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Editorial
The World Turned Upside Down

Harold Wilson's aphorism that 'a week is a long time in politics' reflects the tumultuous changes that chance and circumstance can bring about in national affairs that affect us all. Wilson was Britain's prime minster (1964–70, 1974–76) at a time that saw the dissolution of the British Empire and Britain's counterbalanced joining of what is now the European Union. In the past year an incredulous world has seen a populist flood tide in America sweep Donald Trump into power and in Britain bring about the dissolution of Britain's membership of the European Union. If a week is a long time in politics, a year is an eternity.

Was it ever thus? During the 17th century English Civil War a ballad with a millennial perspective commented on Parliament's puritanical attack on holidays and Christmas celebrations:

> Since Herod, Caesar, and many more,
> You never heard the like before.
> Old Christmas is kick't out of Town.
> Yet let's be content,
> And the times lament,
> You see the world turn'd upside down.

How to create order from the chaos of the world we inhabit is perhaps the prime benefit that an historical education can offer. Thinking historically draws upon the discipline of history, 'doing history', as a process of enquiry that tries to develop objective, informed understanding that involves empathetic, sympathetic insight into the mentalities of the historical agents involved. Such understanding is grounded in evaluating the nature, reliability and provenance of the historical sources that are the evidential foundations underpinning historical judgments. As a discourse history holistically involves a set of processes, high-level skills, concepts, procedures and protocols: i.e. its syntactic/procedural structure.

Historians have a long tradition of recognizing this. Anna Comnena, perhaps the world's first female historian wrote on her role as an historian in the preface to her *Alexiad*, an account of the Byzantine Empire during the reign of her father, Alexios (1081–1118):

> But he who undertakes the "role" of an historian must sink his personal likes and dislikes, and often award the highest praise to his enemies when their actions demand it, and often, too, blame his nearest relations if their errors require it. He must never shirk either blaming his friends or praising his enemies. I should counsel both parties, those attacked by us and our partisans alike, to take comfort from the fact that I have sought the evidence of the actual deeds themselves, and the testimony of those who have seen the actions, and the men and their actions-the fathers of some of the men now living, and the grandfathers of others were actual eye-witnesses. (The Alexiad of Anna Comnena, https:// sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/AnnaComnena-Alexiad-intro.asp)

Roland Bernhard, in the opening paper of IJHLTR 14.2, raises the crucial issue of thinking historically for history teachers: without this there is a danger of them being propagandists. The OECD recently made the apparently simple, but crucial point that educationally high performing countries build their mathematical and scientific education policy and practices around the concept of the pupils being able to think mathematically and to think scientifically.

Likewise the articles in IJHLTR 14.2 reinforce the very strong argument that history curricula should be built around teaching pupils to think historically. The *Editorial Review*, pp. 7-28, explores how this idea provides a focus for its wide ranging articles that illuminate History Education's role in empowering young citizens to develop an informed understanding of the 'world turn'd upside down' in which they live.

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EDITORIAL REVIEW

ADDRESSING SENSITIVE, CONTENTIOUS AND CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES: PAST AND PRESENT

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IJHLTR 14.2

Introduction: Thinking historically – syntactic 'know how' and substantive 'know that' knowledge

As an academic discipline History has two dimensions: the 'know how' syntactic or procedural knowledge of the skills and processes of 'Doing History' and the 'know that' substantive or propositional knowledge of History as a body of factual information (Rogers, 1979, IJHLTR 9.1). History Education empowers children through its procedural, syntactic 'know-how' knowledge to ask historical questions; to interact with sources that they interrogate, evaluate and extract evidence from; to test the validity of historical 'facts', arguments, narratives and claims in their sources; to organise, collate and colligate their evidential data to find answers to their questions; to use their findings to create and test hypotheses and finally to construct and report their own interpretations – histories. All of course under the guidance and with the support of their history teachers.

The opening paper of IJHLTR 14.2.Roland Bernhard's *Are Historical Thinking Skills Important To History Teachers? Some Findings From A Qualitative Interview Study In Austria*, pp. 29-39, focuses upon the **syntactic** element of History Education and sets the scene for the other papers in this edition of IJHLTR 14.2. Bernhard raises the crucial importance of the historical education of History Educators. Indeed, a question that permeates the papers of IJHLTR 14.2 is History Education as much about the history education of teachers of history as the history education of their pupils and students: quis custodies ipsos custodet?

The **syntactic 'know how'** dimension of historical thinking is a central factor in three of this edition's six papers: Heather Sharp's and Niklas Ammert's *Primary Sources In Swedish And Australian History Textbooks: A Comparative Analysis Of Representations Of Vietnam's Kim Phuc*, pp. 57-70, Jeff Byford's and Sean Lennon's American [USA], *The Dilemma Of Senator Williams: A Case Study Of Student Decision-Making, Controversy, And Ethical Dilemmas*, pp. 71-92, and Mihiri Warnasuriya's *Examining The Value Of Teaching Sensitive Matters In History: The Case Of Post-War Sri Lanka*, pp. 93-107. Their papers raise the crucial importance of the ability to understand the viewpoints of 'the other' in developing understanding of historical topics and situations. This enables pupils to discuss, debate, argue and evaluate different arguments, opinions, perspectives and sensitivity to a range of opinions, attitudes, beliefs and values.

Here syntactic historical knowledge also draws upon the affective, imaginative, creative faculties: pupils can use their informed imaginations to develop insight into and understand the thoughts, motivation, hopes, aspirations and behaviour of the agents, actors involved in sensitive, contentious and controversial topics. Without the syntactic 'Doing History' dimension, pupils are open to the closed-mind unquestioning acceptance of the often bigoted, distorted, xenophobic, sectarian, intolerant, simplistic irrationality of positivistic history's uncontested historical accounts, narratives and interpretations, i.e usually a version of a single explanatory national master narrative.

The three papers also extensively involve **syntactic affective, imaginative, empathetic thinking**. Empathy, is central to Everardo Perez-Manjarrez's *'History On Trial' The Role Of Moral Judgment In The Explanation Of Controversial History*, pp. 40-56. Here we see the empathetic dimension at its starkest: it seems that the pupils' whose thinking Everardo analyses with clarity have not developed the ability to think historically. Everardo's research suggests that they see the past, including sensitive, contentious and controversial issues through contemporary, two-dimensional stereotypical eyes. Such a-historical reasoning is a barrier to the resolution of civil conflict, war and discord typical of many controversial, contentious and sensitive issues.

History Education also provides the **substantive or propositional** *temporal dimension* of History without which it is impossible to learn about the sensitive, contentious and controversial Issues that affect and even shape pupils' and students' lives. Substantive historical knowledge provides the essential network of linked factual 'know that' information about topics – the historical skeleton that structure all accounts, narratives and interpretations. 'Know that' knowledge includes information about dates, events, geographical data and the culture, thoughts, aspirations, motivations, values, faith and beliefs of the agents, the people involved – a contextual framework. For example, Geoffrey Short's paper *Learning From The Aftermath Of The Holocaust*, pp. 108-118 highlights the importance of such substantive knowledge about the Holocaust, arguing that in current teaching the contextual framework used is seriously deficient because it fails to include what happened after 1945 to the Holocaust's perpetrators and also the continuation of often endemic, murderous anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe with reference to post 1945 Poland.

The final paper in this edition of IJHLTR, Anastasia Vakaloudi's *From The Holocaust To Recent Mass Murders And Refugees. What Does History Teach Us?,* pp. 119-149, mirrors the both the syntactic and substantive perspective draws together many of the strands of the five predominantly syntactically oriented papers and the seventh, Geoffrey Short's *Learning From The Aftermath Of The Holocaust*, pp. 108-118.

Perspectives upon Sensitive, Contentious and Controversial Issues and History Education: IJHLTR's seven papers

Roland Bernhard's ***Are Historical Thinking Skills Important To History Teachers? Some Findings From A Qualitative Interview Study In Austria***, pp. 29-39, sets the scene for the following six papers that address a range of issues in the teaching of sensitive, contentious and controversial issues linked to the historical dimension of citizenship education. Roland 'presents some findings of a qualitative interview study with 42 Austrian history teachers, conducted in the framework of an on-going three-year research project (2015–2018) … "Competence and Academic Orientation in History Textbooks (CAOHT)".'

Underpinning 'Competence and Academic Orientation' of both teachers and textbooks are four key questions.

1. What is their understanding of the nature of History as an academic discipline in terms of its procedural, syntactic structures: the skills, processes, procedures, protocols and disciplinary concepts?
2. What aspects of History's holistic, disciplinary nature endows it with a singular, even unique role that should axiomatically makes it an essential element in the school curriculum and the wider education of children and students as proto-citizens?
3. How can History's disciplinary framework that teachers assimilate through secondary and tertiary education be translated into both *pedagogic subject knowledge* and *applied, professional*

knowledge? their professional development as teachers of history [education and training] to ensure that <u>thinking historically</u> underpins, informs and shapes their teaching of history?

4. What are the factors that prevent this and how can they be overcome? Barriers such as:
   ○ the nature of their professional development; t
   ○ their school's, departmental and overall classroom cultures;
   ○ statutory educational constraints such as national curricula, demands of testing and assessment, government inspection
   ○ their own values, beliefs and attitude – their professional orientation? (Harland & Kinder, 1997)

The final element, orientation, is pivotal to Roland's Austrian study with its focus upon school history's role in citizenship education.

> One central element is the connection of the past with the present and future, namely the critical reflection about the fact that history always means personal orientation in the present and enables future actions.

The four key questions above relate to one of the two central elements of History Education that tends to be overlooked: that the historical education of the teachers is as important as the historical education of their pupils. While Roland places his study in a wider historical context, the whole issue of teachers' ability to <u>think historically</u> has been a central element in British History Education since John Fines and Jeanette Coltham's (1971) epochal *Educational Objectives for the Study of History,* and David Sylvester's *Schools Council History Project* (1972), aka the Schools History Project, and Peter Rogers (1979) *The New History Theory into Practice* (1979). Coltham & Fines analysed the nature of history and historical thinking in relation to the apparent threat to school history from social studies/sociology grounded in Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (1956). IJHLTR 9.1 reviews the impact of Fines' & Rogers' pamphlets – as well as making them available on line. (IJHLTR 9.1 2010)

The largely unacknowledged David Sylvester, mastermind, creator and director of the British Schools Council History Project based his project four square upon the eminent Oxford philosopher and historian, R.G. Collingwood's explanation of the nature of history in both his *Autobiography* (1939) and *The Idea of History* (1946). In other words, the goal of the Schools Council History project was pupils <u>thinking historically</u> (SCHP, 1976 – 1; SCHP, 19S76 – 2; Sylvester, 2009; Sheldon, 2011). The focus of Peter Roger's 1979 pamphlet was the philosophical distinction between propositional [substantive] and procedural [syntactic knowledge] with the argument that crucial was procedural, 'know how' knowledge upon which was based 'know that' propositional knowledge, i.e. the 'factual' network of historical narratives, analyses and interpretations. Peter analysed what such procedural knowledge meant for teachers : its skills, processes, procedures, protocols and concepts, some 15 years before it became the Shulman inspired (1986)(1987) general zeitgeist of the educational community in the mid 1980s.

Coltham and Fines, Sylvester and Rogers identified and analysed the elements that <u>thinking historically</u> involves. So influential were they and the related discourse that they triggered that their ideas permeated and influenced a range of British examination syllabi and related developments in history teaching pedagogy and the training and professional development of history teachers. Recognition of the importance of <u>thinking historically</u> was its incorporation as one of the two structural elements of the English National Curriculum for History implemented in 1992. Ever since it has been a central feature of English school history curricula for 5-14 year olds and national history examination syllabi for 14-19 year olds. A similar concern with teaching pupils to think historically underpins Roland's paper:

The first dimension 'competence in questioning' reflects the ability to devise historical questions as well as detecting and assessing the questions that lie behind historical narratives with which one is dealing.

