The more things change, the more they stay the same:

developing students' thinking about change and continuity

Finding ways to characterise the nature of change and continuity is an important part of the historian's task, yet students find it particularly challenging to do. Building on her previous work on change, Rachel Foster sought to experiment with new approaches for helping her students to find analytical ways of describing change and continuity in the past. She reflected on the scholarship of historians and concluded that 'thick description' characterised academic writing about change and continuity. Foster set out to find ways of giving her own students the analytical tools that would enable them to produce such writing. In metaphor, she found a fruitful source of inspiration.

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So forget, indeed, your revolutions, your turning-points, your grand metamorphoses of history. Consider, instead, the slow and arduous process, the interminable and ambiguous process – the process of human siltation – of land reclamation.

Graham Swift's novel *Waterland* is set in the Fens in 1937, a space and place both unchanging and ever-changing.[1] The process of siltation, imperceptible to human eyes, ensures that the landscape of the Fens is never quite solid. Swift's analogy takes us into the heart of why questions about historical change and continuity are so interesting yet so confounding: how can we describe a process in which there is *simultaneously* change *and* continuity?

Why are change and continuity so difficult to teach?

Although there is a growing body of literature concerned with the concept of change and continuity, in comparison with literature concerning causation there is still relatively little consensus about what constitutes a 'proper' change and continuity question, what it means to think historically about change, what a satisfactory answer to a question concerning change looks like and how students can get better at analysing it.[2] This uncertainty is exemplified in the treatment of change and continuity both within the 2008 National Curriculum and within the new draft National Curriculum, both of which treat it simultaneously as substantive knowledge and as a concept to be problematised (Figure 1).

If there is uncertainty about what it means to think about historical change, then there is even more uncertainty about what it means to think about continuity. Although there is an increasing recognition of the need to move students beyond a simplistic conception of continuity as 'nothing happens', it is less clear what kinds of conceptual understanding we should be seeking to develop.[3] Consequently, there are few pedagogic strategies that explicitly address continuity.

So although I had dipped my toe in the water in an attempt to problematise change and continuity as a concept, as a department we still shied away from it in our schemes of work.[4] There was little imperative for us to confront our collective confusion until the school opened a sixth form in 2012. For the first time, we faced the challenge of preparing students to write analytical essays on change and continuity. In particular, the paper on historical themes in breadth explicitly addressed change and continuity via questions (such as 'how accurate is it to say that the status of black people in the United States changed very little in the years 1945–55?') which required students to consider the extent and nature of change.[5] So I turned to tried-and-tested strategies: graphs and scales to force students to take a position between two opposing viewpoints,[6] picture sorting,[7] word banks of analytical vocabulary to enable students construct their own analysis[8] and reading academic historians to help them to situate their arguments within historiographical debate.[9] But although these strategies seemed to develop students' ability to discuss and argue about historical change in the context of classroom discussion, the end product, their essays, were disappointing. Lauren's response was typical:

In terms of political status in the south, there was some change during the war, for example before the war less than two per cent of the black population could vote, however by 1945 15% of the black population had been registered to vote which is a massive increase of 13%.

The phrase 'some change' was particularly dispiriting. It was devoid of any analytic precision or power. So began a search for strategies to help students get better at analysing change and continuity.

Looking for insights in the work of professional historians

Looking to clarify my understanding about what constituted a rigorous analysis of change and continuity, I re-read two historians whose work had heavily informed my planning: Stephen Tuck's *We ain't what we ought to be* and Adam Fairclough's *Better Day Coming*.[10] Re-reading their work I was struck by a number of ideas:

1. They were concerned with the *balance* between change and continuity.

Just as Banham has argued that there is overview lurking in the depth, so it seemed that Tuck and Fairclough were concerned with finding the continuity lurking in the change and vice versa.[11] Key to their analysis was an understanding that there are not periods of 'change' interspersed by periods of 'continuity', but that at any point in time there exists a state of change *and* continuity. Debates about historical change and continuity thus seemed to revolve around the balance between change and continuity within a period.

