization." There is no need to go in further details before an audience such as this on the cleavage between the US and the "old Europe." Perhaps the French diplomatic response to the Bush Doctrine, which was far from being welcome *à bras ouverts* on the other side of the Atlantic and particularly south of the 49th parallel, can serve as an example that encapsulates some of the divergent political accounts that have emerged since 9/11, and that are rarely recognized or addressed publicly in the US. In his speech before the UN Security Council of March 19, 2003, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs and since May 2005 Prime Minister, Dominique de Villepin, put the current terror challenges in these terms:

We are meeting here today a few hours before the weapons sound. To exchange our convictions again in observance of our respective commitments. But also to outline together the paths that must allow us to recover the spirit of unity.… Make no mistake about it: the choice is indeed between two visions of the world. To those who choose to use force and think they can resolve the world's complexity through swift and preventive action, we offer in contrast determined action over time. For today, to ensure our security, all the dimensions of the problem must be taken into account: both the manifold crises and their many facets, including cultural and religious. Nothing lasting in international relations can be built therefore without dialogue and respect for the other, without exigency and abiding by principles, especially for the democracies that must set the example. To ignore this is to run the risk of misunderstanding, radicalization and spiraling violence. This is even more true in the Middle East, an area of fractures and ancient conflicts where stability must be a major objective for us. To those who hope to eliminate the dangers of proliferation through armed intervention in Iraq, I wish to say that we regret that they are depriving themselves of a key tool for other crises of the same type. (de Villepin, 2003)

As evidenced in Minister de Villepin's interpretative view of current "world's complexity," the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 seem to have radically changed the ways of responding to global challenges, particularly from the perspective of the US administration. It is not that terrorism is a new phenomenon. From Robespierre's revolutionary *Régime de la terreur* through to Stalin's purges, to PLO, ETA, FLQ, IRA post-colonial/nationalist extremist organizations, to Bin Laden's al-Qaeda, the use of violence or threat to use violence in pursuit of, or in service of, political, religious or ideological aims has been part of domestic and international affairs for centuries. But it is fair to claim today that the Western world – and ultimately the whole planet – is now part of a distinctive historical period that has been characteristically dubbed the "age of

terror" (Talbott and Chanda, 2001). "One of the most powerful lessons we should all take from the experience," Booth and Dunne (2002) recently noted, is that "September 11 should have taught us that we cannot assume, for the foreseeable future, that tomorrow will be like today. The global order is being recast, and the twists and turns will surprise us" (p. ix). The ongoing war on terrorism univocally led by the US, but supported various nations around the world, brings new and unexpected challenges in fields as diverse as military affairs, anti-terrorist policies, human rights, and formal education that cannot be overcome easily by naïve patriotic allegiance or preemptive military operations.

For history education scholars, the conflicting political narratives that students are exposed to in and outside the classroom, whether it is for swift military interventions in rogue states or the adoption of peace resolutions at the UN, raise particular interests – and concerns. Narratives, Wineburg, Mosborg, and Porat (2001) rightly contend, "envelop up everywhere." "To make historical sense," they go on, "we must navigate the shoals of the competing narratives that vie for our allegiance." More than ever, citizens are facing critical decisions that require a sophisticated examination of the stories presented to them – no matter how intense or self-evident they might be.

Indeed, narratives are powerful, some would say essential, "cultural tools" that give account of and coherence to people's understanding of human situations – past and present (Barton and Levstik, 2004, p. 146). Far from being a mere *façon de parler*, or something accidental to people's knowledge, Carr (1998) claims that that the narrative is a structure inherent in human experiences and actions. Quoting Paul Ricoeur, Carr speaks of narrative as a *nécessité transculturelle* linking the activity of being engaged in telling a story and the temporality of experience. He argues that human actors are constantly striving to occupy the position of the story-teller with respect to their own lives; they have, in other words, agency. Moving this "first-person narrative" further, Carr claims that social units (e.g., community or nation) also experience real life in story-form, although different individuals usually play the roles of narrator, actors, and audience. The parallel between the two is obvious for him. Both entities are engaged in actions and experiences, telling themselves the story (or stories) of their actions and experiences. As he puts it:

> *We have an experience in common when we grasp a sequence of events as a temporal configuration such that its present phase derives its significance form its relation to a common past and future. To engage in a common action is likewise to constitute a succession of phases articulated as steps and stages, subprojects, means, and ends.* (Carr, 1998, p. 147)

The question of whether narratives are "structures inherent in human experiences" or "*nécessité transculturelle*" has received serious attention in historical theory (Lorenz, 1998; Vann, 1998; White, 1987). But what is more at issue, in my view, is the necessity of problematizing narrative constructions, as well as understanding how and why the same historical events can lead to the manufacturing and manipulation of radically different political stories. "Narrative may well be an important feature of human understanding," Barton and Levstik (2004) prudently observe, "but we should pause before rushing into an uncritical acceptance of its virtues" (p. 129). Given the (still) prominent and influential role of narratives in the history classroom, educators might benefit from a critical examination of what they entail, and how they can be problematized and ultimately employed to foster historical understanding of complex phenomenon such as terrorism.

What is a narrative?

The notion of *narrative* is often used indiscriminately in the English language for describing a "story" or an "account."[292] The Oxford English Dictionary (http://www.oed.com/), for example, defines narrative as "an account of a series of events, facts, etc., given in order and with the establishing of connections between them; a narration, a story, an account." This imprecise linguistic usage appears to be common in both everyday life and academic practice – and even in historical scholarship. Since dictionary definitions or, more broadly, etymology are of limited help here, it might be more appropriate to refer to what characterizes a narrative according to literature in history.

For Carr, the narrative is more than a chronicle that solely presents a chronological list of historical happenings (events). In virtue of its retrospective view, the narrative "picks out the most important events, traces the causal and motivational connections among them, and gives us an organized, coherent account" (Carr, 1986, p. 59). Because of its unique structure (with a beginning, subject, actors, events, setting, plot, and conclusion), the selected events placed in sequence acquire a coherent (and intelligible) unity that offers greater meaning and significance for the audience than the individual events themselves. It is precisely this complex mental process of selecting, interpreting, sequencing, and structuring historical events into a coherent account that makes this whole crafting enterprise contested. Not only can people (including historians themselves) select different events or sequence of events for explaining what happened, but their own historical judgements (and predilections) may lead to the creation of different and even competing accounts of human actions.

The process can get even more complex when such narratives are not only crafted by people using different events and evidence, but when they are purposely driven by particular moral and political motivations. Indeed, *political* narratives, as the ones expressed by Bush and de Villepin, hold a unique feature in that they are power-driver stories seeking to advance certain claims or policies in the name of the common good. They are, as such, people-building stories crafted by political authorities (or leaders) that offer members of a political community what Smith (2001) calls a sense of "trust and worth" (p. 78). On the one hand, they promise that authorities will exercise their power in the name of the collective good (*trust* in authority), and, on the other hand, that they will successfully do so if community members consent or give their allegiance to that political vision (*worth* pursuing). "Leaders," Smith (2001) observes, "seek both to prompt constituents to embrace membership in the community or people they depict, and to persuade them to accept as leaders the very sorts of persons who are advancing these people-building accounts." "Thus their stories, however sincere," he goes on, "will always be partly self-serving or partisan" (p. 76). One can clearly see the implications of political narratives in a multifaceted and emotionally disturbing period such as post-9/11 terrorism characterized by instability, insecurity, and fear of unconventional enemies and attacks.

Because political narratives are more than rhetoric and far from self-evident, it is thus important as community members to analyze them critically and understand their internal structure, the messages and moral judgements they convey, the evidence they use, as well as their influence on people's decisions, actions, and consent. For this reason, it is now largely accepted in the history and education communities that historical understanding is far more authentic and enduring if history is presented from multiple perspectives as opposed to a grand unified narrative that appears to be obvious and uncontested. "As educators in a democracy," Levstik

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[292] Ironically, the English concept of "narrative" comes from the 14th century Middle French word "narratif." While the words *narratif* and *narration* still refer in French language to a narrative framework, story (*récit*) and history (*histoire*) have gradually replaced the original term in popular and academic usage.

(1997) argues, "we have a vested interest in a very different history – a pluralist or perspectival history in which students participate in meaningful discussion with 'an ever growing chorus of voices'." Such an approach to the past not only offers students diverse interpretations of human experiences but also (and perhaps above all) a sense of historical agency. Rather than simply accepting the dominant version as inherently "right" or "true," multiple perspective accounts allow students to question, compare, assess, and ultimately develop their own evidence-based narrative frameworks (Mayer, 1998; Seixas, 1997; and VanSledright, 2002).

Yet, asking students to look at multiple perspectives of complex issues such as post-9/11 terrorism on the grounds that there is no single truth in politics and history (since narratives are contextualized "social constructs") inevitably leads to the unworkable epistemological stance of postmodern relativism (Seixas, 2000). If all knowledge is relative and disputed, then, one particular version of human actions is as good as another. In the face of contradictory accounts of past and anticipated terrorist challenges, naïve students could intuitively reject any discomforting viewpoint on the ground of cultural relativism. Why would a US student, for example, accept a French version of "dialogue" and "determined action over time" in the case of the Iraqi regime if President Bush's pre-emptive war proved to be more inspiring?

With such a critical situation, it becomes imperative to look at how students can reasonably adjudicate among the different post-9/11 political narratives that "vie for their allegiance." As Shemilt (2000) contends, if there is "no single right answer to any of the really significant questions in history… not any answer will do" (p. 98). Indeed, historians will consent that some answers and accounts are clearly more defensible than others – while recognizing the limits and contingency of their narrative claims. But which ones? According to what criteria?

Since the terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington DC, there has been no clear answer to these questions in history education. On the one hand, historians and history educators have been relatively silent on the significance of post-9/11 terrorism. The great majority of publications on the topic have come from political studies and historiography with little reference to education (Booth and Dunne, 2002; Dershowitz, 2002; Hoffman, 1998; Keegan, 2004; Pillar, 2001; and Talbott and Chanda, 2001). On the other hand, those who have recently advocated a more analytical approach to terrorism in school have considered the matter from the broader cross-curricular stances of "critical pedagogy," "medial literacy," and "critical thinking" (Hahn, 2002; Hobbs, 2001; MEQ, 2003; Mehlinger, 2002; and Nelles, 2003a). While there is visible merit to these approaches, they do not, however, offer history educators and students any clear procedures, standards, and ultimately "tools" of the discipline to adjudicate between the divergent stories that have emerged since 9/11 and are deliberately exploited to advance certain political agendas.