The second dimension is called 'methodological competence', which comprises being able to synthetically construct historical narratives or historical statements from given information such as historical sources or historical representations ('re-construction-competence'). Moreover, it is also about the skill to analytically reflect and assess given historical statements and work out what 'lies behind them', or how, why and with what intention they were constructed ('de-construction-competence').

The third dimension is called 'orientation competence' and is connected to the present and future in the above-mentioned sense, reflecting the ability to relate history, insights and judgements about the past to one's own life in the present (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 93). Peter Seixas labels this focus on uses of the past for orientation in the present as the 'strength' of the Austrian-German model (Seixas 2015, p. 4).

The fourth dimension of historical competence is called 'Sachkompetenz' and is difficult to translate into English. One could say that it is – among other things – the "competence of notions and structures" insofar that it contains all concepts and categories that are used to structure the historical universe (knowledge about patterns of periodisation or epochs, of sectors – political, economic, cultural, micro-and macro history, etc.). However, this dimension contains much more than that; rather, it encompasses all of what is called 'second-order concepts' in the English-speaking discourse, e.g. the 'six big historical thinking concepts' of Seixas and Morton (2013) belong to this area (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, pp. 93-94). Moreover, skills of gaining access to achieve, the analysation and interpretation of documents and ordering information chronologically belong to the dimension of 'Sachkompetenz' (Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 94). In this context, Austrian contributions about historical knowledge and concepts include Kühberger (2012) and Kühberger (2016).

The fundamental issue of teacher understanding of historical thinking is central to Roland's argument:

For the further development of the discipline of history education research, it is important to truly understand the practice and know what teachers think about history education and historical thinking. Based on this knowledge, it will be possible to think about what needs to be done to greater inspire school practice and how to inform Initial Teacher Education and Education policies.

Here Roland hits the nail on its head with a hefty thud – echoing the fascinating and invaluable work of Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry in Britain (2003). Roland's paper raises the fundamental issue of education theory, policy and practice having an empirical, evidential, research basis without which it has little or no validity.

Reassuringly, his paper has such secure quantitative and qualitative research foundations. The findings mirror concern that there is a gulf between educational theorists and even policy makers and classroom teachers. While Austrian teachers reject the 'traditional' view of history education as inculcating in pupils a given, unquestioned positivistic body of knowledge there is little evidence that they have assimilated the concept that central to History Education's structure should be pupil learning of historical thinking. Instead teachers' pedagogy was based on a more general, universal phenomenon in reaction to adverse PISA findings about Austrian and German pupils

so as 'to focus not so much on content compared with **domain-specific competencie**s, and **competence models** for different subjects – including for history' [editorial bold]. Interestingly, this mirrors the 1960s and 1970s Educational Objectives movement in the USA and then in Britain that looked outside the subject disciplines for the radical, reforming catalyst that would transform national education in the light of an external challenge: the Russian humiliation of America in the space race highlighted through the launching of Sputnik, the world's first satellite.

Roland's *Are Historical Thinking Skills Important To History Teachers?* paper reports Austrian teachers rejection of competences education because of it being an alien, top-down, nationally imposed model grounded in criticism of them and their teaching. Despite this, there are elements of competences education that reflect teachers underlying values and beliefs about teaching history. As such, they are teaching thinking historically almost accidentally, even incidentally – a factor highlighted in what they consider vital, important and valuable in teaching history: '… many teachers saw three elements that belong to historical thinking as important aspects of history education, namely fostering critical thinking, understanding the present by dealing with the past and participation in political discourse and historical culture.'

The second paper in this volume, Everardo Perez-Manjarrez's *'History On Trial' The Role Of Moral Judgment In The Explanation Of Controversial History*, pp. 40-56, illuminates this perception. Everardo's research is on pupils' interpretation of the Spanish conquest of Mexico in the early 16th century. Everardo's research hypothesis is that moral values both influence and shape pupils sense-making of history through the construction of narratives, narratives that depend largely upon the cultural context of their learning history in schools. Here we should bear in mind that internationally narrative is the dominant factor in pupil's History Education mediated through teacher controlled and dominated classroom discourse and the ubiquitous textbook. And, indirectly, the moral values of teachers that transcend their own historical knowledge are crucial, i.e. they strongly influence the history that is taught.

From the earliest educational phase a body of narratives, stories, with a range of common themes; the warp and weft of the tales that pupils weave into their own versions of the national story: 'validated interpretations of the past, socially contextualized and situated within a particular moral system.' Everardo comments on the wider context of the role of narrative and its moral values that are the focus of his research:

> The framework of narrative patterns enables insight into how meaning is structured. These patterns are schematic templates that mediate both the representation of historical events and their social significance (Wertsch, 2008); they also structure cultural accounts conveying common historical motifs and values. For instance, studies conducted in different countries show that in students' national historical narratives, there are common narrative patterns such as anti-colonial struggle; the birth of the nation is depicted through the historical motif of the pursuit of freedom, which is guided by values such as bravery, courage, and loyalty (Carretero, 2011; Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). Likewise, patterns of values are attributed to particular historical characters, and their actions are morally judged (Carretero, Lopez-Manjon & Jacott, 1997).

> The second salient characteristic is the discursive articulation of the narrative. Several studies illustrate the array of discourses involved in the explanation of a historical event, and suggest the moral values inherent to each discourse. For instance, the explanation of the nation's origins invokes multiple discourses: firstly, there is a patriotic discourse explaining the significance of battles that were fought for national liberation (Carretero, 2011); and secondly, a threat discourse that creates the figure of a foreign enemy who endangers the

country (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). Both discourses are often accompanied by a gender discourse that portrays the nation as a caring mother, nurturing her children and expecting the same nurturance in return (Mayer, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Hence, while people may not be historically accurate, these interconnected discourses provide them with compelling explanations.

The foregoing also shows that there are different moral values associated with historical narratives, such as heroism, respect, defence, and care. Although not all are explicit, every narrative has an implicit moral subtext. Studies have shown that any historical narrative is rooted in the context and worldview of its construction (Koselleck, 1985/2003; White, 2009).'

Intriguingly, Everardo's paper then reports case-study research into two sixteen year old Spanish and Mexican pupils, Alex' and Michelle's interpretations of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Alex lives in Madrid, Michelle in Mexico City. Both have similar middle class backgrounds: education in public schools and outstanding educational achievement. Alex and Michelle are two of a cohort of c. 40 such case studies. Their case studies are typical and as such illuminate the nature and role of what underpins the 40 students' historical explanations and related historical thinking.

Everardo reports that Alex and Michelle, in common with other pupils, often use moral judgments 'to explain history through common discourses that convey the main circumstances of the Conquest' drawing on three main common discourses that in turn draw upon a range of different discursive tools that centre on moral values.
The first common discourse centres on racial stereotypes that represent the superiority and technological development of the Spaniards in comparison with the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico.

The second discourse is based upon the superiority of the Spanish language – the indigenous population was incapable of effective communication.

The third discourse is cultural – reflecting Alex and Michelle's views about the racial superiority of the Spanish and their culture.

These three common discourses permeate Alex and Michelle's moral views about the indigenous population and the impact that the Spanish had upon it. Michelle's perspective 'allows her to morally excuse Spaniards' actions, ascribing to them the agency of a superior civilisation.' Everardo's paper then teases out in detail different aspects of the moral values that permeate Alex and Michelle's interpretation.

A fascinating, compelling aspect of Everardo's article is how it relates to the wider picture of children's historical thinking. The pioneering research work of Peter Lee and Ros Ashby in the mid 1990s established a benchmark for such research that has focused upon the development of pupil's historical understanding. Here both Alex and Michelle are operating in a framework in which history is a body of positivistic, uncontested, substantive knowledge that they assimilate. The related pedagogy is one of transmission with the teacher and textbook as the agents through which knowledge is assimilated. There seems no evidence from the analysis of Alex and Michelle's discourse that they have been taught to <u>think historically</u> so as to develop **any understanding** of the mentalities of the historical agents involved in the Spanish conquest of Mexico (Lee et al, 1996, Van Boxtel & Van Drie, 2008; Van Boxtel and Van Drie, 2013). And, in relation to this, they used a set of mental tools about contemporary moral values to shape their interpretations of the Conquest, i.e. they were thinking in a profoundly a-historical way.

The conclusion of Edverardo's paper is sobering: it perhaps helps explain the major problems facing schools in dealing with controversial and sensitive issues where the pupils' orientation has not involved them in <u>historical thinking</u> that involves an empathetic and cognitive understanding of the thinking and behaviour of 'the other', i.e. the agents who are the actors in both past and the present situations that the pupils study:

> The analysis shows that the students' sense-making of history intertwines historical and moral concerns, personal values, and socially significant motifs such as peace and progress. In this process morality plays a significant role, especially moral judgment functioning as a discursive linkage between personal moral stances and historical understanding.

> Michelle and Alex explain the Conquest as a civilizing process legitimized in the language of material, cultural, and intellectual progress, while the violent nature of colonialism is overlooked. They achieve this by using an array of moral judgments, within three discourses that pertain to the historical characters' personal traits, reasoning abilities, and beliefs. Moral judgments tend to relate to misconceptions of the past and present-day prejudices, as demonstrated in other studies (Lee & Ashby, 2001; Von Borries, 1994). In general, the participants appraise the Conquest through their own moral values, which are rooted in personal historical beliefs of cultural development and civilization.

Everardo's paper perfectly complements Heather Sharp and Niklas Ammert's Primary **Sources In Swedish And Australian History Textbooks: A Comparative Analysis Of Representations Of Vietnam's Kim Phuc**, pp. 57-70. Heather and Niklas's research relates closely to the *Editorial Review*'s third key question:

> How can History's disciplinary framework that teachers assimilate through secondary and tertiary education be translated into both *pedagogic subject knowledge* and *applied, professional knowledge*? Their professional development as teachers of history [education and training] to ensure that <u>thinking historically</u> underpins, informs and shapes their teaching of history?

The focal point of Heather's and Niklas's paper is an iconic photograph, Figure 1, taken during the Vietnam War. The photograph has become a symbolic representation of the Vietnam War's impact upon Vietnam's civilian population. The Vietnam War lasted from the early 1960s until the fall of Saigon, South Vietnam's capital, in 1975 when the North Vietnamese armed forces, the Viet Cong defeated the South Vietnamese and their ally, the United States of America.

Nick Ut's famous photograph in Levande historia (p. 387)

Heather and Niklas explain the focus of their article:

> This article [pp. 57-70] compares primary sources used in Swedish and Australian school History textbooks on the topic of the Vietnam War. The focus is on analysing representations of Kim Phuc, the young girl who was infamously chemically burnt with napalm. Applying an approach that incorporates Habermas's three knowledge types, this article focuses on student questions and activities in relation to how sources are treated in textbooks.
>
> The article uses a case study approach to conduct a comparison between how, and if, Swedish and Australian textbooks engage students through questions and activities directly connected with the use of primary sources.
>
> Findings suggest that current textbook approaches could incorporate a greater variety of questions with differing knowledge types, to use images more consistently beyond illustrative purposes, and to structure activities that require students to compare and contrast two or more primary sources.

The paper's Australia and Swedish locus provides an insight into the teaching of universal, global issues that directly affect all countries and their pupils and students. The article's rationale places History Education at the forefront of the education of pupils for active citizenship [as opposed to passive citizenship] in a world that depends upon them being critical, informed sceptical (not cynical) thinkers:

> The discipline of history, with its traditional focus on using primary source documents to navigate through various perspectives can provide students with at least some of the tools in which to engage with the political discussions going on around them. The History curriculum broadly, and also source activities included as part of History teaching in school classrooms, play a significant role in educating students and providing them with the skills to be critical, active citizens (Sharp, 2015). p. 57.