2. Their analysis had a strong *temporal* dimension.

Both drew clear distinctions between how change and continuity was experienced by people at the time and subsequent analyses of its significance. In analysing the nature of change and continuity they both sought to characterise the degree to which it was perceptible or imperceptible.

3. They were concerned not just with the extent but with the *direction* of change.

The problem of evaluating the extent of change was made explicit: there was *simultaneous* progression, regression and continuity. The argument seemed to lie in the characterisation of the *overall* direction of change.

4. They sought to analyse the *significance* of change.

In their characterisations of change and continuity, both historians seemed to be drawing upon criteria in order to judge the *significance* of change. These criteria included the scope and scale of change, its perceptibility, tangibility, duration and pace.

5. Their analysis could best be described as *descriptive* not explanatory.

Although they were concerned with explaining the causes of change, Tuck and Fairclough's analysis of change was descriptive in the sense that they sought to characterise it.

Description: a valid goal of historical writing?

Within practitioner discourse, explanation tends to be privileged as the ultimate task of historical thinking and writing. Jarman in particular has wrestled with the dilemma that this creates, acknowledging that asking students to explain change diverted some into a causal analysis.[12] He argues that an essay by its nature is primarily an explanatory medium. But *does* analysis have to be concerned solely with explanation, or is description a valid goal of historical writing?

Figure 1: change and continuity in England's 2008 National Curricuum and in the 2013 draft National Curriculum

'Pupils should analyse the extent and pace of change, whether the change amounted to progress and for whom.'*

'understand historical concepts such as continuity and change, cause and consequence, similarity, difference and significance, and use them to make connections, draw contrasts, analyse trends, frame historically-valid questions and create their own structured accounts, including written narratives and analyses.'†

*   QCA (2007) *The National Curriculum*, London: DCSF and QCA.
†   Draft programmes of study have been published at www.education.gov.uk/schools/teachingandlearning/curriculum/ nationalcurriculum2014/b00220600/consultation-national- curriculum-pos/draft-pos-subjects

As Megill has argued, the idea that 'explanation' (defined as the explanation of causes) is the central task of historical writing has dominated the discourse of professional historians.[13] Consequently, the task of description (often associated with narrative) has frequently been denigrated as being of a lower order of thinking and thus uninteresting. Although this view has been increasingly challenged since the 1990s with the growing influence and prominence of 'new cultural history', which emphasises 'thick description', the idea that the primary purpose of historical writing is explanation still holds great sway, particularly in discourses on school history.[14] The existing level descriptors and GCSE and GCE A-level subject criteria all deem 'description' a lower-order skill than 'analysis' and explanation'.[15] While some practitioners at Key Stage 3 do see analytic description as a legitimate goal of historical writing about change, the continuing emphasis on explanation within examination specifications means there has been little theorising about change as an assessed attribute in 16+ examinations and beyond.[16] But in overlooking description as a valid means of structuring and shaping writing and thus seeking to steer students away from it, are we actually preventing them from constructing an analysis of change and continuity?

Planning change and continuity enquiries

The approach taken by professional historians to thinking and writing about historical change and continuity seemed to open up many exciting possibilities regarding the kinds of analysis and writing I should be aspiring to develop in the classroom. But can the analytical goals and outcomes of professional history be translated into classroom practice?

Thus began a year of experimentation, as shown in the case studies in Figure 2. Through the process of planning, the

Year 7: What difference did the Black Death really make?

While working with a PGCE trainee, Robin, on planning an enquiry on the Black Death, we discovered John Hatcher's book: *The Black Death: an intimate story of a village in crisis, 1345-50* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2008), a compelling narrative of the approach, arrival, and impact of the Black Death on a Suffolk village, Walsham. Both of us were struck by Hatcher's focus on how individuals and the community as a whole experienced and responded to the Black Death. Hatcher's unconventional approach of using the historical record to construct a semi-fictionalised account gave his narrative a power and immediacy lacking in more conventional histories. We also noticed the emphasis Hatcher placed on describing continuities within a period of apparent change. Hatcher's book formed the basis for a X-lesson enquiry. The question *appeared* simple: how could the Black Death be considered as making anything other than a massive difference to people's lives? But by playing upon the word 'difference' (for whom? when? in what ways?) we wanted pupils to problematise the extent and nature of change, in particular how the villagers' experience of the change itself changed over time. The further pupils delved into the villagers' stories (each pupil followed the story of a villager, giving them a strong sense of ownership in the narrative) the more they discovered that despite the obvious disruption caused by the Black Death's arrival, not all of the changes it brought endured, and deeper, underlying continuities remained intact. By exploring the experience of individuals, students also considered the extent to which the Black Death could be characterised as a positive or negative change.