In an attempt to make sense of fictional and non-fictional narrative constructions, Michael Stanford (1994) conveniently presents a comprehensive list of no less than 12 "essential elements of narrative" (p. 88). For practical purposes, I have reorganized some of these around to the following six features of narrative framework that I briefly review below: (1) subject-matter, (2) characters, (3) sequence of events, (4) evidence, (5) moral, and (6) perspective (or contextualization). These features do not, in themselves, tell whether one narrative is inherently "better" than another, as narratives (particularly *political* ones) always entails some normative elements, but they provide essential "tools" that can help turn passive and naïve students, and ultimately citizens, into more active and critical interpreters of political discourses.

Subject-matter: Every narrative has its own subject of focus and interest. Whether it is centred on a personage (e.g., "hero") or a particular event (e.g., "exploit"), the narrative, by virtue of its

internal unity, needs a subject to focus the action. This subject usually allows people to grasp in one term or concept (Walsh [1967] refers to it as "colligatory concept") all the elements of the story, such as "9/11." The subject, as Stanford (1994) puts it, becomes "greater than the sum of its parts" (p. 91) because it renders the whole story in question complete and intelligible. It is the subject that, in many ways, determines the characters and events to be included in the story line.

Characters: Once the narrative has a focus of interest, it becomes imperative to have participants in the actions in question. The "actors" are those necessary to make the story moves in the direction projected. Because it is hard to render the subject intelligible when too many participants are involved, selection is necessary. Yet, it is contentious to make that selective judgement as it is not always evident to decide who should be discarded and on what grounds. Besides, some actors are not always conveniently defined in history, or worse, are not individuals *per se* but rather groups, collectivities, or institutions. There is thus the danger, in selecting characters, of either omitting key personages necessary to the unity of the story, or making overgeneralizations based solely on certain members of a group.

Sequence of events: The narrative is not only structured around a specific subject, but based on a number of selected events grouped together in a certain coherent arrangement. Unlike a chronicle, this arrangement presents a specific and internal connection in the form of a sequence (or a "chain"). The sequence of events typically consists of causes and effects driving the story from one event to the next. The process of selecting and sequencing the events in a story-form is challenging and highly contested. First, it requires the careful selection of a limited number of related "significant" events. Second, it implies that the sequence in question must be chronological, logically and causally defensible, and finally meaningful. And third, the process ought to lead to deeper understanding of the events. There must be a sense that understanding would be less if the events were not grouped in that particular sequence.

Evidence: Unlike fictional stories, historical and political narratives must be grounded in the available evidence to purport to be "plausible" and "true." Evidence can broadly be divided into two distinct forms: evidence-as-relic (such as bones, weapons, diaries etc.) and evidence-as-accounts (such as reports, books, films, etc.). Both relics, emerging from the events in question, and written and oral accounts, derived from the relics or events, must be selected and evaluated carefully as they do not necessarily "speak by themselves" or reveal their original meaning. In some cases, problems occur because of a lack of relevant evidence; in other cases because there are simply too many relics or accounts to be consulted or considered. Selection, analysis, and interpretation of evidence are thus key to the crafting of narratives.

Moral: Every story has (implicitly or explicitly) a moral. People (including historians) not only connect events in a particular arrangement using selected evidence, but they do so by making moral judgements on the *meaning* of the events or sequence of events in their story. In fact, the narrative acquires its real importance in providing the audience a particular desirable message about right or wrong, progress or decline, freedom or oppression, justice or inequality, and so forth. The moral nature of the narrative is largely shaped by the initial subject and story line, the selection of characters and events, and the final event in particular. In fact, it is the ending of the story that usually defines its character and moral stance because it allows the audience to judge it by its results.

Perspective: Because the narrative has an internal unity of past, present, and potentially future times, it is important to contextualize the sequence of events so as to avoid the so-called anachronistic sin of "presentism." Contextualization not only refers to chronology, but also to the

particular historical time or period in which the events took place and are now narrated. It is thus important to be conscious of both actors' and narrators' respective "historicity" because it helps understand their contextually-situated historical and moral positionality. Such an achievement is only possible if the analysis of events, actors, and narrators is firmly grounded in the necessary or available evidence (that is, historically defensible according to evidence).

Post-9/11 terrorism and narrative analysis

Having defined these six complementary features of narrative framework, how do they encourage historical understanding of post-9/11 terrorism? How can educators use them in light of the previous US and French political examples?

Looking first at the *subject-matter* of US and France respective version of terrorism and the war in Iraq, it is noticeable that both President Bush and Minister de Villepin pay attention to post-9/11 terrorism. But they do so with somewhat different terms and focus. For President Bush, the subject of concern is clearly on global terrorism and WMD proliferation in the Middle East, while Minister de Villepin refers more generically to current international violence and security issues around the world, including Iraq. In fact, President Bush employs in his speech at least five times the concepts of terror/terrorism/terrorist and WMD whereas Minister de Villepin uses crisis, violence, and danger instead. As I will demonstrate later on, this difference is consequential because it places terrorism, and more specifically the Iraq case, in the larger sphere of domestic and global violence and instability that characterize current international relations, as opposed to a narrower focus on US terrorist threat since 9/11.

This variant is also influential for the selection of *characters* and *events* of their respective story. President Bush makes explicit mention of a number of collective groups and regimes in his speech, such as "America," "terrorists," "outlaw groups and regimes," "our enemies," and "Saddam Hussein's regime." By consciously doing so, the US version provides a clear picture of the participants in the action, as well as a delineation of who seats on what sides (i.e., binary opposition). The initial focus on US post-9/11 terrorism and WMD proliferation helps make that narrative selection because it narrows the meaning of violence (to terrorism) and reduces significantly the number of potential actors in the story line.

In contrast, The French version, because of its larger generic focus on violence, presents a multiplicity of (often vague) players, even in the Middle East where Iraq is not even singled out. Minister de Villepin, for example, talks about "the world," "the Middle East," "the other," "us," and so forth without naming or identifying particular individuals or actors. By doing so, he purposely avoids categorizing groups, people, or regimes as President Bush openly affirms, but he does so at the expense of a clear unfolding of his political story. Because the US version has less confusing and more identifiable actors, it seems easier to follow and grasp than the French one.

The subject-matter of each respective version also influences their *sequence of events*. For President Bush, the sequence starts with "the attacks on America" and then incorporates other subsequent terrorist attacks and alleged developments. These include the building of "new bases for their war against civilization," "Saddam Hussein's pursuit of weapon of mass murder," and "inspectors' visits." By grouping all these various (and even disconnected) happenings into a united story line, the US version suggests that they form a chain of causally related events which ultimately leads to a dangerous terrorist "risk we must not take."
But as powerful as this simplified "causal emplotment" might be, it has not been established as of yet that the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the terrorist cells and new bases that Bush talks

about in his story were connected in any way to Saddam Hussein's regime and pursuit of WMD (Cirincione *et al.*, 2004).

In fact, there is no "hard" *evidence* that Iraq did possessed or pursed a program of WMD in the months before the US invasion, or that Saddam Hussein's regime was connected in any way to 9/11. What the Bush administration did was a clever selection and manipulation of "soft" and "inconclusive" evidence (such as confusing satellite photographs and dated intelligence reports still "classified") that ultimately led the public to confuse reality with verisimilitude (see Blix, 2004; Milbank, 2002).

Because of the larger subject-matter of the French version of Minister de Villepin and the point in time it was officially presented (March 2003), the sequence of event is also significantly different from the US one. It does not start with 9/11 but with the imminent "weapons sound" in Iraq, and then brings in a number of general happenings such as the "manifold crises" around the world, "ancient conflicts" in the Middle East, and finally potential "dangers of proliferation" and "other crises of the same type" in the future. Unlike the US sequence, the French one is far more diffuse and complex, with reference to past, present, and future times in a non-linear progression. The links of cause and effect and references to evidence are also very distinctive. Minister de Villepin suggests that the "armed intervention in Iraq" will not prevent terrorism and proliferation, but rather cause "other crises of the same type" and "exacerbate tension and fractures" on which terrorists feed. While he does not explicitly present "hard" or even "soft" *evidence* for his claims, it is still possible to find corroborating sources or examples for the arguments presented. In brief, once taken in its whole narrative arrangement, the French sequence offers a far more uncertain and potentially pessimistic future than the US one.

Indeed, the US and French versions of post-9/11 terrorism make very different *moral claims*. If both explicitly reject terrorism, President Bush, on the one hand, presents the arguable moral statement that, since 9/11, the US – and ultimately the whole world – will be safer and more stable if terrorist regimes, such as the one of Saddam Hussein, are toppled, by swift preemptive military operations. On the other hand, Minister de Villepin judges that the path to global peace and security lays in a "dialogue" and "determined action over time" through concerted multilateral measures and forums. The vocabulary they employ is also quite revealing of their (not-so-hidden) political agenda. President Bush, for example, talks about the loss of US "innocent lives," the "terrible morning," and "urgent duty of protecting other lives" against "outlaw groups and regimes" with "no law of morality." All this binary rhetorical language creates a powerful *mise-en-scène* that helps promote the US moral claims.

Finally, the *perspectives* presented by US and French accounts are extremely interesting. Each version nicely portrays the particular positionality of their narrator. By situating President Bush's statements in the larger socio-historical context of US foreign policy since the end of the Cold War (e.g, Gulf War 1991, Kosovo 1999), and particularly following 9/11, the audience can better understand (but not necessarily accept) the context within which the narrative was crafted. "The new 'Bush Doctrince'," Nelles (2003b) rightly contends, "epitomizes US faith in hegemonic military force, and preemptive use of it, as its principal source of its own security" (p. 16).

The version of Minister de Villepin, in contrast, shows all the determination but also reserve that France, and more broadly the "old Europe," has to fight global terrorism if it means giving a "blank check" to US military intervention. Reflecting on the relations between France and the US since 9/11, Gordon and Benedicte (2002) of the Brookings Institute recently observed that "French leaders foresee a campaign [against terror] that will primarily involve diplomacy, law enforcement, and international intelligence cooperation." "Military response," they insist, "should

be limited as much as possible to precise terrorist targets, rather than countries or regimes more broadly." Perhaps the best encapsulating statement of France's position came from then French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin when he claimed that military strikes must be "proportional, strategically and military justified, and politically coherent" (in Gordon and Benedicte, 2002).