Heather and Niklas draw upon Habermas's three types/domains of knowledge to categorise the role and nature of sources in textbooks. An introductory analysis of textbooks sources categorises them as being predominantly Illustrative – related to but not an integral element of either text or activities or as an element in deepening 'factual' knowledge, i.e. comprehension and finally as supporting explanation or interpretation through providing an investigative perspective. These three elements relate to Habermas's domains:

> *technical knowledge*, *practical knowledg*e, and *emancipatory knowledge*. Each different type of knowledge contains a higher level of thinking. The technical knowledge draws on content that accounts for, describes, is factual, and/or is easily verifiable. It can be seen as highlighting comprehension. The practical knowledge develops on from the statement knowledge type, and includes explanation, interpretation, judgement, and dialogical communication with others. The third type, emancipatory, recognises and encourages knowledge that is subjective, encourages students to be self-reflective, and is concerned with how students (when applied to an educational context) position themselves and others, see Table 1 that relates source analysis to a variation of Habermas's knowledge. (p. 59).

The authors also address the relationship between visual sources in textbooks and their role as historical evidence – a central aspect of teaching about the Vietnam War drawing upon the Kim Phuc photo [or rather series of photographs, there are more than one].

TABLE 1. Knowledge types applied to sources in textbooks

Knowledge Type	Attributes of the Knowledge Type	Habermas Definition	In textbook activities, types of questions asked include:
Illustration only	• Source included to fill the page, perhaps as a filler and perhaps as an aesthetic	Not applicable.	No questions or activities associated with this type of source. Not included in the main text of the textbook.
Statement (draws on Habermas' technical knowledge)	• Factual • Accounting for • Confirmation • Brief description • Statement • Highlights comprehension	Emerges from the questions "what" and "how"; largely descriptive knowledge, often based on observation; helps people regulate, predict and control their daily lives.	What is? Who is? What happened? When? How much? How often?
Explanation/ Interpretive Description (draws on Habermas' practical knowledge)	• Explanation • Interpretive • description • background	Emerges from the question "why" and is interpretive rather than descriptive. Concerned with motives and causes, and helps us understand people's actions and attitudes, and thus helps us in our dealings with these people.	How was that possible? What does it mean? Why? What happened afterwards?
Critical Reflection/ Analysis	Connecting to the student, students' experiences and previous knowledge. References to parallel contexts, theoretical concepts or models	Emerges from the questions "in whose interests" or "who benefits and who loses".	How can I understand this? What can I compare with? Why did people act/react in that way? What could have happened?
Emancipatory, transformative knowledge (draws on Habermas' emancipatory knowledge)	Students are required to consider how to take a theoretical understanding of a history topic or concept and to 'activate' it in an authentic, active citizenship context that critiques commonly held assumptions	Concerned with the effect of power, privilege and advantage in situations, and thus help people emancipate themselves from various forms of disadvantage and oppression, and to seek justice for themselves and others.	What action could be taken?

The paper is directly relevant to all countries and jurisdictions in which history is taught. Not because of the substantive, propositional 'factual' information about the Vietnam War it presents but because it draws upon the universal medium for the teaching of history – *the textbook*. Concerning textbooks, the authors focus upon the embedding of 'sources' in them with an associated contextual penumbra and commentary. And, perhaps, crucially, the activities framework that provides the support for the students to develop their ability to understand, analyse, reflect upon, discuss and evaluate the sources including their provenance, reliability and the value of the

information that they contain in developing a deepening understanding of the historical situation being studied.

The embedding of sources in textbooks is a universal, common feature: as such, the article's is of value to all History Educators who believe that <u>historical thinking</u> should be a crucial element in the DNA of history teaching. <u>Historical thinking</u> is central to the activities that accompany the text: a text whose content government's universally prescribe through their national curricula and related regulations.

> … the importance that textbook activities have in providing a thorough reflection of the types of knowledge and skills that the textbook authors, and teachers too, want students to learn become obviously important. It is of central interest to many governments, education researchers, and other key stakeholders to study what students are required to learn and to achieve at school… While the content of the curriculum and accompanying syllabus documents can be clearly known, the same cannot be said for what students are instructed to achieve. Analysing textbook activities is one way to partially uncover this current deficit of knowledge in this area of research. (pp. 58-50).

Heather's and Niklas's detailed analysis of the Kim Phuc photograph in four textbooks is sobering. Instead of the photograph being used to develop incrementally pupil thinking, knowledge and understanding in all three Habermas domains its use is predominantly illustrative.

> On the whole, the activities surrounding this photo engage students in only lower order thinking activities, if any at all. Two textbooks include only a photograph of the young Kim Phuc with no mediating activity and can be categorised as being for illustrative purposes only. In these textbooks it is included more as a violent aesthetic, perhaps to shock students or be a site of visual interest, but not to be used as part of an explicit, official student activity. One textbook includes a student activity that could be regarded as statement, requiring students to produce factual or comprehension-style responses. Only one textbook, *Retroactive*, moves into the category of explanation/interpretive description, mainly because of it acting as a pedagogical device for teachers on how to analyses sources, and also because students are required to complete activities on an accompanying online sites, where they connect new information learnt to the broader context of the Vietnam War. Kim Phuc's experience, constructed as a case study in History textbooks, is a valuable inclusion as it is of historical importance, having significantly contributed to bringing about a change in public attitudes, and also for her continued presence as an example of the human impact of war on civilians.

Indeed, the photograph, figure 2, used in the only textbook that uses activities to develop pupil insight and understanding, conveys different messages from the iconic photograph, the universally famous image, see figure 1, (p. 67).

It is a different photograph that <u>mutes [sanitises] the horror, terror that the body language of Kim Phuc conveys</u> in the first photograph, figure 1. The authors conclude that the low level illustrative and not illuminative use of images is because of ingrained Australian and Swedish pedagogic cultures. 'It became obvious in the analysis of the textbook activities that the history teaching traditions of the respective countries are different, and that these teaching traditions become apparent through the types of questions/exercises included in textbooks. The textbook activities can be seen as a reflection of the favoured pedagogical practices of both nations.'

Here we return to the fundamental issue of what the political nation – the social and political network that control educational policy and practice views as the role of History in the education of

Source 1.36 Children fleeing a village bombed with Napalm

Source 1.37

We sure are pleased with those backroom boys at Dow [Chemicals]. The original product wasn't so hot—if the gooks were quick they could scrape it off. So the boys started adding polystyrene—now it sticks like shit to a blanket. But if the gooks jumped under water it stopped burning, so they started adding Willie Peter (white phosphorus) so's to make it burn better. And just one drop is enough, it'll keep on burning right down to the bone so they die anyway from phosphorus poisoning.

A US army source talks about Napalm.
Quoted in *Vietnam Inc.* by Philip Jones Griffiths (1971)

Source 1.38

We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in the decisions on Vietnam acted according what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. We made our decisions in light of those values. Ye were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generation explain why.

Extract from *in Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vie*
by Robert McNamara, 1995. Robert McNamara w
US Secretary of Defence from 1961 to

Primary sources and questions on the Vietnam War?" (Carrodus, Delany, McArthur, Smith, Taylor & Young, 2012, p. 29)

its pupils. In Sweden it is a 'reflection of Sweden's approach to teaching History in schools, which uses History as a way to acculturate students to Swedish culture, traditions, political systems and history as a reference for understanding and interpreting the present.' Heather and Niklas argue that in both Sweden and Australia such this is no longer fit-for-purpose:

With so many primary sources being visual across both modern and ancient histories, it is vital students develop the skills to analyse them in meaningful ways, and for this to be modelled to students by not including images for illustrative purposes only: to entertain or to fill up space, without being used as a pedagogical experience. In order for students to be acculturated into not just a disciplinary way of thinking and knowing the field of history, but also to be able to use sources to critically analyse the world around them; a particularly crucial point in the visually saturated media context of the early 21st century, then it is vital that students have those initial learning experience in the classroom under the pedagogical guidance of a teacher. (p. 68).

Which raises perhaps a radical hypothesis: that History Education should be more to do with the History Education of teachers of history than with that of pupils. Nowhere is this more crystal clear than in the thought provoking fourth paper in IJHLTR 14.2, paper of Jeff Byford's and Sean Lennon's, **The Dilemma Of Senator Williams: A Case Study Of Student Decision-Making, Controversy, And Ethical Dilemmas**, pp. 71-92**.** The abstract outlines the challenge that both teachers and their students face in the teaching of this topic:

The title *"Senator Williams, Do You Vote For or Against on the Diego Resolution before Senate"* encourages students to engage in historical empathy and critical inquiry in considering the possible military intervention in the small hypothetical country of Ersatz. The Diego Resolution asks the Senate to endorse the President's plan to move a navy task force to a position ten miles off the shore of Ersatz so that to be available quickly if needed. The resolution does not say explicitly what the Navy will do after it is there, only that it would be "ready to take whatever actions are necessary to protect American lives."

With each document, students receive more pertinent information that presents controversy and ethical dilemmas. Such an investigation encouraged students to confront three fundamental questions:
1) When does the United States have the authority or obligation to intervene in another country's affairs,
2) When, if ever, should the President have the power to use military force without Congressional approval, and
3) When, if ever, does the value of American lives outweigh the risk and reward of foreign policy or diplomacy?

The research involved four questionnaires on the Case Study's four scenarios in evaluating the effectiveness of its development of the students' knowledge and understanding of the Diego resolution and the related historical empathy and skills of historical enquiry. (p. 71).

Central to the *Senator Williams* paper is the ability of the students to be empathetic through building up understanding of historical context, scenarios and agents involved in unfolding situations: Case Studies. Jeff and Sean provide a clear and comprehensive explanation of the thinking behind their use of Case Study involving role-play and simulation in contrast to a conventional pedagogy that involves direct instruction and rote memorisation. A major problem of conventional pedagogy is its failure to enable students to develop both accurate knowledge of and understanding of complex events and movements such as American involvement in Vietnam and currently Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan and ISIS, jihadism and resurgent, often xenophobic, nationalism.

In contrast Case Studies involve extensive, continuous and intensive student interaction with them being forced to discuss, analyse, develop, clarify, declaim, justify and defend their opinions about historically related events. The historical value of their learning depends upon how accurately the Case Study can realistically and accurately 'model' the historical circumstances upon which it is based. Through empathetic involvement in considering, discussing, arguing and choosing from the range of possible decisions and outcomes facing figures in the past, the students are empowered to:

1) better understand complicated issues, historical events, and content material;
2) discuss issues with their peers;
3) engage in informative discussion and debate related information presented;
4) become active agents in the learning process;
5) develop solutions to historical problems;

6) decipher causes of events (Kunselman & Johnson, 2004; Byford, 2013).

The authors report both British and American analysis of the educational value of teaching pupils to be empathetic, noting that empathy requires students to be both affective and cognitive. They have to be able to:

1) project their thoughts and feelings into a historical situation;
2) distinguish the historical period from their own;
3) utilize reference materials or sources;
4) present the person or situation to illustrate the circumstances of the case or dilemmas; and
5) can be cognitive of the misunderstanding, conflict or tragedy (Portal, 1987 & Yilmaz, 2007).

And, this can only be achieved through the teachers grounding their teaching in their understanding of historical thinking and using it as the basis for a continuous, progressive educational process that enables their pupils in turn to <u>think historically</u>. The authors conclude:

> Teacher-led, student dialogues are powerful tools for engaging students in a broad and varied range of conceptual thinking exercises, and this activity is no exception. As the instructor moves the students from one scenario to the next, each with the overlapping degrees of new information, the teacher can refrain or engage the students during each segment, to elicit discussions or dialogues pertinent to their concerns or views. Using student differences in answering, without identifying the student, but by showing the class the numbers or percentages, can be an easy prompt for those willing to talk about their decision-making processes. This activity style has been utilized effectively in other scenario types, especially with ethics such as the trolley dilemma, allowing for complex thinking while avoiding controversial issues as the scenarios are abstract and not grounded in real world subjects or issues (Lennon, Byford & Cox, 2015).