Year 8: What kind of reform was the Reformation?

This enquiry focused on characterising the nature of the changes brought about by the European Reformation. In particular I wanted students to consider the extent to which there were continuities between the ideas of reformers and earlier reform movements. By exploring not only changes in religious ideas and practice, but also the social and political dimensions of the Reformation, students were engaged in characterising what kind of change the Reformation constituted.

Year 9: How far did Edwardian society survive the Great War?

Historians debate the extent to which the Great War can be considered a fundamental disruption of Victorian and Edwardian ideas, values and forms of expression. Paul Fussell argues that the war was such a disruptive force to traditional ideas that it constituted a fundamental break with the past, creating 'a new language of truth telling': modernism.[*] In contrast Jay Winter sees underlying patterns of continuity amidst the change: 'The rupture of 1914-18 was much less complete than previous scholars have suggested. The overlap of language and approaches between the old and the new, the 'traditional' and the 'modern,' the conservative and the iconoclastic, was apparent both during and after the war.'[†] Toying with possible enquiry questions, I eventually hit upon 'How far did the Great War make the world modern?' It was my PGCE trainee, Louis, who suggested that in order for students to really engage with the debate, we needed to make the issue of continuity more explicit within the question wording. His enquiry question: 'How far did Edwardian society survive the Great War?' placed the focus squarely on the extent to which traditional society endured. In each lesson we sought to problematise the idea of 'survival' by using the visual metaphor of a tree to represent traditional society. Did society survive but in a severely 'pruned' form? Were some parts 'dying' while others remained or even grew? Was it simply dead, or shrivelling?

[*] Fussell, P. (1975) *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. See also Hynes, S. (1991) *A War Imagined: the Great War and English culture*, London: Bodley Head.

[†] Winter J. (1995) *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European cultural history*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Year 12: How much change could African-Americans see in the 1950s?

The 1950s was a period of apparently little concrete progress for African-Americans, characterised by Fairclough as 'one step forward, two steps back'. His analogy highlighted both the direction and process of change, in particular that it could be viewed as more regressive than progressive. I initially considered building the enquiry around his claim. However students also needed to analyse the *nature* of change and the question, while addressing progress, did not do this. Reading Tuck and Fairclough I had been struck by the temporal dimension to their analysis, in particular the distinction they make between experiences of change at the time and subsequent analyses of its significance. Wanting to focus students' attention on the perceptibility of change, I developed the question 'How much change could African-Americans *see* in the 1950s?'