Discussion

Clearly, these two political narratives present very interesting and illuminating cases in point. Those who craft stories, and perhaps above all *political* stories, have the enormous advantage and power to decide where their story starts and ends, who is included and excluded, how the events are arranged and how they unfold, and what is ultimately the moral of it. "The skilled storyteller," Husbands (1996) sensibly argues, has "the power to shape reactions and to direct emotions towards one account rather than another…" (p. 48). Perhaps more importantly, the storyteller and storycrafter "can entrance the imagination, conjure a picture of the past which is vivid and immediate, give 'life' to the characters they describe, create excitement and interest (Husbands, 1996, p. 49).

But, at the same time as these people (consciously or not) define and organize their stories in ways that render their content and messages intelligible, in every step of this process they run the risk of oversimplifying a complex human reality, imposing a predetermined "logical sequence" or interpretation to a messy situation, or confusing emotion with thought, and fiction with reality. Their influence can, therefore, be extremely terrifying and dangerous, notably for the audience.

For this reason, the ability to deconstruct and compare narrative content, underlying messages, arrangement, evidence, and positionality can shift the power of the story from its original crafter to those who were meant to be the audience. By looking critically at President Bush's political account of pre-emptive military intervention in "terrorist states," for example, it is possible to understand that the initial powerful message he delivered suddenly becomes an imaginative *trompe l'œil* of archetypal binary opposition of "good" versus "evil," that is very limited in its empirical content and use of causality. Moreover, by comparing it to the French story of global conflicts since 9/11, it is also possible to realize that human experiences are not only manifold and heterogeneous, but interpreted differently by different groups and with different sets of evidence and morality.

The goal here is not to suggest that the French version is inherently better than the US one – although one could legitimately make that case two years after the war. The point is rather to show that political narratives provide people with a "compelling tool for searching out meaning in a conflicted and contradictory world" (Cronon, 1992, p. 1374). But, because of the contingency and usage of this historical tool, it simply cannot be taken for granted. Storytellers, political leaders in particular, clearly know about the power and structure of narrative. Yet they do not seem to have any obligation to evidence, accuracy, causality, or any other standards, concepts, and procedures of the history discipline. Standards and procedures, as Rogers (1984) observes, do not necessarily make historical knowledge less contested. But they surely allow for common disagreement and exchange, and ultimately trustworthiness. "The fact that historians disagree," he notes, "is exactly what makes historical knowledge reputable by providing the most rigorous check upon its provenance and content" (p. 23).

The six features of narrative framework that I have introduced here are far from revolutionary. They have been part of the historians' toolbox since the days of Leopold von Ranke. Yet, it is fair to claim that history teachers and students rarely get an opportunity to employ them in class.

If we, as educators, simply resort to follow the well-traveled path of unreflective patriotic storytelling, we may well comfort our students and provide them with a (temporary) sense of security. But, in the long run, we run the risk of equipping them for the wrong battles and the wrong challenges coming ahead. "Unless and until people are able to locate present knowledge, questions, and concerns within narrative frameworks that link past with present and past with present in ways that are valid and meaningful, coherent, and flexible," Shemilt (2000) concludes, "the uses that are made of history will range from impoverished to pernicious" (p. 99). In this ongoing war on terror, formal education in general, and history education in particular, can play a decisive role in the victory. The first step in this direction is to give our "troops" the necessary tools to engage successfully in the battle against civic ignorance.

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Teaching About Slavery—Political Correctness or Good History and Perspective?

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Abstract.

The article is about the ignorance of American students concerning the historical nature of slavery (thinking it as essentially a Euro-American, White, Christian institution foisted on blacks), the "myths" surrounding the institution of slavery, and how to place the teaching of slavery into proper historical perspective so that students can achieve historical context and perspective. (55 words)

Setting the Stage

"I was surprised to hear that African Americans were not the only slaves.... Why is it that they do not teach you this while you are in school?"

"I have always heard about the African slaves to the west but never realized how much other slavery has gone on… we grow up in a society that only talks about the slaves in the beginning of the United States...."

"Perhaps the most interesting fact I learned...about black Africa was that the European Americans were not the first people to subject them to slavery...My whole life I've only been taught that white, Christian Americans went to Africa and brought back slaves."

"For some reason I never thought that other races beside black were slaves....I think ... our teachers made us develop a stereotype that slaves were only blacks"

" I had no idea slavery was widely practiced throughout world history….."

"I was always under the impression that Americans were the instigators of slave trade and that we were the only country that was subjecting this on human beings...."

"I saw slavery as very straightforward. The white man went to Africa and violently apprehended men and women, then brought them back to the United States for slavery....I also did not know that slavery was a native institution to Africa....I thought the idea of slavery was forcefully introduced to Africa...."

I never knew that Africa had slavery before slavery was even introduced into the United States."

"I never really made the connection... that slavery existed before the Europeans came to Africa…I learned that slavery was not based [exclusively] on skin color"

Introduction

The above are typical responses of my World Civilizations students, written in their logs--their thoughts and ideas on the course--to our discussion of slavery. Most American students believe slavery was a White, Christian Euro-American phenomenon foisted on black Africans and essentially a North American tragedy. Students don't realize that slavery was "natural" and "normal" throughout history. Christine Balt and Seymour Drescher have written, "A little over two centuries ago [slavery] existed as a virtually unchallenged... element of the international economic network." Richard Hellie notes that "slavery existed almost everywhere." To Paul Lovejoy, "those who focus on slavery in the Americas without reference to slavery in Africa have neglected a major problem in the history of Africans." (1) We fail our students and distort history when this is what they learn.

There are at least five reasons for this problem.
First, the emphasis on U.S. history (natural in the U.S.) and not world history, and the discussion of slavery within American society, lets students think that slavery was only an institution perpetrated on backs by whites (generally American, Anglo-Saxon, Christian).
Second, even today, beyond American history, we concentrate on Western and not World civilization. This basically ignores other civilizations where slavery flourished.
Third, although easy to do, we generally fail to put slavery into historical perspective. Many Jews have appropriated the word "holocaust" and decry its use in a non-Jewish context; many African-Americans have appropriated slavery as "their" issue and believe discussing slavery elsewhere or placing it into historical perspective belittles American slavery and is racist. (2)
Fourth, many teachers simply know too little about slavery to place it into perspective. We know a good deal about American slavery but are ignorant of its extent elsewhere.
Fifth, "political correctness" is always present. However, as David Landes, has argued, "I prefer truth to goodthink. I feel surer of my ground." (3)
When we teachers fail to put slavery into historical perspective, we fail to train our students properly.

What are the myths that students and teachers seem to share? First, slavery was essentially an American (i.e., US) phenomenon. Second, slavery was a Christian phenomenon. Third, African slavery was "easier," or "milder," than American. Fourth, slavery was something whites perpetrated on blacks. Fifth, "New World" slavery was a North American phenomenon. Explaining these myths

will help students put slavery into correct historical context and gain a better understanding of history and today's world.

Myth One: Slavery as an <u>American</u> (i.e., US) problem

American students learn something about slavery by studying Code of Hammurabi. Judeo-Christian students may be familiar with Hebrew slavery from the laws concerning slavery in Exodus 21: 2ff and Leviticus 25:44ff. But it is a Teflon approach; slavery as an age-old, worldwide phenomenon just doesn't stick.

Yet, "slavery [has] existed almost everywhere," since earliest times, and from three diverse human sources--the Slavic peoples, people from the Iranian steppe, and the Germanic/Celtic/Romance people of continental Europe. (4)

Later, as W.G. de Burgh pointed out, "among the Greeks, as general throughout antiquity, slavery formed part of the traditional order and...was accepted without question." Greece was "the first known major slave society. " "The census of 309 BC showed 400,000 slaves just in Attica," and one-third of Athens's population was slave. (5)

The percentage of slaves in the Roman Empire was also probably 30%. Some argue that Rome itself eventually had as many as 900,000 slaves. (6) Panevin sees the primary sources of Roman (and ancient slavery in general) as war, indebtedness, slave-raiding piracy, and the "natural" increase of slaves through sexual relations. (7)

War supplied many slaves. After the Second Punic War Rome enslaved 30,000 citizens of Tarentum because they supported Carthage. In 167, after the Third Macedonian War, over 150,000 people from Epirus were enslaved. In 146, after the Third Punic War, 60,000 Carthaginians were enslaved. Another surge occurred in the age of Marius and Sulla. After the Cimbri-Teutonic War, Sulla seized 50,000 as slaves. Julius Caesar's Gallic wars led to the enslavement, depending on estimates, of 400,000-1,000,000) Gauls. (8)

Further, "the lot of most [Roman] slaves…was miserable." "Unskilled slaves… were often brutally treated....and many rural owners chained their chattel at night to prevent their escape." Cato said that masters should "sell worn-out oxen, blemished cattle, blemished sheep, wool, hides, an old slave, a sickly slave, and whatever else is superfluous." (9)

Roman slavery induced large-scale slave revolts. Best known is that led by Spartacus, numbering 70,000-120,000, which broke out in 73 BC and was defeated only in 71 BC by Marcus Licinius Crassus, who celebrated by crucifying 6,000 defeated slaves. (10)

Manumission of Roman slaves was nonetheless common. In the Empire freedmen filled "a large percentage of the lower ranks of the civil service, they filled every trade and profession, the commerce of Italy was largely in their hands, and they became the managers of estates and of business undertakings of all sorts." (11) (

Elsewhere in Europe, 10% of England's population of England, based on the Domesday Book in 1086, were slaves, and "continental Europe—France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia—all knew slavery." (12) Slavery was also widespread on the Iberian Peninsula, both Roman and Muslim times. As for Russia, "for all of early modern Russia 10 percent would seem to be an absolute lower bound as a portion of the total population that was subject to the laws of slavery." (13) When Peter the Great (1689-1725) theoretically ended slavery he did not emancipate slaves but merged them into the Russian peasant class, thereby blurring the distinction between slave and serfs/peasants, comprising 90% of the population. Serfdom was really a form of slavery. Russian masters could brutalize their serfs, sell them, whip them until they died, exploit them sexually, etc. Russian and American slavery, both ending in the 1860s, were essentially the same: "Russian serfdom had by the second half of the eighteenth century become essentially a variant of slavery, much closer to American chattel slavery than to the serfdom of, say, medieval France" (14)