> With proper prompting as well as functioning as an 'outlet' to prevent hostility or frustration, the instructor can use the scenario to help guide students through levels of thinking beyond mere rote memorization while avoiding common pitfalls of controversial issues or other discussions that generate hostility. By doing this, the teacher develops a twofold objective; promoting dialogic discourse invaluable for students in hearing contrarian views and understanding that their peers may be different but that is okay, and to allow these same students to critically rationalize what is not an easy, or possibly even a solvable problem (Lennon, 2017). If anything, an issue of complexity is where there are no simple fixes or easy answers. Both of these activities allow for students to learn from each other, peer influences as well as the teacher in developing higher functioning skills so necessary for a functioning democracy.

> … To expose students to the perceived realities of statesmanship and foreign diplomacy, students were exposed to a simulated case study involving, foreign governments, American lives, and global and domestic economic interests. This time-tested moral dilemma allows students to analyze, evaluate and decide the final vote on the fictional Diego Resolution. This lesson provides students with creative insight into the functions of government, political party alignment, and American domestic and geopolitical interests not commonly found in today's social studies curriculum. (pp. 81-82).

Nowhere in the world is the imperative of thinking historically that Geoff and Sean highlight more crucial than in the educational challenges facing Sri Lanka after an extended period of Civil War ended in 2009. Mihiri Warnasuriya's fifth article in IJHLTR 14.2, ***Examining The Value Of Teaching Sensitive Matters In History: The Case Of Post-War Sri Lanka***,

pp. 93-107, focuses on these; reconciliation through education as it affects mind-sets, values and beliefs. Her paper's abstract raises the fundamental issues involved in creating an educational programme, grounding her conclusions in her research findings:

Driven by the overarching objective of promoting reconciliation through education, this paper explores the impact of history teaching on youth identity and ethnic relations in Sri Lanka.

Building on the arguments of scholars the likes of Cole and Barsalou (2006) who hold that the failure to deal with the causes of conflict could have adverse future consequences, the study attempts to answer the following question: Should the controversial issues that are believed to have led to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict be discussed in the secondary school history curriculum?

The investigation is largely based on the findings of 71 semi-structured interviews with youth and history teachers in Sri Lanka, and supplemented by an analysis of history textbooks and existing literature. The analysis of textbooks reveals that thus far such issues are either glossed over or completely ignored in the history lesson. The primary data generally supports the inclusion of contentious matters by uncovering the glaring lack of knowledge among Sri Lankan youth regarding the origins of the conflict, highlighting the need to curtail the spread of misinformation, and indicating how the avoidance of controversy goes against the goals of the discipline.

However, problems related to the willingness and capacity of teachers in dealing with sensitive subject matter and the prevalence of pedagogies that suppress critical thinking, present a compelling counter argument. This points towards the conclusion that controversial issues should be discussed in the history curriculum, provided that certain conditions which would support teachers and students in dealing with them are fulfilled. (p. 93).

What are the problems that these 'certain conditions' would need to address for reconciliation to be effective? Crucial is an understanding of the historical roots of the Civil War and the traumatic events of the Sri Lankan Civil War (1986-2009), memories of which deeply affect the consciousness, sense of identity, attitudes and behaviours of contemporary Tamil and Sinhalese societies. Exensive research and scholarship has illuminated the nature of 20th century Sri Lankan society and related ethnically sensitive issues and controversial, 'flashpoint' events. This essentially historical knowledge underpins evidentially based understandng of the outbreak of civil unrest and rioting of the 1980s and the ensuing Civil War between the Tamil separatist group, the Tamil Tigers, and the Sinhalese community. Teaching pupils about the origins and causes of the Civil War from the perspectives of both Sinhalese and Tamils raises controversial issues – an understanding of which should enable reconciliation through understanding the position, perspectives, orientation and behaviour of 'the other' community. Teaching about the Civil War per se is too sensitive, difficult and traumatic as memories of it are still fresh and alive in the families and communities of pupils.

Mihiri presents an analysis of nine major different factors in the 1980s that fuelled tension and civil discord between the Tamil and Sinhalese communities to breaking point. Her analysis draws upon the body of academic literature which recognises that the conflict was based upon the 20th century divisiveness that British rule over the island caused. For each of nine controversial areas Mihiri details the issues and problems involved, ending each account with an analysis of current textbooks that are grounded in a single, official Sinhalese interpretation that ignores the multi-faceted arguments and issues that each area involves. Crucially, a single, official 'master narrative' transmitted through the teacher mediated textbook makes no provision for the critical thinking,

reflection, discussion and debate, <u>thinking historically</u>, that would enable pupils to understand the roots of the Civil War from the early 20th century through their comprehension of the perspectives of both the Tamil and Sinhalese communities. Textbook analysis starkly reveals that such 'sensitive and contentious subject matter' is avoided within the Sri Lankan history curriculum'.

Mihiri analyses the value of teaching sensitive and controversial issues through a pedagogy based upon developing and refining the critical thinking skills of civic minded citizens. Central is questioning, an understanding of the evidence that underpins arguments, discussion, interpretation and reaching conclusions that are conscious of a range of views and related values. Personal, communal and national identity affects what what Sri Lankan pupils learn from teaching about sensitive and controversial topics and issues that led to Civil War. Central is pupils' ability to understand, value and defend 'others' ethnic, cultural, religious and social beliefs. This understanding is at the heart of reconciliation upon which Sri Lankan peace, social cohesion and progress will depend.

A rider to the argument for teaching sensitive and controversial history through examination of the historical roots of the Sri Lankan Civil War was the pupils' extraordinary ignorance 'the glaring lack of knowledge that exists among Sri Lankan youth regarding the breakdown of relationships between Sinhalese and Tamils.' An aspect of what little historical knowledge pupils had was its folk history nature: stories, myths, anecdotes and incidental details – misinformation that permeates the understanding across all communities. As with studies of pupils' historical understanding in other communities, Mihiri's research showed that the major influence on pupils' historical insights and perspectives was what they had learned in school.

This, allied to teacher acceptance of the value of teaching about a controversial past for reconciliation led Mihiri to conclude that a key element is the <u>education and training of teachers</u>:

> While it is both necessary and important to discuss the controversial issues that are believed to have led to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict in the secondary school history curriculum, inclusion of such sensitive subject matter needs to be preceded by teacher training and pedagogical reforms. Taking steps to address the broader issues related to history education that were exposed through this study, is also of vital importance. In the absence of these measures, efforts to educate the seemly ill-informed Sri Lankan youth regarding the country's difficult past, could prove to be more harmful than helpful. (p. 104).

Geoffrey Short's and Anastasia Vakaloudi's final two papers in IJHLTR 14.2 Holocaust education encompass many of the issues of teaching sensitive, contentious and controversial issues that previous papers raise and illuminate. Geoffrey in **Learning From The Aftermath Of The Holocaust**, pp. 108-118, raises fundamental issues about teaching a topic where the teachers do not have a comprehensive knowledge or understanding of the topic, i.e. the substantive knowledge involved, that results in teaching and learning that is partial, inadequate and misleading. In his paper Geoffrey argues that the history of the Holocaust as represented in textbooks is seriously deficient. They fail to place anti-semitism of the holocaust in its wider European context in which persecution of the Jews is endemic and much worse than in Germany. In dealing with anti-semitism textbooks omit major factors: the self-interest of those involved through their stealing of Jewish property / possessions / asserts: larceny on the grandest of scales, the role of the Catholic church both during and after the Holocaust and an implicit, even explicit perception, that the Jews failed actively to resist their oppression that 'also risks students construing passivity in the face of the oppressor as a trait more deserving of contempt than compassion, an outcome patently at odds with any notion of responsible citizenship.'

While these omissions means major distortion in the teaching of the holocaust Geoffrey argues that there is a much more serious problem: an almost universal failure to deal with both the post 1945 treatment of those responsible for the holocaust, the perpetrators, and the treatment of Jews who continued to live in countries who Jewish populations suffered most from the Holocaust. Here Geoffrey reports the research evidence from a major survey at the UCL IoE that indicates that less than 50% dealt with the experience of Holocaust survivors since 1945 and the Nuremberg trials. From an editorial perspective we suspect that the Nuremberg trials and not the post war experience was the topic that the majority of teachers covered here. Succinctly and with force Geoffrey argues strongly for extending the teaching about the Holocaust to include major omissions:

> Specifically, an awareness of what happened to those Jews who returned home following their forced exile or incarceration and learning also about the fate of the perpetrators can lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the Holocaust. In other words, certain post-war events illuminate the Jewish experience between 1933 and 1945 and may well influence the way we think about that experience. Studying these events may also help to promote responsible citizenship. (p. 109)

Pupils learning about the Holocaust touch upon the rawest, most sensitive and controversial aspects of any history curriculum: man's inhumanity to man. The Holocaust becomes directly relevant to most pupils with both the widening of its study to *geographically* include their home countries, i.e. across Nazi Europe and further afield and *chronologically* to include the post war period and later.

Having outlined the arguments about extending Holocaust education to the period after 1945, Geoffrey then examines in often harrowing detail two cases: 'The Jewish Experience in Poland 1945–46' and 'The fate of the perpetrators.' A focus of the Polish account is a continuation of anti-Jewish violence including widespread anti-semitism that at its extreme included large-scale murder. Ethnic Poles killed some 1500 Polish Jews in the fifteen months after the end of World War II in Europe. In the south-eastern town of Kielce in July 1946 Poles slaughtered 42 Jews in a pogrom. A related issue was the role of the Catholic church during this period: with minor exceptions its members continued to be hostile and anti-Semitic and failed totally to respond pastorally to the continued often deadly persecution of Poland's Jewish population.

> Learning about the origins of this pogrom [Kielce] can help students deepen their understanding of stereotypes. They are certainly able to recognise the potential longevity and devastating consequences of a hostile ethnic stereotype ... Most importantly, students should learn from this pogrom that venomous stereotypes can lead to carnage despite their being wholly without foundation…

> In so far as responsible citizenship involves reflecting critically on the society in which one lives, knowledge of the Kielce pogrom might have the added benefit of prompting students to think about why it is that some people are willing to believe completely unfounded rumours. It might further prompt them to ask how society can help such people become less gullible. The stereotype linking Jews to Communism was rather different in that it did contain a kernel of truth; a number of assimilated Jews being prominent members of the Ministry of Public Security. That said, the danger inherent in any ethnic stereotype is that those exposed to it will assume that what is true of some members of the targeted group is true of all of them and consequently, any action based on the stereotype will likely punish the innocent along with the guilty. Students should be made aware of this danger. The Kielce pogrom highlights it graphically as there were a number of children among the dead. (pp. 112-13).

The paper's section on 'The fate of the perpetrators' highlights the massive extent to which those responsible for the Holocaust escaped trial. The reasons were multiple: it was in the national interest of the western allied countries, mainly Britain and the United States, to turn a blind eye:

> The prosecution of leading war criminals by the Allies began in Nuremberg in November 1945 and continued either at Nuremberg or elsewhere in Germany until around 1948, by which time the Cold War, having eclipsed all other political concerns, was dictating a change in priorities. The Allies needed to strengthen West Germany economically, militarily and in other ways and this required a substantial reduction in the number of prosecutions. By the early 1950s they had effectively stopped.[3] For the Allies, perceived national interest took precedence over the quest for justice and this meant that many former Nazis were allowed to return to their previous jobs in the armed forces, in the judiciary, in industry and in other areas of the economy. The Allies actually went further and not only abandoned the search for justice but began actively to recruit those they knew or suspected of having committed war crimes (Cesarani, 2001). In particular, the United States sought scientists, such as Wernher von Braun, to work on the country's space programme and to develop its nuclear weapons capacity. Braun had not only joined the Nazi party but had been a member of the SS and had employed slave labour to produce V2 rockets. Such hypocritical behaviour on the part of the United States, prosecuting some Nazi war criminals at the same time as granting American citizenship to those they considered useful, should make students question just how seriously the Allies took the search for justice after the war and how much they ever really cared about the suffering of Jews and other victim groups under the Nazis. (p. 114)

Geoffrey's paper is a sobering illustration of how the teaching of a sensitive, contentious and controversial issue can play a key part in pupils' political literacy and citizenship education. The final section of his paper illustrates this through two major examples: the Kielce pogrom and the role of the Catholic Church:

> The background to the Kielce pogrom enables them to deepen their understanding of racism by familiarising themselves with one of its key components, namely ethnic stereotyping. They are able to learn about both the durability and extensive influence of such stereotypes and also about their destructive potential even when lacking a grain of truth. Moreover, the pogrom serves to remind students of how social institutions can foster and perpetuate ethnic stereotypes and the danger of them doing so. I refer specifically to the role of the Catholic Church in associating Jews with communism and the consequences of this association in terms of the suffering caused to innocent and guilty alike. (p. 116).