Figure 2b: The Year 7 enquiry in detail

Enquiry question:	What difference did the Black Death really make?	
Lesson question	**Aims and objectives**	**Content/activities**
Lesson 1 What was going on in Walsham in 1347?	• To describe and analyse the types of changes occurring in medieval village life by the mid-1340s. • To judge the nature and extent of change in village life.	• **ISM:** word bank. Based on their prior knowledge (pupils complete an enquiry on diversity within the medieval village prior to this enquiry) pupils are asked to speculate about life in 1347 by three words from a word bank. • **Highlighted reading:** pupils read an account of Walsham in 1347, highlighting changes and continuities. They are then given a character card and are asked to consider the likely response of their villager to the changes. • **Rumour spreading**: as pupils undertake the reading activity, rumours are started in different parts of the room. Over the course of the lesson the rumours become more precise, hinting at a catastrophic 'poisonous cloud' spreading from the east. • **Conclusion:** revisiting the word bank. Pupils revisit and revise their choice of three words in light of their new knowledge.
Lesson 2 What difference did the Black Death make before it arrived?	• To identify different responses made by authorities, communities and individuals to the approach of the plague.	• **ISM:** reading account of the arrival of the plague in Genoa. • **Role play:** students' re-enact the changing responses made by the villagers of Walsham over the course of 1347-48 as the plague approached the village. • **Conclusion:** debrief of role play.
Lesson 3 What difference did the Black Death make when it arrived?	• To describe and characterise the immediate effects of the plague at an individual, familial and community level.	• **ISM:** diagnosis guide to the plague. • **Role play:** story of John Chapman's death. • **Ripples diagram:** pupils complete the diagram to show the impact of the plague on John Chapman, his wife Agnes and the wider community of Walsham. • **Conclusion:** word bank. Pupils choose three words that they think best characterise the difference the plague made to people's minds and their lives.
Lesson 4 What difference did the Black Death make as it left?	• To describe and characterise the intermediate effects of the plague at an individual, familial and community level, including external and internal changes. • To judge the degree and nature of change.	• **ISM:** pupils graph the extent of the difference made by the plague to Walsham, based on what they know so far. • **What can we see, hear and smell?** Pupils are given an account of Walsham a year after the plague's arrival. They are asked to imagine what they can see, hear or smell in the village, and then to reflect upon what is different about the village since the plague's arrival. • **Character cards:** pupils investigate what has happened to their character, focusing on whether they welcomed or feared the changes the plague brought them, and how far their lives had really changed. They then gather at the manor court to decide how to deal with the changes in the village. • **Conclusion:** pupils revisit the graph introduced in the ISM and plot an additional point, based on the difference the plague made to the village as it left.
Lesson 5 What difference did the Black Death make in the years afterwards?	• To describe and characterise the long-term effects of the plague at an individual, familial and community level. • To judge the degree and nature of change over the long term.	• **ISM:** show a picture of Walsham's church. Explain that parts of it were rebuilt in the years immediately after the Black Death. Ask pupils what is surprising about the picture. Ask pupils to generate questions they would like to ask. • **Society line:** in character, pupils arrange themselves according to most difference/least difference and then by positive change/negative change. • **Conclusion:** pupils revisit the graph introduced in the ISM and plot an additional point, based on the difference the plague made to the village as it left.
Lesson 6 What difference did the Black Death really make?	• To judge the degree and nature of change that resulted from the plague.	• **ISM: card-sort**. Pupils are given a set of cards with a number of changes or continuities on them. They arrange the cards into a line from most significant difference to most significant continuity. • **Choose and improve**: pupils are shown a number of possible arguments about the difference the Black Death made to Walsham. They have to choose or improve one of the arguments. • **Essay preparation:** pupils prepare to write an essay on the question 'How much difference did the Black Death really make to Walsham?'