Finally, twentieth century Europe saw perhaps the worst forms of slavery under Hitler and Stalin. By September 1944 there were 7.5 million non-German slave laborers and an additional 2.5 million

POWs in Germany; fewer than 2% went voluntarily. Conditions were unbelievably bad. Dr. William Jaeger--deposed at Nuremberg--was "senior doctor" of the huge Krupp industrial work's slaves:

Upon my first visit, I found these females suffering from open festering wounds and other diseases....there were no medical supplies....The sole clothing of each consisted of a sack with holes for their arms and head....The amount of food in the camp was extremely meager and of very poor quality....many workers were forced to go to work in their bare feet, even in winter....Sanitary conditions were atrocious....At times the water supply at the camps was shut off for periods of from eight to fourteen days...." (15)

Bolshevik slavery was worse because it lasted longer, engulfed tens of millions of people and millions of deaths, and had living conditions equally as bad. (16) Slavery also existed in Asia. Slavery existed during the first Chinese dynasty, the Shang. Perhaps 5% of the population in the Han Dynasty (ca. 200 B.C.-200 AD), was slave. Chinese slavery ended only in 1910. Conrad Schirokauer says slavery existed in China but that not more than 1% of the Han population was slave. D.N. Knightley has argued that "although Marxist historians have categorized the Shang as a slave society, it would be more accurate to describe it as a dependent society….If slavery existed, it was psychological and ideological, not legal." After the rise of Islam, the large Islamic trade led to black slaves being shipped to China; the Chinese scholar Chu Yu wrote in 1119 that "In Kauang-chou [Canton] most of the wealthy people keep devil-slaves….their colour is as black as [Chinese] ink, their lips are red, their teeth white and their hair curly…." (17)

In Japan, Schirokauer says that "at the bottom of the social scale were a small class of household slaves." Takeshi Toyoda argues slaves during the Yamato Era (ca. 300-800 AD) "accounted for less than one-tenth of the population," which implies a significant number of slaves. (18)

Slavery existed in India long before the coming of the Muslims. In India "domestic slavery was common." When Britain sought to end Indian slavery in the 19th century, the census enumerated 8-9,000,000 slaves. (19) Elsewhere in Asia slavery was more widespread. In Korea perhaps "a third to half of the entire population for most of the millennium between the Silla period and mid-18th century" was slave. in parts of Thailand and Burma perhaps 25-33% of the population between the 1600s and early 1900s consisted of slaves. (20)
As we shall see below, slavery was also widespread in the Muslim world, Africa, and even pre-Columbian Meso-America.

In summary, to think that slavery was unique to the Americas and/or the United States is grossly inaccurate.

Myth Two: Slavery as a Christian Institution

Students are surprised to learn that Islamic slavery was as significant as Western, Christian slavery. Ronald Segal's, Islam's Black Slaves; the Other Black Diaspora, is enlightening. Segal makes one indisputable point and several debatable ones. (21) Indisputably, the number of African black slaves moved north and east was at least as great as the number sent across the Atlantic, and the result was "a flow of slaves possibly greater in total than that across the Atlantic" (22)
Segal accepts the figure of over 7,000,000 such slaves just between 650 and 1600. (23)
Second, Segal accepts the figures of the Islamic trade in African blacks for following centuries, in this case relying on Paul Lovejoy's figures: 900,000 in the 1600s, 1,300,000 in the 1700s, and 2,000,000 in the 1800s. (24)
Third, Lovejoy rejects Austen's pre-1600 figure of 7,220,000, arguing it could be much lower or higher and that the pre-1600 figures should be 3.5-10.0 million. (25) Hence, we can come up with two tables.

 Austen figures Lovejoy figures
To 1600 7,220,000 3,500,000-10,000,000
1600-1800 2,200,000 2,200,000 2,100,000
1800-1900 2,000,000 2,100,000 2,100,000

TOTALS: 11,420,000 7,800,000- 14,200,000

Fourth, Segal concludes that "the annual average for eleven and a half centuries [650-1800] would have been 8,270 per annum" (9.51 million, or 8270 times 1150). But that <u>excludes</u> 2,000,000 for the nineteenth century. Thus, the total of 11,510,500 is "a figure not far short of the 11,863,000 estimated to have been loaded onto ships during the four centuries of the Atlantic trade" (26) Segal cites even higher figures, such, 14,000,000 in the Islamic trade by the Frenchman Raymond Maury. Hellie's figures are 18,000,000, covering the period 650-1905. (27)

Segal's comparisons of Islamic and western slavery are debatable. Segal loathes western slavery and takes a view of Islamic slavery which he himself seems to contradict, although making some good points. Thus, Segal writes that "both Christianity and Islam...long sanctioned the capture, sale, ownership, and use of men, women, and children from black Africa." Yet he invariably states that Islamic slavery was less evil, and that, comparatively, "the history of Islam emerged with some credit." (28) Thus, after dealing with the numbers of slaves, he writes that "even if the volume of the two trades [Islamic and Atlantic] were roughly the same, the Atlantic trade involved only four centuries, while the Islamic one stretched well beyond that," i.e., over 12-13 centuries). (29) Is one is less guilty for embezzling $11,000,000 over 12.5 years than over 4 years? If Islamic slavery lasted much longer, was it more theoretically ingrained and therefore worse than western slavery?

Segal writes that Islam condoned slavery, but not of other Muslims. "The enslavement of unbelievers was both a compensation for Muslim deaths in a lawful war and a way of promoting conversion to the faith." Further, "in Islam, slavery was never the moral, political, and economic issue that it was in the West, where it engendered a multitude of tracts and books in denunciation or defense of the institution." (30) Muslims were not to enslave other Muslims; the "Koran also expressly encouraged the freeing of slaves," and children born to female slaves were to be free, and the Prophet forbade mutilation and castration. (31)

Segal concludes that "Islam has been...relatively humane in its treatment of slaves and its readiness to free them," that "the treatment of slaves in Islam was overall more benign," and that "the freeing of individual slaves ...was much more frequent and widespread in Islam." (32)
Yet Segal admits that Muslims ignored many of these precepts. Thus, "Muslims enslaved other Muslims, sometimes on doctrinal pretexts….and captives were enslaved, regardless of whether they were Muslims …," all "in total disregard of Islamic doctrine." (33)
Further, while arguing that Islam is not inherently racist in, he admits that Islam became racist because of conquest, because Black Africa seemed less developed, and because Islam placed greater influence on intellect than physical qualities. Thus, "the association of peculiar physical prowess with intellectual inferiority both rationalized and promoted the disparagement of blacks." (34)

Ali al-Husayn ibn abd Allah ibn Sina (980-1037; known in the West as Avicenna) wrote that blacks " lack self-control and steadiness of mind and are overcome by fickleness, foolishness, and ignorance; " he spoke of those lacking reason, "such as the rabble of Bujia, the savages of Ghana, the scum of Zanj, and their like." The great Muslim historian, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) wrote that "the Negro nations are, as a rule, submissive to slavery [because they] have attributes that are quite similar to those of dumb animals." (35)

Muslim sexual stereotyping also hurt blacks. The Islamic view of women and the need to protect them led to eunuchs becoming important in Islamic male slavery. There were white slave eunuchs, but blacks were preferred. And "unlike white eunuchs, deprived only of their testicles, black ones were subjected to the most radical form of castration....based on the assumption that the blacks had an ungovernable sexual appetite.'" (36) This occurred despite Islam's prohibition against castration, and "the high price of slave eunuchs—up to seven times that of uncastrated male slaves in the nineteenth century—reflected both their relative scarcity, as a result of the high death rate which the operation involved, and an all-but insatiable demand for them" (37) Furthermore, male slaves, whether castrated or not, were often forced into homosexual sex, again against Muslim principles. (38)

Even Segal admits "this was all a far cry from the call to compassion, justice, tolerance, the respect for human dignity, that belonged to the divine design communicated by the Prophet. Though never remotely institutionalized as they eventually became in the West, racist attitudes did emerge in Islam as a rationalization or result of the trade in black slaves." (39)

Segal's view of a compassionate Islam is also tested by the treatment of slaves in transit to their place of slavery. While "the Islamic trade had always involved violence and cruelties, suffering and loss of life….the nineteenth century proved to be exceptional only in the extent of its horrors" because "the raiding and warfare for slaves were conducted on a scale and with a ruthlessness that seemed at times to be frantic." One nineteenth century report indicated that "for every ten slaves who reached Cairo, fifty had died along the way." (40)

Islamic slavery compared favorably with Western slavery because it was likelier for slaves to become prominent. Many women concubines had children who rose to high position, especially in the Ottoman Empire, where most of the sultans' children were from slave concubines. A trusted slave eunuch could also become powerful at court. (41)
Segal also correctly connects slavery and economics. "Slaves in Islam were directed mainly at the service sector—concubines, cooks, porters and soldiers—with slavery itself primarily a form of consumption rather than a factor of production." (42)

While correct, this requires clarification. The early Islamic trade led many slaves to the fields. The poor treatment of plantation and mine slaves led to major slave revolts as early as 770. The largest occurred in Persia, led by black slaves called the Zanj, eventually numbering 15,000, This led Islam to utilize fewer slaves in production. Yet in Muslim Spain, where slaves may have comprised 20% of the urban population, black slaves "were also used as rural laborers, mainly on the large estates." Further, Afro-Arab slavery, especially in East Africa and especially but not exclusively in the nineteenth century, used large numbers of black slaves similar to use in the United States. (43)

"Sexploitation" was more important than production in Islamic slavery. In the Atlantic trade 2/3 of the slaves were male; in the Islamic trade 2/3 of the slaves were female. A major use of female slaves was for sex and as concubines, although women also worked as musicians, singers, dancers, and domestics. Segal points out that Abd al Rahman III's harem in Cordoba (912-61) had 6,000 concubines, and the Fatamid palace in Cairo had 12,000. Tradesmen and artisans also kept courtesan slaves, but obviously far fewer. Concubines who bore a master's child could not be sent away, therefore gaining more protection than a wife. Further, a slave's child with a free man was not a slave. (44)

Comparatively, one might point out that Islam never had any meaningful dissent about slavery, indicating that it was far more accepted—even if less heinous (which is debatable)—than in Christendom. Further, as Segal admits, slavery in Africa existed for almost 1,000 years before the Europeans came and lasted long after they left. Saudi Arabia outlawed slavery only in 1962. Some slavery continues in Africa today. Segal also admits that Europeans, especially the British, took the lead in ending slavery after 1800. (45)