An intriguing aspect of **Learning From The Aftermath Of The Holocaust** is that it highlights the importance of content, i.e. substantive, historical knowledge, in the historical dimension of Citizenship Education. However, while content is vital, it needs to be handled in the context of developing pupils ability to think historically so as to engage critically with sensitive, contentious and controversial issues reaching their own judgment grounded with evidential justification. Without this, History Education is merely propaganda – brain washing, a contentious and controversial statement.

The final paper in this edition, Anastasia Vakaloudi's **From The Holocaust To Recent Mass Murders And Refugees. What Does History Teach Us?**, pp. 119-149, mirrors the perspective Geoffrey Short's paper 'Learning From The Aftermath Of The Holocaust' as well as drawing together many of the strands that the other five papers address. Anastasia reports on the rationale and initial planning phase of a four-month project on the Holocaust with twelve three-hour sessions. The pedagogy involves pupils in four workshops that actively develops their historical thinking

through role play, discussion, debate and the critical investigation and evaluation of sources and using the evidence to inform their own interpretation, conclusions and the narratives they create to understand topics. The four workshops are:

Workshop 1: Introduction To The Holocaust, Analyzing Propaganda
Workshop 2: Resistance To The Nazism
Workshop 3: Testimony Of The Living
Workshop 4: Cases Of Recent Mass Atrocities – The Refugees
The paper's appendix contains full details of each of the workshops with resources, activities and all ancillary information.

Anastasia's paper's abstract succinctly summarises the Holocaust project's main features:

Through studying cases of genocide and mass atrocities, students can come to realize that: democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected; silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can – however unintentionally – perpetuate the problems. Because the objective of teaching any subject is to engage the intellectual curiosity of students in order to inspire critical thought and personal growth, when we teach History, it is helpful to structure lesson plans aiming not only to educate students about particular topics such as the Holocaust and global mass atrocities but to help them prevent possible future atrocities.

Through the historical analysis we should be engaged to the moral and anti-racist education. Thus the principal aim of the educational project that we propose is to explore secondary school students' knowledge / understanding of the Holocaust and recent mass atrocities. However, we are also interested in examining how knowledge / understanding is related to other issues, such as students' attitudes towards out-groups or their beliefs in a "just world".

Students attend various workshops, see Appendix, Workshops 1-4, pages 126-49, plotting refugee journeys, investigating why refugees are migrating, analyzing stories written by survivors, studying Nazi propaganda means aiming to fuel bigotry and hatred, watching photos and film scripts on topics of Holocaust and recent mass atrocities, and looking at the legacy of the Holocaust. The aim is to help students draw links between historical events and the world today. Thus the Holocaust is linked with the recent mass atrocities, the refugees in Greece, the victims and survivors of different genocides from the past to the present day.

Anastasia frames her paper according to three questions for teachers to address:

1. Why should students learn the history of Holocaust, about various genocides and refugees?
2. What are the most significant lessons students should learn from studying the Holocaust?
3. Why is a particular reading, image, document, or film an appropriate medium for conveying the topics that someone wishes to teach?

Central to teaching the Holocaust, echoing the themes that Geoffrey Short illuminates are seven key points: that students should consider, appreciate and understand:

I   *democratic institutions and values* are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected;
II   *silence and indifference to the suffering of* others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can – however unintentionally – perpetuate these problems;

III   *it is vital to know that the roots and ramifications of* prejudice, racism, and stereotyping can be present in any society;

IV   *development of an awareness of* the value of pluralism and an acceptance of diversity.

V   *the dangers of* remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent to the oppression of others;

VI   *thinking about the use and abuse of* power as well as the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.

VII *how a modern nation can utilize* its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide;

VIII *knowledge and understanding of topics such* as the Holocaust and similar global mass atrocities both help in dealing with current such atrocities and the prevention of future ones.

The *Editorial Review* opened with a trope that History Education should perhaps focus **as much upon the education of teachers as of their pupils**. Anastasia places at the heart of her project teacher orientation – the beliefs, values, attitudes and conceptual understanding that informs and shapes pedagogy. Central is an awareness of what empathy is and the role it can play in developing understanding – something the *Review Article* raised when discussing Everardo Perez-Manjarrez's 'History On Trial' The Role Of Moral Judgment In The Explanation Of Controversial History'. The ability to understand events from the perspectives of the agents involved – the historical actors – is crucial. This engagement with their mind-sets requires the affective, emotional understanding of things through their eyes, their perspectives as well as the cognitive ability to analyse the issues, events, causes and consequences that affected their values, beliefs and behaviours. This is what pupils trained to think historically should be able to do – a way of thinking that Anastasia relates to the current problems and difficulties facing Greece on the periphery of the Middle East witches' cauldron of civil, ethnic, tribal, communal, sectarian and religious warfare and mass migration. While the project's substantive dimension is the Holocaust and recent mass atrocities:

> … we are also interested in examining how knowledge / understanding is related to other issues, such as students' attitudes towards out-groups or their beliefs in a "just world". Students attend various workshops plotting refugee journeys, investigating why refugees are migrating, analyzing stories written by survivors, studying Nazi propaganda posters aiming to fuel bigotry and hatred, watching photos and film scripts on topics of Holocaust and recent mass atrocities, and looking at the legacy of the Holocaust. The aim is to help students draw links between historical events and the world today. Thus the Holocaust is linked with the mass atrocities in Middle East, Asia and Africa, the various refugees in Greece, the victims and survivors of different genocides from the past to the present day.

Conclusion

Editing IJHLTR 14.2 has been a fascinating experience. The overall themes and trends that the seven paper suggest provide a major justification for History Education – the temporal dimension of both formal and informal curricula that aim to prepare pupils for an active, positive citizenship role. Standing back from IJHLTR 14.2's seven papers from a geographically diverse range of countries and societies one message screams out: crucially important is the overall **academic historical education** as well as the professional development of teaches of history. Without teachers understanding what historical thinking is and entails they will be locked in a pedagogy of the past that supports zenophobic nationalism that produces closed minds that easily lead to civil conflict, oppression, atrocity, war and even genocide.

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This edition reviews both John Fines & Jeanette Coltham's Educational Objective and Peter Rogers New History pamphlets and their significance for History Education

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ARE HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS IMPORTANT TO HISTORY TEACHERS? SOME FINDINGS FROM A QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW STUDY IN AUSTRIA

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Abstract

This article presents some findings of a qualitative interview study with 42 Austrian history teachers, conducted in the framework of an on-going three-year research project (2015–2018) funded by the Austrian Science Fund. The study – entitled "Competence and Academic Orientation in History Textbooks (CAOHT)" – investigates history education in Austria. This article first sets out the theoretical framework of the study, which is the model of historical thinking competencies for the subject "History, Social Studies and Civic Education" in Austria. The second half of the article presents some aspects of the research design of the interview study and some findings with respect to the importance of historical thinking competencies for Austrian teachers. It will be asked whether the paradigm shift to historical thinking competencies executed in history education research plays a role in the beliefs of Austrian teachers.

Keywords:

Austria, Historical consciousness, Historical thinking competencies, History education, History teachers, History Textbooks, Quantitative and Qualitative research, Qualitative expert interviews, Research design

Introduction

Despite some popular 'history wars' about the purpose, content and form of history education in recent years (see Peterson, 2016; Taylor & Guyver, 2012; Evans, 2010), the development of historical thinking competencies 'has emerged as a primary goal of history education' (Levisohn, 2015, p. 1, see also Wineburg, 2001; Andrews & Burke, 2007; Seixas & Morton, 2013). More than just overcoming rote learning, the orientation on historical thinking has meant a real paradigm shift in history education. History learning is now understood as the development of students' abilities to think historically, a concept that challenges the conventional idea of using history to introduce the next generation into accepted national master narratives (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 89). Historical thinking skills also have dominated the discussion about history education in Germany (see Barricelli & Gautschi, 2012; Körber, Schreiber & Schöner, 2007 among many others) and Austria (e.g. Kühberger, 2009) in the last decade. Generally speaking, it can be stated that at least in history education research, historical learning is nowadays primarily seen as the introduction of pupils into a 'style of thinking' concerning the 'flexible (lively and fluid) application' (Borries, 2006, p. 43) of knowledge, rather than mainly being about the accumulation of positivist encyclopaedia contents. This can definitely be said for the area of history education research. In this context, some empirical research in Austria already exists (Kühberger, 2014a, 2014b, Pichler, 2016a, 2016b), although until now there is hardly any empirical evidence about what teachers think about this. Do they consider the teaching of historical thinking in schools as important? Above all, it depends upon the teachers and their attitudes towards historical thinking, namely whether it is really developed in classrooms. Therefore, this question needs to be addressed.

In this article, some findings will be presented that were gained within a qualitative interview study with 42 teachers in Austria in the framework of the Competence and Academic Orientation in History Textbooks (CAOHT) project,[1] which investigates historical thinking and textbook use in history lessons in Austria using a sequential qualitative-quantitative triangulation design. History lessons are investigated with participant observation, quantitative surveys for teachers and pupils and qualitative interviews with teachers. This article only refers to the interview study and will provide some answers to the question of how important historical thinking/historical competencies are in the minds of Austrian teachers.

Theoretical framework – the model of historical thinking competencies FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein

The scientific background of the curriculum for "History, Social Studies and Civic Education"[2] in Austria is an elaborated concept of historical thinking by the international researcher group FUER Geschichtsbewusstsein. The history education researcher Christoph Kühberger played a major role in the introduction of this model into the Austrian context. His widely read and cited book Kompetenzorientiertes historisches und politisches Lernen (Kühberger, 2009) provides the theoretical background for the historical thinking competencies that teachers are supposed to develop in their history lessons in Austria according to the curriculum since 2008. The FUER model traces back to the theoretical work of Danto (1968), Rüsen (1983), as well as other authors who influenced the concept of 'historical consciousness' (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme 2015, p. 89). Historical consciousness is seen as 'a complex interaction of interpretations of the past, perceptions of the present and expectations towards the future' (Bracke, Flaving, Köster, & Zulsdorf-Kersting, 2014, p. 23). One central element is the connection of the past with the present and future, namely the critical reflection about the fact that history always means personal orientation in the present and enables future actions. In the first decade of the 21st century, the FUER group operationalised historical consciousness and created a competence model with four dimensions. The underlying concept of these dimensions is a procedural understanding of historical thinking developed by Hasberg and Körber (2003) (see also Kölbl & Konrad, 2015; Körber, 2011).