Figure 2c: The Year 12 enquiry in detail

Enquiry question:	What change could African-Americans see between 1945 and 1955?	
Lesson question	**Aims and objectives**	**Content/activities**
Lesson 1 How far did the social and economic climate change for African-Americans after 1945?	• Describe and characterise the nature of the changes and continuities in the social and economic conditions of the period. • Judge the significance of the changes.	• **ISM – introduction to Braudel:** students discuss a diagram of ocean currents and waves as a way of thinking about long-term/short-term/perceptible/imperceptible/superficial/underlying change. • **Braudel-style waves diagram:** students draw upon their prior knowledge of long-term trends from 1900 onwards and use an extended extract from Fairclough to identify longer-term changes and continuities in the social and economic climate and to consider how far these changes/continuities would have been visible at the time. They label these on their diagram.
Lesson 2 What kind of milestone was To Secure These Rights?	• Analyse Truman's motives for introducing reform. • Evaluate the radicality of the reforms. • Judge the degree of success of each of the reforms. • Characterise the nature of change resulting from reforms.	• **ISM – card sort:** Students categorise Truman's motives into principle, political pragmatism and personal pragmatism. • **Table:** Students are given a sheet of the problems identified by the report and the proposed solutions. Students summarise the problems then match the problems to the proposed solutions. They give a score to each proposal to indicate how radical a solution they think it is. • **Table:** students are given a table showing the reforms and their outcomes. For each outcome they have to judge how successful it is in solving the problems identified by the report and explain their judgement. • **Conclusion – graph:** students are shown a graph with a number of different lines on it. They have to choose and justify which line best represents the kind of progress achieved by the reforms.
Lesson 3 What was the most effective way of challenging Jim Crow 1945-55?	• To categorise the strategies used to challenge Jim Crow according to type. • To evaluate the degree and nature of campaigns' impact. • To characterise the nature of the change resulting from the campaigns.	• **ISM: Campaigners' tea party:** students take on the roles of different campaigners, and group themselves according to what they have in common in terms of aims and methods. From this they create categories of strategies. • **Note-taking:** students gather evidence on the impact of legal action and direct action and then reach a judgement on the extent and nature of the impact of both. • **Conclusion: Choose and improve:** students are given a range of possible conclusions, which they can choose as their conclusion or improve. They write a paragraph to justify their view. • **Homework:** Students read and take notes on the basics of the Brown ruling in preparation for the next lesson.
Lesson 4 What kind of change was the Brown ruling?	• To analyse the results of the Brown ruling. • To characterise the nature of the outcomes of the ruling. • To judge the degree and nature of change resulting from the ruling.	• **ISM:** quiz on reading done for homework. • **Card-sort:** students sort their cards of the impacts of the Brown ruling into lines (positive/negative; short-term/long-term; symbolic/practical; latent/manifest). • **Weather metaphor:** pupils reflect upon the process of change and the outcomes of change for four different weather pictures. They then decide which weather event best represents the processes and outcomes of the changes brought about by the Brown ruling. • **Conclusion: analytical word bank:** students use the word bank to characterise the type of change brought about by the Brown ruling. They write a paragraph explaining their views.
Lesson 5 What kind of change could African Americans see between 1945 and 1955?	• To analyse and characterise the nature and degree of change during the period.	• **ISM – revision of Braudel-style diagram.** • **Card-sort:** students are given a set of cards of the changes and continuities seen during the period and have to plot them on their diagram to show whether it constitutes a change or continuity, and a manifest or underlying change or continuity. • **Living graph:** Students are introduced to Fairclough's argument that the period represented 'one step forward, two steps back.' Students are then divided into groups and each group is given a type of change (political, social, economic, cultural, psychological) and the class creates a living graph to show the extent and nature of the change that occurred during the period. • **Conclusion – analytical word bank and essay preparation.** Students use the analytical word bank to characterise the nature of the change that took place for each of the types (social, political etc), then use their judgements to plan for an essay question: 'How far did conditions for African-Americans improve in the period 1945-55?'

following emerged as guiding principles in my decision making:

1. Enquiries have the most analytic power when they are driven by a genuine historical debate.

Although I did not use historians' work as a model for students' own writing, I did draw upon academic works as a way of grounding the enquiries in a *genuine* historical debate.[17] Given the time pressures all of us face, it is easy to succumb to the temptation of imposing a 'debate' upon a topic, regardless of whether one genuinely exists. Is it any wonder that our students struggle to see the argument if there is not really one to be had? Allowing the debate to emerge out of academic discourse ensures that an enquiry is both historically rigorous and interesting.
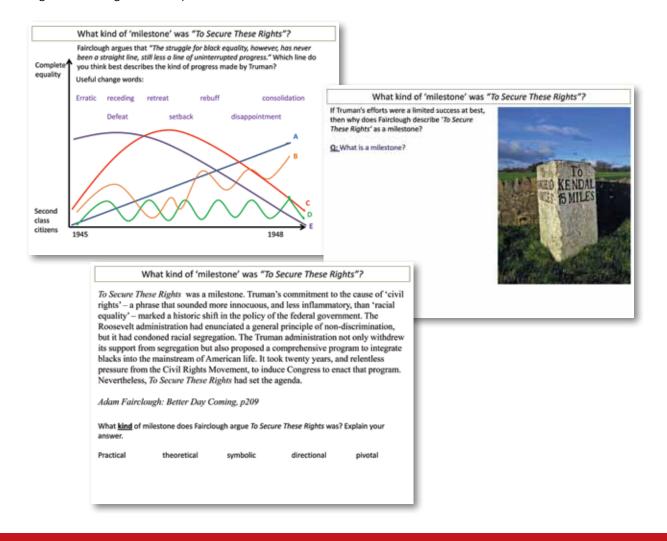
2. A good enquiry question becomes *more* not less problematical the more it is studied.