We should heed Segal himself: "A slave was a slave for all that.....Even masters persuaded of their own piety and benevolence sexually exploited their concubines...Islamic slavery was scarcely more compassionate than its Western counterpart. (46)

Myth Three: Only Whites owned Black Slaves; Slavery as an indigenous African condition

Slavery was not "foisted" on Africa by outsiders. "Slaves have been owned in black Africa throughout recorded history….Slavery was practiced everywhere [in Africa] before the rise of Islam…." "Slavery has been an important phenomenon throughout {African} history…. as one of the principal areas where slavery was common." (47)

In Islamic Ghana before 1600 about a third of the population was slave. The same

was true among other early states of the western Sudan, including Mali (1200-1500…and Songhai (1464-1720). Slavery was also prominent in Ghana and presumably elsewhere in Africa long before the transatlantic slave trade. (48) Although existing earlier, the expansion of slavery after 1600 coincided with the Atlantic slave trade. As a result, "the role of slaves in the [African] economy and society became more important, resulting in the transformation of the social, economic and political order." (49)

Before 1600 "slavery was already an important institution" in areas such as the Kongo, Benin, the Akan states on the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone. "The dominant influence was Islamic...because Islam had become a strong influence within many of the states and societies ... where slaves were used extensively." The expansion of internal African slavery was facilitated by Africa's political fragmentation. Yet new American food crops maintain population despite large-scale export of slaves. (50) The worst century for African slavery was the nineteenth, the very century Europeans were trying to end slavery in Africa. "By the last decades of the nineteenth century, the African social order was more firmly rooted in slavery than ever before…. slavery had become essential to the organization of production, no matter what social and political roles were also satisfied through slave use." (51) Pakenham points out that "in Central Africa the slave trade was the fourth Horseman, riding behind war, famine, and plague." Even Segal admits that whole areas were essentially depleted of people from slave raiding. (52)

In important areas the slave population was extremely high. Perhaps half the people in the Asante areas were slaves: "In the early 1870s, the population of the Kumasi area was thought to be about equally slave and free. On the coast, the ratio of slave to free was at least as high….slave holdings in Dahomey and the Yoruba states of Ibadan, Ijebu, Abeokuta, and Lagos were so large that free people constituted only a minority of the population." Also, "by the end of the nineteenth century, 30 to 50 per cent of the total population of the western Sudan was slave, and in some locations the percentage was higher, reaching 80 per cent near some commercial centers….Slaves might have comprised 2/3 of the population of the Malinke, 50 percent of Kano." Zanzibar slavery increased from 15,000 in 1819 to over 100,000 just by the 1830s. There work in clove production led to slave mortality rates of 15-20% annually. (53)
Although African slaves were overwhelmingly owned by Africans, Europeans-- Portuguese and Boers, especially--and Indians also owned slaves in parts of Africa. (54)

Some slavery continues in Africa today, such as ritual "fetish" slavery in Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. Since the seventeenth century, the ancestors of an individual who committed a crime must supply and re-supply the fetish priest with young virgins, whom he uses for labor and sex. In the Sudan tribal raids lead to enslavement, especially of young people. In recent years hundreds have been redeemed, some by Dinka and Arab elders, some by Christian Solidarity International, a Swiss charity that buys slaves in order to free them. (55)
Clearly, blacks enslaved blacks. Lovejoy writes: "It is inaccurate to think that Africans enslaved their brothers—although this sometimes happened. Rather, Africans enslaved their enemies....In Africa, the enslavers and the slave owners were often the same." Indeed, "politics and slave trading were closely associated," and often [black] African governments themselves monopolized the lucrative slave trade. (56).

It is also inaccurate that African slavery was not used for productive purposes and was "benign" and based on kinship (as opposed to production), although there is some truth in those views. Even before 1600 slaves were used for productive work (in agriculture and mining) in Songhai and especially under Askia Daoud (1549-1583), the western Sudan, Ethiopia and the Zambezi valley, the Teghaza salt-work in the Sahara, and in East Africa. After 1600, especially in the northern savanna, "slaves were…employed on plantations wherever merchants and aristocrats had access to large numbers of slaves." Slaves in production increased greatly in the nineteenth century. In Dahomey "the most important development in the nineteenth century was the king's investment in plantation slavery." And the rapid expansion of slavery in Zanzibar was directly connected with the clove plantations. (57)

The treatment of slaves varied widely everywhere. But that African slavery was easier and the slaves assimilated is a myth, says Lovejoy. "The myth for all slaves was that individuals were assimilated….[but] the scale of slavery in most areas was so great that real assimilation was impossible....In parts of Asante, Dahomey, the Yoruba states, and the Biafran interior, slaves formed a majority of the population." Further, "treatment of slaves could be severe….plantation slaves were involved in productive activities that demonstrate a type of slave regime that was far different from the stereotype of a benign African slavery."(58)

Myth Four: In the West, slavery was/is a United States Issue

Slavery existed in Meso-America before the Europeans arrived. Slave-owning societies included the Klamath, Pawnee, and Yurok from California to Alaska, Georgia's Creek Indians, the Comanches in Texas, lower Amazon Tupians, the Incas, and the Aztecs. (59)
Meso-American slavery was generally less atrocious. Slaves could sometimes buy their freedom. Women slaves were often concubines. But the Aztecs used conquered peoples /slaves for their mass ritual executions. Also, a slave who performed poorly and was dismissed by three consecutive owners would be used for human sacrifice. (60)
Slavery on a massive scale came with the Europeans. But relatively few transatlantic slaves went to the future United States.

Region and Country Total % of Total Imports
British North America 399,000 4.17
Spanish America 1,552,100 16.23
British Caribbean 1,665,000 17.41
French Caribbean 1, 600,200 16.73
Dutch Caribbean 500,000 5.22
Danish Caribbean 28,000 .29
Brazil 3,646,800 38.12
Old World (Europe, Sao Thome,
 Atlantic Islands) 175,000 1.83
 TOTALS 9,566,100 100.00 (61)

Portuguese Brazil imported nine times as many slaves as the British and Americans imported into what became the United States. Brazil, the major slave state in the Americas, was half-slave about 1800 and still 33% in 1850, when slave imports were barred. Free Immigration raised Brazil's population from 4,000,000 in 1840 to 14,000,000 by 1890. Still, when Brazil abolished slavery in 1888, 850,000 blacks, 5.9% of the population, were freed. Indeed, contemporary slavery continues to in Brazil and plays an economic role. (62)
Even Spaniards, French, and Danes imported more slaves from Africa than the British North American colonies. The Slave trade became illegal in Mexico, Chile, and Argentina between 1810 and 1812. Spain continued the slave trade in its colonies until 1880, but slavery was abolished in Chile in 1823, Mexico in 1829, Peru in 1854, Puerto Rico in 1873, Cuba in 1880, and Brazil in 1888. (63)

Myth Five: Only whites owned slaves in the US

The final misconception: only whites owned slaves in the U.S. Clearly "slavery is an American embarrassment. The nation's historical treatment of black men and women has compromised its perfectionist and egalitarian ideals." (64)
The 1860 census, including slaves, counted 31,443,321 people; slaves totaled 3,953,546, or 12.57%. There were 385,000 slave owners, 88% owning under twenty slaves; about 50% owned five or fewer slaves. (65) But it was not all white-on-black slavery.
Thus, freed black slaves actually owned slaves. In 1860, while 385,000 whites owned slaves, 10,000-12,000 free blacks owned slaves. Grooms says that, "large numbers of free Negroes owned black slaves....in numbers disproportionate to their representation in society at large….." A higher percentage of free blacks owned slaves than did free whites. (66)

Although most whites <u>and</u> blacks owned few slaves, some blacks owned many slaves. William Ellison was South Carolina's largest black slave owner; by 1860 he and his sons owned 72 slaves. According to Grooms, "Ellison sold the female and many of the male children born to his female slaves at an average price of $400. Ellison had a reputation as a harsh master. His slaves were said to be the district's worst fed and clothed." Simultaneously, at least six free blacks in Louisiana owned at least 65 slaves, the largest number being the 152 owned by a widow, C. Richards, and her son, who ran a large sugar plantation. (67)

Why did blacks own black slaves? Groom rejects the predominant view that "black slave masters were simply individuals who purchased the freedom of a spouse or a child from a white slaveholder and had been unable to legally manumit them." This is coupled with the view that most black slave owners were benevolent masters. This view misrepresents of the majority of instances. Larry Koger argues that to many black slave owners "slavery was viewed as a profit-making institution to be exploited," that "many black masters were firmly committed to chattel slavers and saw no reasons for manumitting their slaves," that "their economic self-interest overrode whatever moral concerns or guilt they may have harbored about slavery," and that "most of the black women who conveyed their slaves in marriage settlements were not related to their slaves by kinship; thus their slaves were primarily viewed as a commodity." (68)

Slavery was a white institution. Whites owned the overwhelming number of black slaves. But the relatively few free blacks were more likely to own slaves than free whites. .

Conclusion

What conclusions follow?

First, we need to teach slavery in correct historical perspective. American students have been taught a view of slavery that lacks historical perspective

Second, we must then ask the broader question of the nature of slavery, of evil, of the wars, hatreds, economic conditions, and intolerance that have bred slavery throughout history.

We won't resolve the issue, but we will help our students better

understand human nature and of slavery throughout history and learn that perspective is an important framework into which we must place historical phenomena.

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End Notes

1.Christine Balt and Seymour Drescher, eds., <u>Anti-slavery, Religion, and Reform; Essays in Memory of Roger Antsey</u> (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, n.d. but originally published in 1980), p. 1; Richard Hellie, "Slavery," <u>The New Encyclopaedia Britannica</u> (15th edition, 1995), Vol. 27, 288 (Hereafter cited as Hellie, "Slavery."); Paul E. Lovejoy, <u>Transformations in Slavery; a History of Slavery in Africa</u> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 8, 281.

2. The author is Jewish, has taught courses on the Holocaust, and regularly teaches a one-semester survey of Judaism and Jewish history.

3. David Landes, <u>The Wealth and Poverty of Nations; Why some are so Rich and Some so Poor</u> (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1998), xxi.

4. Hellie, "Slavery," 292.

5. W.G. de Burgh, <u>The Legacy of the Ancient World</u> (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Press, 1967), p. 185 (originally published in 1923); Hellie,"Slavery," 290; de Burgh, 186.