The first dimension 'competence in questioning' reflects the ability to devise historical questions as well as detecting and assessing the questions that lie behind historical narratives with which one is dealing. The second dimension is called 'methodological competence', which comprises being able to synthetically construct historical narratives or historical statements from given information such as historical sources or historical representations ('re-construction-competence'). Moreover, it is also about the skill to analytically reflect and assess given historical statements and work out what 'lies behind them', or how, why and with what intention they were constructed ('de-construction-competence'). The third dimension is called 'orientation competence' and is connected to the present and future in the above-mentioned sense, reflecting the ability to relate history, insights and judgements about the past to one's own life in the present (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 93). Peter Seixas labels this focus on uses of the past for orientation in the present as the 'strength' of the Austrian-German model (Seixas 2015, p. 4). The fourth dimension of historical competence is called 'Sachkompetenz' and is difficult to translate into English. One could say that it is – among other things – the "competence of notions and

2 Since the subject is called 'History' by teachers and pupils, in what follows we will use the term 'history'.

structures" insofar that it contains all concepts and categories that are used to structure the historical universe (knowledge about patterns of periodisation or epochs, of sectors – political, economic, cultural, micro-and macro history, etc.). However, this dimension contains much more than that; rather, it encompasses all of what is called 'second-order concepts' in the English-speaking discourse, e.g. the 'six big historical thinking concepts' of Seixas and Morton (2013) belong to this area (see Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 93-94). Moreover, skills of gaining access to achieve, the analysation and interpretation of documents and ordering information chronologically belong to the dimension of 'Sachkompetenz' (Körber & Meyer-Hamme, 2015, p. 94). In this context, Austrian contributions about historical knowledge and concepts include Kühberger (2012) and Kühberger (2016).

Thus, there exists a well-elaborated and in part highly complex theory about historical thinking in history education research in the Austrian-German context. However, the question that arises in this matter is whether these theories really inspire the practice of history lessons in our schools. There has been strong criticism about educational sciences, claiming – among other things – that the findings were often too theoretical and irrelevant to schools (Whitty, 2006, p. 161). Building history education research more strongly an empirical basis would allow establishing better connections between research and the practice. As Kaestle (1993) puts it:

For the discipline of history education research, it is important to truly understand the practice and know what teachers think about history education and historical thinking. Based on this knowledge, it will be possible to think about what needs to be done to greater inspire school practice and how to inform Initial Teacher Education and Education policies. Especially in a time where a paradigm shift was proceeding in theory, it seems important to know whether this has already arrived in the classrooms.

Researching historical thinking in the history classroom – the CAOHT Project

The question of what history education is really like in Austrian schools and what role historical thinking plays in day-to-day history lessons is currently being investigated with qualitative and quantitative empirical methods in a project called Competence and Academic Orientation in History Textbooks (CAOHT). Within the framework of the CAOHT project, a sequential qualitative/ quantitative triangulation design is used to gather rich data about history education in Austria, with a special focus on textbook use and historical thinking.

There are two approaches, namely a qualitative and quantitative one. The qualitative study has two strands that seek to provide two complementary and meaningful perspectives on the object of study. On the one hand, ethnographic participant observations took place in 50 history lessons from different teachers from lower-secondary schools in Vienna. On the other hand, following the participant observations, the teachers are interviewed in qualitative expert interviews, in accordance with Bogner et al. (2009 & 2014). The findings of the two strands of the qualitative study provided the foundation for those hypotheses to be tested by the subsequent quantitative survey with pupils (n=1000) and teachers (n=250) (see fig. 1). This study is currently (fall 2016) being carried out in Austrian schools. The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Between-Method-Triangulation – about Triangulation, see recently Flick 2016) will allow for a more comprehensive record, description and evidence-based explanation of history education and will provide a 'detailed and balanced picture' (Altrichter, Posch & Somekh, 2008, 147) concerning history lessons in Austria.
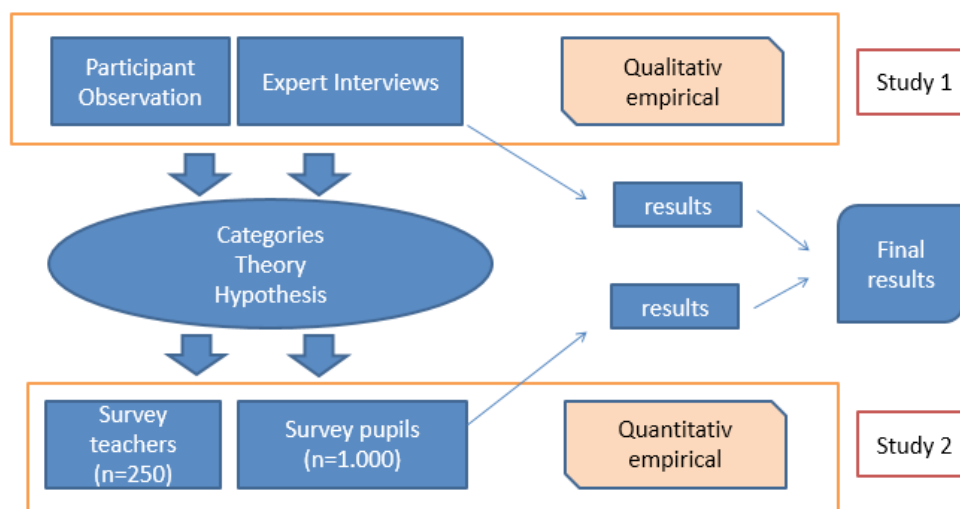
Fig. 1. Expert interviews in the framework of a triangulation design in the CAOHT project

Within the qualitative empirical study 1 (fig.1), to date 42 interviews have been conducted with teachers in Vienna regarding their approaches to history lessons, historical thinking and their use of teaching and learning materials. Furthermore, participant observations in history lessons of 35 teachers have been conducted thus far. Since we are working with elements of the Grounded Theory, the interpretation of interview data and the research in the field alternate. Accordingly, it is necessary to return back into the field when new questions arise in the process of interpretation of the qualitative data.[3] In the process of interpreting interview data to date, some findings could already be made, which will be presented in this article.

The expert interviews with teachers

30 interviews with female and 12 with male teachers were conducted in February-June 2016 in Vienna. All interviewees are teaching in lower-secondary schools (pupil generally from age ten to 14). The participants were recruited using two approaches. (1) With the permission of the school authorities, an email was written to principals of schools with a request for the participation of history teachers in the project. Advance communication clarified the purpose of the study, which is essentially to know how history teaching is conducted in practice. Therefore, we communicated that we wanted to interview history teachers and make observations in their lessons, whereby it is our intention to learn from the practice. Principles passed on the email to their history teachers, some of whom volunteered to participate in the study. Some principals also directly asked teachers who they believed to represent the school in a good way to participate. Most of the interviewees were recruited in this first way. (2) Some participants were found through the help of gatekeepers, mostly through persons who work in initial teacher education and who passed on our request to teachers who they knew. Care was taken to include young teachers with little experience as well as experienced teachers. All interviews were semi-structured face-to-face interviews in the school

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3 We are guided here by the principle of openness in qualitative research. At the time when this article was submitted (Nov. 2016), we had already conducted a certain number of interviews, although since there were a few more questions that arouse during the interpretation of the data, some further interviews and observations in the field were already planned.

or institution in which the teachers worked. The interviews were generally conducted in a quiet room in the school after the participant observation in a lesson that the interviewee gave. The interviews were up to 70 minutes in duration and they were recorded and fully transcribed. They yielded rich texture data on teachers' experiences and beliefs with respect to history education and were analysed with MaxQDA.

Nearly all teachers were asked the following question at the beginning of the interview[4]: 'What is important for you concerning history education in schools?' For this article, only the answers to this starting question will be taken into consideration. When teachers are asked this question, they will tell you the things that first come to their minds and it is likely that these are the things that are really important to them. Accordingly, in order to ascertain how important historical thinking competencies are for teachers, the analysis of this data seemed promising to us.

Some results from qualitative interview data

Generally speaking, in the discussion about history education a dichotomy of two concepts can be found: a focus on either content (content orientation) or thinking or skills (competence orientation). In the words of Chapman (2015) – who is talking about an English context here, although this can be generalised – recent discussions of history curriculum and education research sometimes:

> […] have tended to be structured through overdrawn dichotomies - between 'content' and 'skills', between 'traditional' and 'progressive' and between 'child-centred' and 'subject-centred' pedagogies. (p. 31)

Interview data supports Chapman´s idea that these are 'overdrawn dichotomies' since it is not possible to make clear distinctions between content- and skill-oriented teachers. Chapman highlighted the 'emptiness of these oppositions', arguing that:

> […] these oppositions present us with fallacious choices that restrict options to 'either / or' where, in reality, more complex choices, including 'both / and', are possible and desirable and, very probably, inevitable. (Chapman, 2015, p. 31).

The analysis of the interview data shows that for almost all teachers 'both /and' plays a role. Generally speaking, at least theoretically teachers are against rote learning of dates and facts. Interviewees position their history teaching in opposition to an earlier time when – according to them – dates and facts were the heart of history teaching in schools. As teachers said in the interviews:

> Yes, somehow teaching [in earlier times] was designed in a way that either you fall asleep, or then, yes you just learned for the exam, and for the exam you had to learn as much as possible by heart in order to be able to pass the exam.[5]

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4 Most of the time, this was the first question that we asked. Only when teachers began to talk about relevant topics concerning History education when they were asked to introduce themselves was the line of thought of the interviewee followed to avoid disturbing the flow of speech.
5 In the new curriculum for History, Social Studies and Civic Education of 2016, the term 'historical thinking' is found at the very beginning of the document, whereas in the 2008 curriculum the term cannot be found, despite already being a competence-oriented curriculum.

> What shall they [pupils] learn? Let´s start with what they shall not learn. They shall not learn, in my opinion, this dead knowledge about history, because that is not useful in any way.

Teachers often expressed their dislike of 'dead knowledge'. Nevertheless, many teachers explicitly stress the importance of teaching some content:

> I think it is good, when they have some, I always say something like a skeleton. So, yes, they need to know a few things [...] I never ask for year dates, because this is relatively unimportant for me, I must say sincerely.

> I think, completely without dates and facts it won´t work. This is a basis. We cannot discuss them away, I think, this wouldn´t correspond to the subject. But this is far from being all. And it is also not the only thing that matters.

Many teachers said in the interviews that content is not the most important thing in their history teaching, even though it holds some relevance. Thus, the questions is what do teachers want pupils to know and be able to do? Interestingly, no teacher used the term 'historical thinking' in response to the question about what is important to him/her in history education. This is an interesting finding because from this we can deviate that the term 'historical thinking' plays almost no role in the minds of teachers in Austria, even though in German-speaking history education research historical thinking and historical thinking competencies have been very important topics in recent years (e.g. Mebus & Schreiber, 2005; Schreiber, 2006; Körber, Schreiber & Schöner 2007; Borries, 2008; Kühberger, 2013).

Despite this, data shows that the term 'historical thinking' has not really reached Austrian teachers until now.[6] Historical thinking in the FUER model means – as we saw above – the development of historical competencies. Since 2008, according to the history curriculum the main focus of history education must lie on the development of these competencies. Accordingly, it can be asked whether perhaps teachers said that historical competencies are important to them and by saying so they would implicitly mean historical thinking. However, interestingly, no teacher answered in response to the first interview question about what is important in history education that these are historical competencies. Since the term 'historical competencies' is very common in Austria at present, the fact that teachers generally did not mention it is a remarkable result.

Can this be interpreted in a way to suggest that historical thinking processes do not play a role for these teachers? A deeper analysis of the data will prove that this is not the case. We argue that the cause for the aforementioned phenomena is as follows: a competence orientation was also introduced in other subjects. There was a real paradigm shift that affected many areas with which teachers deal, relating to the so-called 'Pisa-shock' in 2001, [PISA Programme of International Student Assessment] which caused profound uncertainty about the effectiveness of the education system in the German-speaking regions. During this time, teachers in Austria were often criticised in the media and political discourse because compared to pupils in other countries German and Austrian students scored below the international average. This fact led to demands to focus not so much on content compared with domain-specific competencies, and competence models for different subjects – including for history – were elaborated (see Kölbl & Konrad 2015, p. 24). Many teachers now have a problem with competence orientation in general because

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6 It is supposed that the interviewee meant 'world' here, since in the classes of this teacher there are pupils from all over the world and those from Europe are a minority.

among other reasons they have the impression that it was 'prescribed from people from above' after the teachers failed the PISA test.