All the enquiry questions hinged on a single word that became more and more problematical the further into the enquiry students' moved. In many cases the word chosen was deceptively simple, as in the question 'What **difference** did the Black Death really make?' While students were initially very confident the answer was a straightforward one ('a lot') the more they examined villagers' response to the crisis and the way in which long-term patterns of continuity re-emerged following the immediate years of the catastrophe, the more difficult it became to say how much had changed

and for whom. In order to answer the question, students *had* to wrestle with characterising the nature of change: was it positive or negative? Regressive or progressive? Long term or short term? Perceptible or imperceptible?

3. Metaphors can be a useful way of characterising change and continuity.

Mindful of Woodcock's argument about the relationship between the linguistic and the conceptual, in my early attempts at planning change and continuity enquiries for my Year 12 class I inundated them with vocabulary.[18] Yet very little of it seemed to stick – vocabulary was either completely ignored in favour of more simplistic claims ('the change was big') or was simply plonked in as a teacher-pleasing device, with little evident understanding of its meaning. Having tentatively explored the use of visual metaphors as a way of helping Year 9 students conceptualise change, and inspired by the work of Counsell and Fordham, I returned to them as a way of helping students conceptualise change in a more meaningful way.[19] But a poorly conceived metaphor can impede analysis, either by encouraging the distortion of historical events to make them fit the metaphor, or by offering weak analytic power. Finding the right metaphors would be crucial. In the first instance, (Figure 3) I borrowed Fairclough's metaphor of a milestone to examine the nature of change resulting from Truman's presidency. By considering the function of milestone (such as to mark the distance travelled, to show the distance still to be travelled or to indicate the direction of travel), students explored the

Figure 3: Using the metaphor of a milestone

significance of changes resulting from Truman's report *To Secure These Rights.*

In the second instance (Figure 4), I wanted to address the *perceptibility* of change. Although concerned with much longer spans of time, Braudel's comparison of the history of events to '…surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs…' nevertheless offered a useful picture of different types of change; contrasting the visible, ephemeral, transitory movement of a wave with the underlying, imperceptible yet powerful movement of tides and currents.[20] I wanted to see if Braudel's imagery could help students explore the relationship between more noticeable legal and political events (e.g. Supreme Court judgements) and longer term socio-economic and cultural trends (e.g. the Cold War).

Finally, I wanted a metaphor that would help students to encapsulate and conceptualise the nature and experience of change resulting from an 'event'. Reflecting with a colleague, I began exploring how change in the physical landscape is conceptualised as both an event and as a process within physical geography. When explaining how change occurred in the landscape, geographers were seemingly concerned with describing and explaining the extent, nature, duration and process of change. Could geographical processes (Figure 5) help students to consider the processes of historical change?

The metaphor of a volcanic explosion represented a long term but not necessarily perceptible change followed by a highly visible, explosive change. It also suggested the idea of enduring and profound change, as the landscape is often permanently and radically altered by a major volcanic event. In contrast, glacial erosion represented the idea of underlying, imperceptible, but nevertheless profound and enduring change. It also hinted at the idea of fluctuating change: glacial erosion varies as the glacier ebbs and flows. The metaphors were introduced in the final lesson, when students were shown images of the different processes and asked to consider the *processes and outcomes* of change they described. They then selected the metaphor they thought best represented the kind of change that occurred following the Supreme Court ruling Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka.