6. Hellie, "Slavery," 290; K.V. Panevin, compiler, <u>Istoriia drevnego Rima</u> [The History of Ancient Rome] (St. Petersburg: Poligon, 1999), 361. By comparison, in 1860-1861 about 12.5% of the population of the United States was enslaved.

7. Panevin, 273-74.

8. Panevin, 273-74 and 360. See also Arthur Boak, <u>A History of Rome to 565 A.D.</u> (4th edition; New York: the Macmillan Co., 1959), 155.

9. Thomas W. Africa, <u>The Immense Majesty: A History of Rome and the Roman Empire</u> (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1974), 254, 150, 143, 144.

10. Ibid., 155, 175; Boak, 155, 190; Panevin, 364.

11. Boak, 373-74; de Burgh, 390.

12. Hellie, "Slavery," 290.

13. Richard Hellie, <u>Slavery in Russia, 1450-1725</u> (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 688.

14. Peter Kolchin, <u>Unfree Labor; American Slavery and Russian Serfdom</u> (Cambridge, MA.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1987), x. For an excellent description of Russian serfdom see Jerome Blum, <u>Lord and Peasant in Russia; from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century</u> (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961).

15. Cited in William Shirer, <u>The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich; A History of Nazi Germany</u> (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 948-49. See also Ulrich Herbert, <u>Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich</u> (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 510 pp.).

16. For a short summary of modern Bolshevik slavery see Samuel A. Oppenheim, "Labor Camps in the USSR, <u>Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History</u> (Gulf Breeze, Fl.: Academic International Press, 1976-93), Vol. 18 (1980), 236-42. For increasingly longer studies see Robert Conquest, <u>Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camps</u> (New York: Viking Press, 1978); Robert Conquest, <u>The Great Terror; Stalin's Purges of the Thirties</u> (New York: Macmillan, 1968), and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, <u>The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1953</u> (3 vols. In 7 parts; New York: Harper & Row, 1974-1976). For a recent Russian view see Galina M. Ivanova, <u>Labor Camp Socialism: the Gulag in the Soviet Totalitarian System</u> (edited by Donald J. Raleigh; translated by Carol Flath; Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2000).

17. Hellie, "Slavery," 289, 293; Conrad Schirokauer, <u>A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations</u> (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1978), 61; D.N. Knightley, "China," <u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u> (1995), Vol. 16, 69; and (Chu Yu) quoted in Ronald Segal, <u>Islam's Black Slaves; The Other Black Diaspora</u> (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 69.

18. Schirokauer, 139; "Japan," <u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u> (1995), Vol. 22, 279-80.

19. See <u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u> (1995), Vol. 21, 41-2, and Hellie, "Slavery," 289.

20. Hellie, "Slavery," 289.

21. See Note 17 for primary note. Segal was born in South Africa and is a former editor and publisher of <u>Africa South</u>. Opposed to apartheid, he left South Africa for political exile in 1960, lived in England, and was banned from returning to South Africa for more than thirty years. Islam's Black Slaves is his thirteenth book; his most previous work, <u>The Black Diaspora: Five Centuries of the</u>

Black Experience Outside Africa (1995) discusses the Atlantic slave trade; Islam's Black Slaves is the counterpart to that earlier book.

22. Segal, 55, 61.

23. Segal relies on the work of Ralph Austen, who argues that just between 650 and 1600 there were 7,220,000 black slaves in the Islamic trade (4,820,000 via the trans-Saharan route, 1,600,000 for the Red Sea route, and 800,000 in the East Coast route). Ibid., 55-56: Ralph Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," in The Uncommon market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic slave Trade, eds. H.A. Gemery and J.S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 66-68.

24. Segal, 56.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 56-7.Those Americanists who are familiar with Philip Curtin's work will compare the figure of 11,863,000 (Lovejoy, 19; the actual figure is 11,698,000, although Segal does not cite his source for 11,863,000) with Curtin's figure of 9,566,100 slaves coming to the Americas (Philip Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade; A Census [Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969], 268. The discrepancy is probably clarified by realizing that Lovejoy's figures are "Slave exports from Africa" while Curtin's are "Estimated slave imports into the Americas" (emphasis added). The difference of 2,141,000 (using Lovejoy's correct figures and not those used by Segal) is 18.3%, which is in the range of figures that scholars believe died in transport to the Americas. We shall discuss losses in the Islamic trade below. Further, the figures above for the Islamic trade make it unclear whether or not this included total slaves captured or those sold alive later. If the latter, it would raise the total number of Islam's black slaves.

27. Segal, 57; Hellie, "Slavery," 290.

28. Ibid., 3, 9. See also x, 5, 35-39, 61, and *passim*.

29. Ibid, 61.

30. Ibid., 37, 22, ix.

31. Ibid., 35-39.

32. Ibid., 5, x-xi, 9.

33. Ibid., 37, 170.

34. Ibid., 47ff.

35. Quoted in Ibid., 48-49.

36. Ibid., 52.

37. Ibid., 41.

38. Ibid., 41-42.

39. Ibid., 64-65.

40. Ibid., 149, 145, 151.

41. Ibid., 9, 46, 109-112.

42. Ibid., 4. See also 107.

43. Ibid., 28, 42-45, 78, 60.

44. Ibid., 4, 61, 35-39, 50.

45. Ibid., ix-x, 116-17, 147 ff; Hellie, "Slavery," 293; Thomas Pakenham, The Scramble for Africa; White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912 (New York: Avon Books, 1992, originally published in 1991), passim.

46. Segal, 5.

47. Hellie, "Slavery," 290 and Lovejoy, 1.

48. Hellie, "Slavery," 291.

49. Lovejoy, 1.

50. Ibid. 23, 41, 68, 110-11, 115.

51. Ibid., 246.

52. Pakenham, 286; Segal, 153, 156, 160, 173.

53. Ibid., 170-71, 184, 185, 189, 198, 210.

54. Ibid., 222, 233-34.

55. Howard W. French, "The Ritual Slaves of Ghana: Young and Female," The New York Times, January 20, 1997, A-1, A-4; The Economist, February 9, 2002, 42, and Nicholas D. Kristof, "A Slave's Journey in Sudan," The New York Times, April 23, 2002, Op-Ed page.

56. Lovejoy, 22, 100. See also Segal, 49, 99, 146-47, 157, 166.

57. Ibid., 31-2, 34, 111, 112, 171, 223-24.

58. Ibid., 161, 214.

59. Hellie, "Slavery," 290.

60. Jacques Soustelle, <u>Daily Life of the Aztecs on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest</u> (translated from the French by Patrick O"Brien; Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1961 and originally published in 1955), 73-78; Jacques Soustelle, "Pre-Columbian Civilizations," <u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u> (1995 edition), 26: 24; Hellie, "Slavery," 290.

61. Curtin, 268. See Note 26 for the discrepancy between the number of slave exports across the Atlantic and the arrivals in the New World. 28,300 of the French number were shipped to Louisiana.

62. Hellie, "Slavery," 291; "Brazil," <u>Encyclopedia Britannica</u> (1995) 22:820; "Brazil's Prized Export Rely on Slaves and Scorched Land," <u>The New York Times</u>, March 25, 2002, A-1, A-6.

63. Hellie, "Slavery," 293.

64. T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Own Ground;" <u>Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676</u> (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 3.

65. <u>World Almanac and Book of Facts 2001</u> (Mahwah, N.J.: World Almanac Books, 2001), 370; "Selected Statistics on Slavery in the United States," accessed on the web at <http://innercity.org/holt/slavechron.html>, and <http://members.aol.com/jfepperson/state.html,>.

66. The figure on the number of black slave owners is from an untitled review of Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, <u>Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South</u> (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), accessed on the web at <http://www.claytoncramer.com/blackmasters.htm>. Grooms's quotation is from Robert M. Grooms, "Dixie's Censored Subject; Black Slaveowners," c. 1997 by <u>The Barnes Review</u> and accessed on the web at <http://americancivilwar.com/authors/black_slaveowners.htm>. See also Philip Burnham, "Selling Poor Steven," <u>American Heritage</u> 44 (1) 1993, 90-97 and Philip J. Schwarz, "Emancipators, Protectors and Anomalies: Free Black Slaveowners in Virginia," <u>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography</u> 95 (3): 1997, 317-338.

67. Breen and Innes, 5; Grooms.

68. Grooms; Larry Koger, Black <u>Slaveowners: Free Black Slave Masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860</u> (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), excerpts from Chapter Six reprinted from <u>Issues & Views</u> (Summer 1998) and accessed on the web at <http://www.issues-views.com/index.php/sect/1006/article/1091>.

Historiography: Missing Conceptual Frameworks In History Education

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Abstract *Research studies aimed at exploring how secondary school students engage in doing history, develop historical reasoning and understanding often times neglected the theoretical frameworks that historians of different orientations use to study the past. As a result of this oversight, some historical concepts are sometimes weakly defined, ambiguously used, or confused with other concepts. In order to contribute to the effort to provide students with rewarding and meaningful experiences in "doing history," this article aims to enhance teacher educators' and teachers' understanding of different modes of historical writing by bringing into attention a recent school of historical thought's conceptual framework, methods, principal concepts, ideological positions, and preeminent practitioners. It also maps out the key debates, criticisms, and arguments that historians of different historical orientations engaged in.*

'People [today] began to live ironically: speaking of virtue publicly, practicing vice privately.' (Hayden White)

Introduction

Many research studies on history education have been conducted without drawing sufficiently on the implications of the different modes of historical explanations for school history. Although scholars and teachers have engaged students in doing historical inquiry in recent years, little attention has been paid to the theoretical frameworks that different schools of historical thought have employed to bring history to life.

This shortcoming manifests itself in the questions framed, concepts explained, argument made, and conclusions drawn. For instance, some studies that examine teachers' understanding of history either extrapolated or mixed the features of competing historical traditions. To give an example, in Evans's (1988, 1989, 1994) successive exploratory studies, five categories of teachers were identified as storyteller, scientific historian, relativist/reformer, cosmic philosopher, and eclectic in terms of their conceptions of history and beliefs about the purposes of history instruction. When his typology of social studies teachers is subjected to the critical scrutiny in the light of the knowledge base on historiography, it is revealed as vague and in need of clarification. For instance, the two categories, scientific historian and cosmic philosopher, are basically the same in terms of their definitions of how historians approach the past. Scientific or positivist historians like psychohistorians do search for general laws and patterns in history –as a cosmic philosopher does--in addition to placing a doubled emphasis on the importance of a rigorous research methodology in investigating the past. In other words, Evans described teachers' conceptions of history by inappropriately employing the concept of scientific historian. If one is describing his categories by using what is intrinsically historical concept, it is unacceptable, from scholarly point of view, for him or her to use that concept without taking into account its purported meaning and implications in the discipline of history.