In the interviews, when we asked teachers what they thought about competence orientation in history education, many teachers offered answers showing their antipathy towards the concept, and we argue here that this is mainly due to the general antipathy towards the concept that derives from the aforementioned situation. Thus, from the perspective of history education research, it is a challenge that historical thinking and the term 'competence orientation' (in history) means the same in the Austrian context and that accordingly historical thinking suffers from the negative reputation that competence orientation currently has, generally speaking.

The interview data shows that three educational objectives are – apart from learning content in the aforementioned way – important to teachers:

1) Fostering critical thinking;
2) Enabling an understanding of the present by dealing with the past;
2) Enabling participation in the political discourse.

(1) The paradox is that all of these objectives are very close to some objectives of the competence oriented curriculum. Critical thinking and the participation in the historical culture strongly relates to the competence of questioning and methodological competencies (de-construction and re-construction competencies). Understanding the present by dealing with the past relates to orientation competencies. This means that the discourse about competence orientation is obviously not adopted or often even opposed by teachers, while the same teachers consider the thinking processes required in competence-based history teaching as important.

> Yes, for me actually the thing with the critical, independent thinking is important. That young people come out who have an opinion on their own and as a first reaction, when they hear something, they always say firstly 'one moment'. I mean in the sense of being a bit mistrustful.

> Yes, I wish that they become human beings able to think critically and that they don´t swallow everything that is presented to them.

> These two teachers are describing an attitude that is needed for de-construction competence of historical thinking, even though the two of them did not know that they were talking about historical thinking. Furthermore, the interviewee of the second quotation does not know at all what historical competencies are, as the interview data shows.

(2) Historical thinking is also – as we have seen – about orientation in the present by dealing with the past. This aspect generally plays an important role in the interviews. Teachers generally see that history must hold relevance for the present in a form whereby pupils understand the present by dealing with the past and that from this basis onwards they orientate their actions in the future:

> For me it is important that they understand connections, yes, I mean, that they recognize and understand connections, namely from things that once were to how it is now and how it can be in the future. Or how it will be. Yes, this is how I would summarise it, that is the most important thing for me.

> […] that they are able to link the past with the present. This is very important for me, this reference to the present. […] This means that we look, how did the ancient Egyptians or Greeks do it, for example democracy. And how is this nowadays in Austria?

> I want that children – they come from the different parts of Europe – that they understand, why they, perhaps, why their parents tell them, that these are bad, these different ethnic groups and that this always has historical roots that this is born from wars.

(3) Moreover, the importance of the ability to participate in the political discourse was often highlighted in interviews. In a time of increasing radicalism in Austria, these topics seem to play a major role with respect to history teaching. On the one hand, history teaching shall help pupils to participate in the social discourse and integrate into the democratic society being able to judge on their own. On the other hand, history education should help to critically scrutinise developments in society and politics. The aspect of civic education is also sometimes seen as the justification of the subject history in general:

> Civic education is a very, very important part for me. And I think History should always have such a focus. […] Which justification do I have to stand before them and say: Now we will have a look at how it was in the past, whenever. Because there must be a reason for me to do so. Just to say: You have to know it because curricula demands it, because we want it …

> Yes, that they for example, that history education enables children to develop a political competence […] That is very important that the children can integrate themselves in our democratic system in Austria and that they can judge things.

> All this nationalism must for me – when you look at history – be identified as silliness and when children grasp […] that Egyptians influenced the Greek then we don´t need to talk about nationalism. […] When I see the other as something positive […] then I think we can also arrange our living together here a little better.

As we saw, generally speaking, the interviewed history teachers think that learning content is to a certain degree an important factor in history education in schools as a basis to go further. Although historical thinking and historical competencies were not mentioned in the answers to the question regarding what teachers find important in history education, many teachers saw elements that belong to historical thinking as important aspects of history education, namely fostering critical thinking, understanding the present by dealing with the past and participation in political discourse and historical culture. Data showed that the dichotomy of content and skills is a theoretical one. Thus, this chapter will conclude with Chapman (2015):

> 'Either/or' is, then, an unhelpful way of framing pedagogic debate: simplistic binaries are incapable of capturing the knowing and thinking involved in learning. The opposition between 'knowledge' and 'skills' is also clearly inadequate (p. 32).

Limitations of the study

This study draws upon qualitative interviews with a small sample of teachers. Teachers who offer participation in such a study are normally self-confident because otherwise they would not let somebody from a university observe their teaching. Accordingly, it can be supposed that the teachers we talked to may be more reflected in what they are doing and pedagogically more able than others who did not want to participate. Furthermore, it is not possible to deduce from the interview data what teachers are really doing in their history lessons. Nevertheless, when this study is put into the context of the data derived from participant observation of history lessons, it may help to understand in a deeper way what is happening in the field and why.

Discussion and conclusion

As we have seen, there is no such a thing as an ideal "content-oriented" or "competence-oriented" teacher. Generally speaking, teachers believe that both content and competencies are important in history education in schools. Rote learning of dates and facts is generally seen as useless. Contents are seen as an important framework and are especially important in the eyes of teachers when they help to understand developments in the present.

Interestingly, the term 'historical thinking' does not play a role at all for Austrian teachers and many of them do not know what historical competence orientation represents. Nevertheless, many teachers have negative attitudes towards what they believe it to be. On the other hand, generally speaking, some of the thinking processes in the classroom that historical competence orientation requires are seen by them as very important. In response to the question 'Are historical thinking skills important to history teachers in Austria?', it can be said: yes, in part they are important, although many teachers often do not know that what they consider important is part of historical thinking or historical competencies. It is obvious that many aspects of the rich and deep competence model of historical thinking are not considered at all by teachers and many opportunities in this respect are not used.

Thus, it can be said that the paradigm shift has just partly arrived in the minds of teachers. We argue that this may be a reaction to the reaction of the so-called PISA shock that comprised decreeing competence orientation as the solution to improve teaching in Austria. The introduction of competence orientation in general was seen as severe criticism of teachers' performance. Thus, the question should be raised within the German-speaking history education research community concerning how to avoid that negative reputation of the term 'competencies' having negative effects on the reputation of these thinking processes that are called historical thinking. Moreover, we have to ask the question of how to better introduce teachers into historical thinking and how to better convince them of the benefits of the historical thinking approach.

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'HISTORY ON TRIAL' THE ROLE OF MORAL JUDGMENT IN THE EXPLANATION OF CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY

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Abstract:

This study discusses the relevance of morality in the explanation of controversial history. It presents a discourse analysis of two representative adolescents' narratives from Mexico and Spain about the 16th century Spanish Conquest of Mexico. The analysis finds that the adolescents' historical explanations interlace personal historical beliefs, moral concerns, and socially constructed values. This analysis shows the common discourses and moral judgments that allow the participants to make sense of the Conquest, both as a moral and historical issue. The findings highlight the three main functions of moral judgment in the participants' historical explanations: justification of colonization, assignment of blame, and normalization of violence. Such findings suggest the strong influence of moral judgments in the adolescents' historical understanding, as through moral judgments the participants can avoid the violent nature of the event, portraying it as beneficial and acceptable. Finally, the importance of morality to historical understanding is discussed, as well as the implications for teaching history.

Keywords:

History, Morality, History Education, Historical Narratives, Discourse Analysis, Moral Judgment

Introduction

What is at stake in making sense of history? As researchers have found, the answer is first and foremost located within a moral framework (Kello 2016; Kinloch 1998; Llingworth 2000; Salmons 2001; Yeager, Foster, Maley, Anderson & Morris III, 1998). The moral significance of history was acknowledged relatively recently, although by few scholars and not without criticism (Ali, 2011; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; White, 1975/2014). This perspective involves three substantial facts about history as a discipline: that the main issues in historical research are functionally moral; that historians' intentions stem from their cultural background and personal morals; and that history, like any other narrative, is a moral account in itself (Koselleck, 1985/2003; Salmons, 2001; White, 2009).

The foregoing has important implications for the teaching of history. Although there is little research in this respect (Llingworth, 2000; Salmons, 2010) there are lively educational debates providing important insights. On one side, scholars such as Llingworth (2000) stress the valuable interdependence between morality and history in education. He claims that morality can help foster the development of historical thinking, as moral development is linked to the process of complex historical understanding. On the other side, some scholars resist recognizing the value of morality in the teaching of history, as it could foster historical misunderstandings, and hinder the development of students' historical thinking (Denos & Case, 2006; Peck & Seixas, 2008). Despite this controversy, there is agreement on the fact that history teachers' practices are permeated by moral values that transcend their own knowledge (Llingworth, 2000). They are part of a society with a specific moral system, and the historical narratives they teach are heavily influenced by societal morals.

In this respect, there is also agreement on the relevance of the narrative association between history and morality in how people understand the world. Both history and morality are experiences of life mediated and interconnected by cultural narratives. Several studies have highlighted the importance of narratives in the representation of past and present experiences, and their role in structuring moral life (Day, 1991; Day & Tappan, 1996; Haste & Abrahams, 2008; Tappan & Brown, 1989). In this sense, as people narrate history they express their morality (Gergen & Straub, 2005); thus, the construction of personal historical narratives results in the recollection of historical facts, and more importantly in the sense-making of the past (Bruner, 2004; Garro & Mattingly, 2000). This sense-making of history involves the construction of narratives that in accounting for past events, provides meanings and understanding that fulfill personal and collective needs regarding emotions, morality, and identity (Haste & Abrahams, 2008; Somers, 1994). The present study seeks to address earlier understudied approaches to history and morality from a narrative perspective, aiming to bridge the gap between the two fields.

Historical narratives: past and morality in the construction of collective meaning

In pursuing collective meaning and understanding, societies make use of the past as a strong psychological and sociocultural glue. It is represented as the common social foundation and mediated by historical narratives. Likewise, in most countries these accounts are integrated into one master narrative intentionally constructed to articulate the events significant to a particular culture (Wertsch, 2000). The master narrative is mainly taught in schools as national history, and provides students an explanation of their nation's origins in addition to guidance for ethically integrating into its society (Billig, 1995; Westheimer, 2007).

Several studies have analyzed the historical narratives available to youth in their educational environments by attempting to draw connections with the students' historical understanding (Barton, 2012; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Carretero & Voss, 2012; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000; Wineburg, Mosborg, & Porat, 2001). This research also provides insight into young learners' beliefs and judgments about history. The findings show the influence of morality on students' historical explanations; among students from a broad range of age groups, historical explanations are notably centered more on intentions and judgments than structural reasoning (Carretero, Jacott, & López-Manjón, 1995). There is also evidence of moral responses in students' explanations of historical figures. For them, historical characters portray particular societal values, such as heroism and patriotism, and their actions are judged from that perspective (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

These findings manifest the value of analyzing the morality underlying student historical explanations. This is relevant for historical education, as the development of historical understanding entails, for example, that students acknowledge that the ideas, beliefs, and values of the people of the past developed from specific historical contexts; however, little research has been conducted in this respect (Foster & Yeager, 1998; Lee & Shemilt, 2011; Yeager, et.al., 1998). Also, few studies have analyzed student historical narratives as a process of engagement and sense-making, rather than repetition of grand historical narratives; such studies examine the personal construction of history as a process that calls not only for knowledge but for meanings, emotions, identity, and morality (Bermudez, 2012; Hammack, 2008). In light of the scarcity of research on the above, the present study aims to discuss how morality functions in students' historical accounts. For this purpose, analysis of the structure of historical narratives can cast light on the interconnections between history and morality.