4. Harnessing the power of analytic vocabulary.
However useful metaphors might be in developing a better understanding of complex patterns of change, it is still necessary to go back into the abstract in order to express
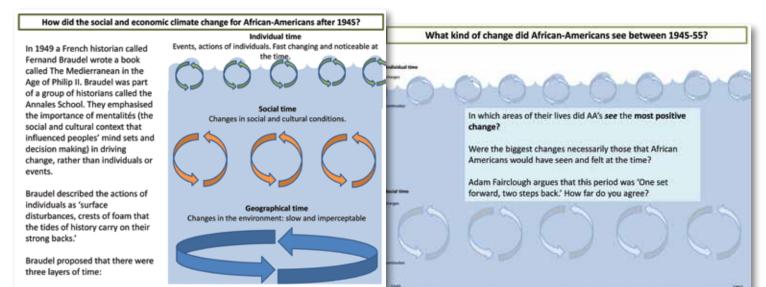
Figure 4: Using the metaphor of oceanography

Figure 5: Pictures of geographical metaphors: (from left) a violent volcanic explosion, a flash flood, a coastal erosion and a snowstorm

it verbally. I therefore re-introduced analytical 'change' vocabulary following the evaluation of the metaphors (Figure 6). While there is a growing recognition of the importance of providing students with analytical vocabulary in order to help them think and write historically about change, I judged that the vocabulary might have greater meaning and power if it expressed an understanding they had *already* developed.[21]

5. Using card-sorts to facilitate debate about change and continuity.

Card-sorts are now a staple in many teachers' arsenal of pedagogical strategies, particularly when addressing a causal question. As Counsell has argued, the process of sorting using given criteria (particularly if those criteria are problematical in some way) can show students the possibility of debate.[22] In lesson 4, which evaluated the significance of the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Supreme Court ruling, students were given a set of cards detailing different changes resulting from the ruling. Students were asked to arrange their cards into continuums using different sets of criteria (Figure 7). The point was not that the activity enabled students to arrive at a 'correct' answer, nor that they were necessarily able to sort every card within each continuum, but that by arguing about the positioning of a card within a continuum they were characterising the significance and nature of change.

From conceptual thought to extended argument

Each enquiry had as its final outcome a written essay. Although there is not space here to fully describe the attributes of students' work, analysis of their essays suggests that they could best be characterised as 'thick descriptions'. Although they did display some elements of narrative – they were concerned with character and setting – they did not take its traditional form because they were not organised 'in a chronologically sequenced order'.[23] They could be considered analytic because they were perspectival (they are not a 'neutral' act of data collection) and sought to describe patterns of change and were thus concerned with ascribing meaning.

Students' essays could also be considered arguments. Argument was manifested in an engagement with the claim asserted in the question (either through supporting or challenging the claim) and in the making and justification of claims about the properties and facets of change and the interplay between them. By focusing on the *interplay* between different properties and facets students had to make *choices* between alternative positions in order to describe and characterise change. By making choices they therefore implicitly orientated their claims in relation to alternative positions.

Change and continuity: pattern-making

It was Jean-Baptiste Alphonse Karr, a French critic and novelist, who coined the epigram *'plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose'*: 'the more things change, the more they stay the same.' Perhaps this is worth bearing in mind as we contemplate the seemingly never-ending curricular and pedagogical upheavals that seem to be the lot of the history teacher. Yet the search for patterns of change and continuity, made in an effort to ascribe meaning to human history, is a long-standing one, and, as a profoundly human endeavour, it is one that is unlikely to change. Helping our students to engage in historical pattern-making surely must remain a fundamental part of our mission as history teachers.

Figure 6: Analytic vocabulary for describing change and continuity

Describing the nature / significance of change							
symbolic	explosive	negligible	radical	theoretical	latent	practical	overt
embryonic	steady	profound	superficial	temporary	momentary	enduring	imperceptible
abrupt	violent						

Describing a process of change							
rejuvenate	intensify	escalate	mutate	transform	adapt	sprout	bloom
mature	swell	shrink	shrivel	reverse	retreat	undo	decay

Describing patterns of change and continuity							
revive	repurpose	restore	re-imagine	remain	re-establish	repeat	reconfigure
parallel	imitate	borrow	bequeath	antecedent	disrupt	break	rupture
erode	echo	evoke	subvert	stretch			

Figure 7: Card-sorting activity to assess the significance of the Brown ruling.