Teachers need to know the nature of history to effectively plan, implement and assess their instructional activities. The importance of an adequate understanding of the nature of a given discipline on teachers' part in the teaching and learning process has been recognized in science education. This recognition manifests itself in the efforts to help science teachers and students develop a sophisticated understanding of the nature of science which is deemed to be a major goal in science education and a central component of scientific literacy by science education organizations and science educators who stress the role that a nuanced understanding of the nature of science plays in fostering higher levels of scientific literacy (NSTA, 1982; AAAS, 1993; NRC, 1996; Alters, 1997; Bybee, 1997; Bell, Lederman, & Abd-El-Khalick, 2000). For this reason,

science teachers are expected to be cognizant of varying positions on the nature of science along with accompanying conceptual frameworks with their methods, goals and theories (Loving, 1997).

The same emphasis on the importance of the nature of subject matter has not been realized in history education yet. However, as Lee (1983) argues that drawing on what insights historical frameworks provide for studying the past is crucial not only to develop a rational way of teaching history but also to adequately address the fundamental issues in history education. Wineburg and Wilson (1991) stress that if the goals for teaching history are to be realized, it is indispensable for teachers of history to understand the nature of the discipline. Likewise, Seixas (2002) stresses that being familiar with the differing ways through which the past is made accessible, meaningful, and comprehensible is a must for advancing historical consciousness at schools and confronting the complexity of the past. Unless models in the discipline of history are identified and used in history teaching and learning, any framework for exploring students' thoughts about history is destined to remain murky (Seixas, 2001, p. 546).

Alternative forms of history need not be viewed as burdensome or overwhelming for students to cope with, Pomson and Hoz (1998) state, but be considered as "cognitive agents fielding the rival attentions of different views of the past."
Being aware of how different historical orientations construct differing interpretations of the past is one of the preconditions for history teachers to understand the complexity of the past and set the stage for their students to develop an increasingly complex and fine grained understanding of the past events, people, institutions and processes. Unfortunately, even many social studies educators are not well acquainted with different historical approaches to the past, let alone teachers. Since "few teacher educators are engaged in scholarly research in any discipline and may have little understanding of what historians and social scientists do as scholars" (McDiarmid, Vinten-Johansen, 2000, p.157), it becomes crucial to bring different modes of historical explanations into attention.

The purpose of this paper is to bring a recent but rather contested historical orientation to the attention of both educational researchers and school teachers in order to contribute to the effort to bring about a more sophisticated and meaningful history teaching and learning. The assumption underlying this paper is that if social studies teachers become familiar with, recognize, and appreciate the multiplicity of historical explanations, along with the assumptions and ideologies that lie behind each orientation, they can help students not only enjoy a more freedom of choice in constructing their own historical understanding, but also come up with a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the past. The past research on doing history in schools did not satisfactorily address this crucial issue in history education. Aimed at addressing this gap in the literature, this paper provides an overview of the linguistic or discursive turn in history.

The linguistic turn in history

The linguistic or the discursive turn[3] --sometimes called cultural and aesthetic turn as well-- began to affect historical writing around the mid-1960s (Vann, 1995; Iggers, 1997; Cohen, 1999; Jenkins, 1999). Because linguistics came to be considered as the most dynamic and the most successful of the social sciences as a result of its success in producing "covering laws" in the 1960s, the linguistic turn in historiography was inevitable (Monas, 1993). The recognizable influence of linguistics on historiography came by means of literary criticism with a theoretical bent that tended to emphasize the issues related to the epistemological aspects of historical writing and autonomy of language as a symbolic system (Monas, 1993; Iggers, 1997).

Based on constructivist epistemology, the linguistic turn puts forward a conception of history as a constructivist enterprise based on a textualist conception of the relation between language and reality (White, 1987). Textualism presumes whatever is taken as the real is constituted by

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[3] Instead of the "linguistic turn," Hayden White prefers the term "discursive turn" to call this movement in that he thinks the object of the past is not perceivable -done with, dead- thus the historian can approach the past only "discursively" (personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005).

representation rather than pre-exists any effort to grasp it in thought, imagination, or writing. According to the literary theorists such as Derrida, it is the language that shapes or constructs reality but does not refer to it (Iggers, 1997, p. 9). When applied to history, the implication of these epistemological assumptions is that the idea of objectivity in historical research is deemed to be impossible because there is no object of history. The historian is considered as the prisoner of the world in which he thinks and his thoughts and perceptions are inevitably conditioned by the categories of the language in which he or she operates (Iggers, 1997).

Language is seen as the reason for historical relativity. The relativity of the historical representation, White asserts, stems from "the function of the language used to describe and thereby constitute past events as possible objects of explanation and understanding" (White, 1997, p. 392). Stressing the nature of texts as nonreferential and ambiguous in terms of their meanings, White and other literary critics contend that every text can be read in innumerable ways. The author's intention no longer matters, because it is multilayered and contradictory (Iggers, 1997).

Regarded as a revolution in terms of its effects on the approach to the study of history, the linguistic turn has placed an emphasis on the roles of rhetoric, the topics of narrative, and the poetics of history in historical writing or representation (Fay et al., 1998; Cohen, 1999). Since historical studies are based primarily on written sources that are the product of verbal portrayal and human communication, they are deemed to be linguistic documents. As a result, the linguistic turn has been concerned with the consequences of this aspect of historical sources. The semiotics of text production, how meaning is made in text, how readers take meaning from text are what the linguistic-oriented historians reflect on and take into account in their historical writings (Cohen, 1999, p. 66). For this reason, the analytical attention of historians is shifted from the object (or referents) of historiological research to the products of that research, so to speak, the written texts in which historians presented their findings (White, 1987). Pointing out the change in the nature of historical explanation and the theoretical dimension of reading, Cohen (1999) says:

The [linguistic] turn has induced some groups of historians to develop a framework for practicing history in which language is considered an event or action, as real or material as any nonlinguistic event or action, in which language systems become the basic unit of historical investigation and in which language generally- its use, production, diffusion, and appropriation over time – is moved to the center of the historian's concern. The linguistic turn has forced historians to rethink traditional ideas about the nature and function of language, and the relationships between language and historical representation, between author and text, between text and reader. (p. 66)

The linguistic turn is also seen as a methodological alternative in opposition to essentialist/positivist traditionalism in historiography in that its mode of historical writing is assumed to be an attempt to replace essentialism and positivism for a more adequate understanding of society and a more refined methodology. Opposing essentialist assumptions, historians affiliated with the linguistic approach aim to illustrate the historical construction of the social through language or cultural/linguistic method. They also take into account the political aspects of history, the inclusion of dispossessed groups as subjects of history, and implications of postmodernism and feminism (Fay et al., 1998). The linguistic turn competed with the previous modes of historical writing (i.e., materialist and social explanations of the 1960s) in order to turn historians' attentions from social and quantifiable material explanations to the questions of language, identity, symbols and social constructions, and ultimately became an established school with its own conception of history. Both historians of the positivist school of thought devoted to traditional approaches as well as those social historians dedicated to studies of culture and language refer to the linguistic turn as a novelty (Ekman, 2001).

The linguistic turn in historiography is used synonymously with the narrativist historiography informed by theoretical elaborations of literary critics such as Hayden White. This approach provides guidance for "how to read and interpret texts" rather than setting rules for "how to write history" (Domanska, personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005). Narrativist historiography assumes that historical narratives serve as social transactions and are produced by the historian for the audience in a special situation such as a pre-existing or ongoing debate, argument, and

discourse (Cohen, 1999). Since historians intentionally try to persuade as well as to inform his or her audience with some sociopolitical or ideological aim in mind, histories have a performative dimension. By means of rhetorical conventions and strategies, historians intend to persuade

readers that his or her account of the past is truer, more objective, and worthier than another

ard the past and the present and to take particular course of action in the present (Cohen, 1999, p. 69). The form itself or the plot structure of a historical account shapes content and allows the historian to pinpoint the system of thought that authorizes the terms of the debate. White (1987) contends that rather than the evidence, the historian's conscious and unconscious choices about the categories of historical poetics are what provide him or her with vision in historical enterprise.

Having explained the characteristic features of the linguistic turn in historiography, I will narrow my focus on this movement by bringing to the fore the scholarly writings of the key literary figure who has played a pivotal role in initiating and directing the discussions about the implications of the linguistic turn for historical thinking and writing. It is Hayden White who as one of the leading pioneers in introducing the linguistic turn to the study of history has greatly contributed to the debate among historians about the nature and methods of historical studies by enriching historiography with the possibilities and implications of literary criticism for history.

As the most vociferous and articulate proponent of the theory on the rhetorical dimensions of historical writing (Kelley, 2003, p. 341), White has explored "the relevance of literary theory for the writing and reading of historical narratives" (Cohen, 1999, p. 67). That is why he is considered to be a pioneer in initiating the linguistic turn in history, so to speak the turn toward "mediums and modes of representation" (O'Brien, 2004). Through an in-depth philosophical and theoretical critique of conventional historiography, White brought unexamined or taken for granted assumptions of traditional historiography to the forefront of historians to be discussed. The illustration of White's narrativist theory of history through his and other historians' works is what follows next.

Trained as a medieval historian, Hayden White saw it necessary to have a strong command of literary studies and discourse analysis in order to "learn how to read works written by historians as historio-graphy or writing" (White, personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005). He resorts to literary criticism and cognitive relativism to address problems in historiography and emphasizes the importance of the problem of language, of rhetoric, and of theoretical self-reflection in the writing of history (Lacapra, 1983; Thompson, 2000). He employs the narrativist-rhetorical conception of historiography and ascribes primacy to literary tropes and verbal structures in historical thinking (Zagorin, 1997). He attempts to "make interpretative and explanatory strategies --which remain implicit in traditional historiography practiced as a craft-- explicit, self-conscious, and subject to criticism" (Lacapra, 1983, p. 75). Claiming that historians of professional training programs haven't yet theorized the historical method or the form of their own discourse, White (1995) urges historians to inquire into the nature and implications of interpretation in the reconstruction of the past.

His basic purpose is to have historians reflect on the invidious distinction between those who engage in historical research and writing and those who wrote about writing history. White's core argument starts with his questioning of the traditional boundary between history and literature (Cohen, 1999). According to White (1987), traditional historians assume that:

> 'What distinguishes "historical" from "fictional" stories is first and foremost their content, rather than their form. The content of historical stories is real events rather than imaginary events. This implies that the form in which historical events present themselves to a prospective narrator is found rather than constructed….A true narrative is less a product of the historian's poetic talents than it is a necessary result of a proper application of historical method….For the narrative historian, the historical method consists in investigating the documents in order to determine what is the true or most plausible story that can be told about the events of which they are evidence. ' (p. 27)

By questioning these assumptions, White counter-argues that historical narratives have much more in common with literary narratives than historians think. Since "the historian is dealing with an object that is no longer perceivable" (personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005), White sees historical text as a literary artifact (Jenkins, 1999, p.117) and accordingly argues that "historian's writing must be analyzed first and foremost as a verbal artifact" (personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005). He asserts that most historians fall short of analyzing the

discursive aspects of their writing due mostly to their rejection of the existence of such a dimension (White, 1995). He then draws attention to the constructed nature of historical narratives (Lacapra, 1983, p. 76), "the contents of which are as much invented as found and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences" (Cohen, 1999, p. 68).

White, therefore, expects the historian to recognize that historical facts are not so much found as constructed by the kinds of questions which the investigator asks of the phenomena before him (White, 1987, p. 26-57; Vann, 1995, p. 62-63). For this reason, he also suggests historians to recognize that there is not a single correct view of any historical event or process under study, but there are many equally plausible versions or correct views, each requiring its own style of representation via narrative plot structures (Vann, 1995; Jenkins, 1999, p. 118). Accordingly, White urges historians to tell many different kinds of stories from various perspectives, with which many voices, emplotted diversely, without employing the "meta-story" to legitimize their own discourse and downplay others' (Passmore, 2003, p.25). In brief, White stresses that historical writing is a form of narrative prose discourse (Cohen, 1999). In addition to the constructivist view of historiography, White is identified with presentist approach as well. This is because, according to White, the only reason why we ought to study the past is to "transform historical studies in such a way as to allow the historian to participate positively in the liberation of the present from the burden of history" (as cited in Vann, 1995, p. 62).

White's critical engagement with historical theory culminated with his theory of a poetics of historiography based on Vico's ideas (Giovanni Battista Vico is considered to be the first philosopher of history by some historians). He (1973) elaborated on it in his book, <u>Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe</u>, where he dealt with the thinking styles of four historians and four philosophers of history. He identified four modes of a theory of tropes, four structures of emplotment, four argumentative models, and four ideological strategies. The theory of tropes aimed at illuminating how historical texts are the way they are constitutes the gist of White's position on the debate on the nature and function of historical explanation (Jenkins, 1999, p. 120).

The theory of tropes is intended to uncover the deep structural forms of historical thought via the four literary figures metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony, each of which has its own unique way of organizing parts into wholes (White sees irony as the trope of historical reality). Since the function of the four tropes is to describe the logically possible relationships between part and whole, tropology constitutes the backbone of the study of narrative. Due to its ability to describe how discursive choices are pre-figured by one dominant trope, tropology serves as a powerful tool for historians to be able to distinguish modes of thought (Zagorin, 1999). By employing tropes as tools of persuasion, the historian overcomes the uncertainty involved in all interpretation that is fundamentally rhetorical (Zagorin, 1999).

Emplotment which White defines as "encodation of the facts contained in a chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures" helps historians make sense of historical events by enabling them arrange selected facts and events into a particular narrative plot structure –that is, a story (Cohen, 1999, p. 68). It is emplotment that produces an interpretation of the facts (White, 1997, p. 393). Roth states that emplotment has a crucial role in endowing the past with meaning because it has none in itself (as cited in Jenkins, 1999). The historian needs to make use of a narrative plot structure "because the past is formless, or at least it does not have rhetorical forms that alone make it meaningful in communication" (as cited in Jenkins, 1999, p. 117). As White (1987) concisely expresses, "it is the choice of the story type and its imposition upon the events that endow them with meaning" (p. 44). According to White (1987), real events are not intrinsically tragic, comic, farcical, and so on, but can be constructed as such only by the historian's imposition of the structure of a given story type on the events. Through different narrative accounts, the historian may present the same set of events in the form and meaning of either a tragic story or a farce with equal plausibility, without violating the factual record (White, 1997). The conflict between any given set of competing narratives does not result from the facts of the matter in question but from the different story-meanings with which the facts can be endowed by emplotment (White, 1997, p. 393).

White elaborates on the function of narrative history in terms of the implications of the nature of discourse in general. He (1987) points out that it is possible to transmit different types of messages with quite different aims in view (i.e., communicative, expressive, or conative) and every discourse is likely to have aspects of all these three functions (p. 40). Most of the proponents of narrative approach who see narrative as a legitimate mode of historical representation highlight the communicative function. According to this view of history as communication:

> 'A history is conceived to be a "message" about a "referent" (the past, historical events, and so on) the content of which is both information (the facts) and an "explanation" (the narrative account). Both the facts in their particularity and the narrative in its generality must meet a correspondence, as well as a coherence, criterion of truth value.... The narrative form of the discourse is only a medium for the message, having no more truth value or informational content than any other formal structure. (White, 1987, p. 40-41)

White (1987) continues to elucidate his own narrativist approach and suggests that instead of viewing every historical narrative as "mythic" or "ideological" in nature, historians see it as "allegorical, that is, as saying one thing and meaning another" (p. 45). Since a narrative account is always a figurative account or an allegory, "a historical narrative can be said to be an allegorization of the experience of "within-time-ness" the figurative meaning of which is the structure of temporality" (p. 53).

Where does the narrative history stand among other schools of historical thought? How do historians of different orientations view it? White addresses these questions. He succinctly summarizes the discussion of narrative in historical theory by identifying four principal strains in these discussions.

> First, certain analytical philosophers considered narrative as a kind of explanations especially appropriate to the explication of historical, as against natural, events and processes. Second, certain socially-scientifically oriented historians such as the French Annales regarded narrative historiography as nonscientific, even ideological representational strategy. Third, certain semiologically oriented literary theorists viewed it simply one discursive "code" among others, which might or might not be appropriate for the representation of reality. A fifth category would be the defenders of a craft notion [history as an art] of historical studies who view narrative as a perfectly respectable way of "doing" history. (White, 1987, p. 30-31)

What has been written in preceding paragraphs about White's epistemological and theoretical thinking in conjunction with history may give an impression that White denies the knowability of the past. However, this is not the case (He is suspicious of the idea of historical truth, though). Even though many historians such as Marwick mistakenly associate White's philosophical orientation with postmodernism, he is not a postmodernist theoretician either. He is identified with the structuralist mode of thinking as acknowledged by himself (Ankersmit, 1998). As opposed to the postmodernists, he does not reject the assertion that history is capable of revealing the past facts (Cohen, 1999, p. 68; Jenkins, 1999, p. 116-119). Furthermore, emphasizing that he has never denied the possibility of historical knowledge (White, 1985, p. 23), White states that "competing narratives can be assessed, criticized, and ranked on the basis of their fidelity to the factual record, their comprehensiveness, and the coherence of whatever arguments they may contain" (White, 1997, p. 393).

Is the linguistic turn welcomed, widely celebrated, and practiced by contemporary historians? Is White's narrativist theory of history accurately understood and interpreted? As is the case in other types of historiography, the linguistic turn or White's narrativist approach to history could not escape poignant criticisms and got misunderstood. Zagorin (1997) declares that most philosophically-inclined historians have either simply ignored or decidedly criticized it.

> Just as they opposed Hempel's scientism as a damaging misconception of the character of historical knowledge, so they have likewise tended to reject White's linguistic turn and its rhetorical approach for its disregard and distortion of certain essential characteristics of historical inquiry and writing. (p. 263-264)

Even though White does not deny the knowable past, Zagorin unfairly and unwarrantedly criticizes him for discarding the concept of a real and knowable past. In response to Zagorin's criticism, White says that instead of basing his criticism on "original sources," which is the act that a historian is supposed to do, Zagorin resorts to a secondary source "in a work that is also critical of his enemy, and then he uses that," thereby betrays his own principles in practice. That is, Zagorin violates the canons of historical research that he advocates. White gives a specific example to support his claim. "Zagorin repeats the canard about Derrida, who is supposed to have said, 'There is nothing outside the text.' But Derrida never said this…When he cites this statement, he quotes, not Derrida, but someone else." White also contends that Zagorin does not recognize the point that "he is critical of professional historians on account of their lack of philosophical and ideological self-consciousness" (personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005). Pointing out many historians' misinterpretation of rhetoric and ungrounded criticisms against his ideas, White continues to clarify his position:

Many historians, Zagorin included, think of rhetoric as simply persuasion. They do not understand that rhetoric is a theory of the public and more specifically the political use of language and/or speech. Therefore when someone says that the historical narrative is a rhetorical construction, many people are offended….Most historians simply ignore or reject on dogmatic grounds my arguments rather than answer them.

White is also accused of wiping out the boundary between fictional writings and historical narrative (Vann, 1998), and of developing an extremely constructionist narrative theory of history which underestimates the variety of histories and overestimates the role of narrative by identifying historiography entirely with the narrative mode (Zagorin, 1999). Referring to White's emphasis on the relativity of historical representation which stems from a "part-whole" view of the relationship between reason and fantasy as opposed to the view based on "binary opposition" (Domanska, 1998), Roger Chartier points out that the complex methods historians employ to investigate the past would be totally pointless if historical and fictional discourses were identical (as cited in Zagorin, 1999). Agreeing with Chartier's comment, White states:

> 'Yes. It might very well be pointless. But maybe it is pointless or a manifestation of a certain period of history itself. There was once a time when alchemy was regarded as a science, then it was discredited, and the alchemists (like the astrologers) had to pack up shop. There may come a time when the kind of historian that Zagorin is, one who goes over and over again the same documents and writes more and more stories about the same events, trying to get it right, will see that the solution to his problem is to change the way he does history.' (personal e-mail communication, January 31, 2005)

Will there be an era in the future in which historians stop practicing traditional historical methods that Ranke established in the nineteenth century? Will future historians embrace the discursive turn in its entirety which remains on the margin of contemporary historiography? Time will answer these questions. It will show whether White's prophecy will manifest itself in the future generations' historical writings.

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