There was initially an increase in local activism amongst AA groups such as the NAACP and CORE (e.g. new voter registration campaigns and local protests against segregation).	Whites set up White Citizens' Councils in 1954 to demand that segregation continue in local schools. By 1956 250,000 people had joined the councils.	The Supreme Court ruled that the principle of 'separate but equal' established in the Plessy vs Ferguson case, which formed the basis for legal segregation, was unconstitutional.	Many African Americans believed that the Chief Justice, Earl Warren, had shown that the Supreme Court was sympathetic to the cause of Civil Rights.	There was a revival in Ku Klux Klan activity (e.g. 1955 lynching of 14 year old Emmett Till, whose white murderers were cleared by an all white jury.)
President Dwight D Eisenhower, (who replaced Truman in 1953) refused to welcome the decision. Privately he criticised the 'Brown' ruling, believing that de jure change could not produce de facto change. He did nothing to enforce the decision.	Senator Harry F Boyd called on white southerners to put up 'massive resistance' to desegregation. In 1956 101 southern Congressmen signed the Southern Manifesto, claiming that 'Brown' was unconstitutional and calling on Southerners to resist desegregation by 'all lawful means'.	In 1956 southern states launched sustained legal attacks on the NAACP – e.g. Alabama's state court outlawed the NAACP and banned all its activities. Public employees (i.e. teachers) were banned from belonging to organisations that advocated integration.	Thousands were forced to leave the NAACP. Southern states ignored the 'Brown' ruling. Consequently, the NAACP asked the Supreme Court to establish a timetable for desegregating southern schools. In response, the Supreme Court issued the Brown II ruling, stating that desegregation in education should occur 'with all deliberate speed.'	White Citizens Councils' campaigned for the election of local politicians who were strongly opposed to desegregation. More moderate white politicians were replaced by hard line segregationists.
By 1957 only 750 of 6,300 southern school districts were desegregated. Only 3% of AA students in the South were educated in mixed schools.	By 1968 58% of AA students in the South remained in segregated schools.	The Supreme Court ruled that segregation in Education was illegal.	White Citizens' Councils raised money to support schools that wanted to become private in order to avoid desegregation.	The Supreme Court proved unwilling to enforce the Brown rulings in the face of southern white resistance.

TASK 1
Arrange your cards from the most positive results of the Brown ruling to the most negative results of the Brown ruling.

TASK 2
Arrange your cards from the most short term change resulting from the Brown ruling to the most long term change resulting from the Brown ruling.

TASK 3
Arrange your cards from the most symbolic changes resulting from the Brown ruling to the most practical changes resulting from the Brown ruling.

TASK 4
Arrange your cards from the most latent changes resulting from the Brown ruling to the most manifest changes resulting from the Brown ruling.

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10 Fairclough, A. (2002) *Better Day Coming: blacks and equality 1890-2000*, New York & London: Penguin; Tuck, S. (2010) *We ain't what we ought to be: the black freedom struggle from emancipation to Obama*, Cambridge, Mass & London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

11 Banham *op.cit.*

12 Jarman *op.cit.*

13 Megill, A. (2007) *Historical Knowledge, Historical Error: a contemporary guide to practice*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

14 The term 'thick description' gained currency from Geertz (*The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Books). An anthropologist, his work has influenced the writing of cultural historians.

15 Whereas within the Programme of Study of England's NC 2008, explanation and description are given equal status: 'Pupils… provide well-structured narratives, explanations and descriptions of the past' (QCA *op.cit*, p.114), within the Level Descriptors 'description' is deemed a lower-level skill than 'analysis' and 'explanations' (*ibid*., p.118-19). The privileging of explanation over description is also enshrined in GCSE and GCE subject criteria (OFQUAL, 2011; 2012).

16 Barnes, S. (2002) 'Revealing the big picture: patterns, shapes and images at Key Stage 3' in *Teaching History, 107, Little Stories, Big Pictures Edition*, pp.6-12*;* Foster *op.cit ;* Jones *op.cit.;* Fordham *op.cit.*

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23 Stone, cited in Megill *op.cit.,* p. 94.