The structural characteristics of historical narratives

To date, there is a vast literature analyzing the relations between history and narrative, and the implication of these relations for history education (Bruner, 2010; Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Garro & Mattingly, 2000; Hammack, 2011; Jenkins, 2003; Lorenz, 1998; Peck & Seixas, 2008; Pieters, 2000; Rudrum, 2005; White, 2009). This literature points out that history transcends mere factual knowledge and civic remembrances. It is instead a discipline with its own scientific method, using serious holistic procedures to validate, analyze, and interpret archives and other sources historians have at hand (Iggers, 2005). These studies state that narrative is the most effective vehicle historians use to structure their explanations of the past (Ankersmit & Kellner, 2013; Munslow, 2007). In this sense, history is disseminated through historical narratives which represent validated interpretations of the past, socially contextualized and situated within a particular moral system (Chartier, 2011).

The above statements are part of a vivid debate on the relations between history and narrative (Carrard, 2015). Here the intention is not to engage in an exhaustive discussion of this debate, but rather to use it to frame the study's analysis and findings. In line with the above statements and different history education studies, especially in the field of sociocultural psychology (Carretero & Bermudez, 2012; Barton & Levstik, 2004), it is considered that historical narrative is the most successful cultural tool for transmitting historical disciplinary knowledge to people (Werstch, 2000). It provides historical explanations, collective identity, and conveys normative values (Haste, 2004). Historical narrative is also the most effective artifact students use to makes sense of history by understanding the past and its implications in the present. On this basis, the present study posits that there are three main structural characteristics that determine the global functioning of historical narratives: the framework of narrative patterns; the discursive articulation; and the narrative's moral fabric.

The framework of narrative patterns enables insight into how meaning is structured. These patterns are schematic templates that mediate both the representation of historical events and their social significance (Wertsch, 2008); they also structure cultural accounts conveying common historical motifs and values. For instance, studies conducted in different countries show that in students' national historical narratives, there are common narrative patterns such as anti-colonial struggle; the birth of the nation is depicted through the historical motif of the pursuit of freedom, which is guided by values such as bravery, courage, and loyalty (Carretero, 2011; Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). Likewise, patterns of values are attributed to particular historical characters, and their actions are morally judged (Carretero, Lopez-Manjon & Jacott, 1997).

The second salient characteristic is the discursive articulation of the narrative. Several studies illustrate the array of discourses involved in the explanation of a historical event, and suggest the moral values inherent to each discourse. For instance, the explanation of the nation's origins invokes multiple discourses: firstly, there is a patriotic discourse explaining the significance of battles that were fought for national liberation (Carretero, 2011); and secondly, a threat discourse that creates the figure of a foreign enemy who endangers the country (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). Both discourses are often accompanied by a gender discourse that portrays the nation as a caring mother, nurturing her children and expecting the same nurturance in return (Mayer, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Hence, while people may not be historically accurate, these interconnected discourses provide them with compelling explanations.

The foregoing also shows that there are different moral values associated with historical narratives, such as heroism, respect, defense, and care. Although not all are explicit, every narrative has an implicit moral subtext. Studies have shown that any historical narrative is rooted in the context

and worldview of its construction (Koselleck, 1985/2003; White, 2009). Therefore, the historical facts and characters in a historical narrative, as well as the valuations of these, mirror a specific group's moral system and intentions (Blatz & Ross, 2009; Levstik, 1995). The latter refers to the moral fabric of the historical narratives, the web of implicit and explicit moral values and judgments underlying people's historical accounts. Although this structural characteristic has been acknowledged, there is a lack of research on the function of moral judgments in historical explanations and its relevance for the teaching of history.

Study

The above theoretical discussion raises important reflections on the ways morality and history blend together in understanding of the past. These concern the type of cultural narratives available for interpreting the social world, but most importantly the personal construction of historical understanding and morality. The latter has not been fully explored yet; moreover, some studies even indicate that morality can be an obstacle to the development of historical understanding, while few suggest the opposite (Denos & Case, 2006; Lee & Ashby, 2001; Seixas & Peck, 2004; Von Borries, 1994).

The present paper's focus is not on whether morality hinders or benefits cognition. It also does not aim to find trends or make generalizations about students' morality in the explanations of history. Rather, this study focuses on the possible roles of morality in the sense-making of history. It specifically analyzes the functions of moral judgments in the explanation of common history of students from different countries. To this end, Spanish and Mexican adolescents' historical narratives of the Conquest of Mexico are examined. This historical event was selected due to its relevance for both countries: it is the core topic in their common history and one of the main themes in their school curriculums, with lively and often prejudiced disputes about the consequences of Spanish colonialism in Mexico taking place among the people of both countries.

Instrument design and implementation

The study was conducted through an individual semi-structured interview about the Conquest of Mexico of 1521. Instrument design involved a pilot interview, based on an examination of the most frequently occurring curricula on the topic in both countries. This examination included the contents of these curricula used by the participants of this study. The contents are mainly chronological descriptions of the encounters and battles between cultures, depictions of various historical figures, and a few conclusions regarding the effects of the colonial encounter for both sides (Perez-Manjarrez, in press). A group of four experts in teaching history and educational methodology assessed and validated this pilot interview. Four adolescents, two per country, participated in the pilot interview.

Afterwards, a final semi-structured interview consisting of fifteen questions was designed to address six topics the students showed the most interest in during the pilot interview: general representation of the Conquest, its causes, location, characters, war phase, and consequences (see appendix 1). Implementation consisted of the participants' explanation of the six topics, with each asked to delve into their historical knowledge and moral concerns. The present study analyses the data of two interview questions: *How do you imagine the encounter between indigenous and Spaniards?* and *Why did the Conquest take place?*, both of which yielded significant information on the role of morality in historical explanation.

Participants

This paper presents an in-depth case study analysis of two sixteen year-old adolescents from Spain and Mexico. Alex is a Spanish male adolescent from Madrid, Spain, and Michelle is a Mexican female adolescent from Mexico City, Mexico. The two participants share similar middle-class backgrounds. They were enrolled in public schools with similar educational methodologies rooted in students' pro-active learning. Both institutions, in Madrid and in Mexico City, were subject to government evaluation of the students' learning outcomes, obtaining outstanding ratings. Michelle's and Alex's narratives are representative of the findings of a larger discourse analysis study on Mexican and Spanish adolescents' explanations of common controversial history. The results in this larger study show how morality functions in forty adolescents' historical narratives. They often use moral judgments to explain history through common discourses that convey the main circumstances of the Conquest. Alex's and Michelle's narratives include the three main common discourses found in the larger study. They also present a wide range of different discursive tools the forty adolescents use to express their moral valuations of the historical event.

Analysis

This study's methodology is in line with the narrative and sociocultural approach to morality (Day, 1991; Haidt, 2007; Hauser, 2006; Tappan, 1991, 2006a, 2006b) which conceives the self as fundamentally social and dialogical, constructed out of diverse discourses and narratives (Day & Tappan, 1996). In this paradigm, narrativity plays an important role in translating experience into terms easily accessible for others (White, 1980); the analysis of narrative allows for an examination of cultural conventions, social values, and personal concerns and knowledge (Abell, Stokoe & Billing, 2004).

This analysis draws on psychological discourse analysis to examine narratives. Narrative discourse analysis has proven to be very effective in analyzing both the structure of people's accounts, and the discourses through which these are articulated (Edwards & Potter, 1993; Edwards, 2005; Wetherell, 2007). This type of analysis is relevant for this study given that, as several studies show, the social discourses that we engage in provide us with a structure for our personal accounts of the world and ourselves, in addition to moral norms for processing our experiences (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012). The present study proposes a three-stage analysis, using the three structural characteristics of historical narratives, based on three steps of Willig's Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) method (2013: 131-137):

1. The framework of narrative patterns. This stage is carried out as step one of the FDA, identifying the direct and indirect references to the discursive object and the ways these intertwine to construct meaning. This involves analysis of historical references, historical motifs, moral values, and judgments the participants use to discursively construct their representations of the Conquest;

2. The discursive articulation of historical explanations. This is conducted as step two of FDA, analyzing the central topics of the historical event, discursive resources (such as images, description as attribution, and analogies) and the moral judgments the participants draw on to construct the different discourses linking up their historical explanations;

3. The moral fabric of narratives. This is FDA's step three, analysis of the implications of the discourses, namely, what is gained by using these discourses and by what means. This involves examination of the moral actions the participants accomplish by using the discourses, specifically analyzing the functions of moral judgment in the explanation of history.

Results

Narrative patterns: the moral construction of the Conquest
The students mostly construct the Conquest as a moral event, judging the historical actors' supposed personal traits, actions, and intentions. In their explanations, both Michelle and Alex imply that the Conquest was a beneficial process, both morally good and historically understandable. Michelle begins her account by judging the Spanish and the indigenous for supposed obstinacy and arrogance, but subsequently places negative and positive values on each side:

> Initially, I think they were not so different, Indians were kind of stubborn and Spaniards blowhards, haha … But Spaniards were one step ahead … They brought positive changes, I mean, 'cause … Despite being – and not to discriminate – Indians, Indians were very hard working people but wild at times, haha, they had sacrifices and killed each other and someone has to stop that … It doesn't lead to anything good … Imagine what our lives would look like if knights and the white elegant nobles hadn't taken control back then … It would have been a mess, no progress at all! (…)
> *And do you think they all agreed on this?*
> I think it happened because it had to be, it had to happen*.*

Michelle explains the Conquest mainly by invoking moral values and the historical motif of peace and progress. In her account, she highlights what she thinks either fosters or hinders her own culture's historical advancement, and by equating progress to pacification she discursively avoids the Conquest's inherent violence. Direct references to violence are either silenced or set aside in order to morally represent the Conquest as a peace-building process. Michelle morally judges the actors, directly attributing violence and chaos to the indigenous, and indirectly attributing peacefulness and order to the Spaniards. These judgments also allow Michelle to construct the event as something positive and necessary for her country's development. She assesses the event by invoking the argument of the "necessary evil", referring to presumed ethnic inferiority and savagery in describing the indigenous while, by contrast, the actions of the medieval knights and nobles are not described as aggression but rather progress for Mexico.

For his part, Alex focuses the encounter on his own rationalization of why negotiation failed. He places the meeting in a context of peaceful dialogue which, however, breaks off fairly quickly and leads to violence:

> I think that at the beginning everybody was at peace. The Conquerors arrived and tried to dialogue, just to know where the gold was and continue their journey in peace to other lands … Indians, they were calm but suspicious …They didn't want to say where the treasure was, and then they broke the peace and ran to the forest to hide, and then they attacked … cowards! … So the Spaniards had to go after them. They insisted in negotiating but then the Indians attacked, so the Spaniards fought back and ... Indians messed up big time …

Alex explains the Conquest through the historical motif of European pioneer colonialism, described as the quest for gold in unknown lands. He emphasizes the values of fairness, honesty, and peace, as they are the supposed basis for his moral judgments of Spaniards and the indigenous. In referring to the Conquest as a peaceful negotiation that was eventually broken off, he implicitly takes a positive view of Spaniards for being the party fostering honest dialogue, and explicitly condemns the indigenous for misreading the benevolent intention of the conquistadors to peacefully obtain the indigenous' wealth. Finally, it is noteworthy that Alex decides to tell a story of heroic colonization, rather than one of resistance to oppression, especially given that he briefly highlights the indigenous peoples' unwillingness to give up their wealth.

The discourses of conquest: power, language, and culture

As the participants continue elaborating on the Conquest, their accounts take shape in different discourses. Three common discourses were identified, which disclose the three core contexts students place the Conquest's occurrence within.

The naked wood and the fine steel – discourse 1 In this discourse the Conquest is depicted as an issue of power. Alex and Michelle portray the asymmetrical material conditions of indigenous and Spaniards using a discourse that references two discursive images, one of the characters' appearance and another of war armaments. The first one relies on the description and comparison of the physical characteristics the adolescents attribute to the characters, *nudity versus elegance*, and the second pictures both cultures through a contrast in their weaponry – *the wood versus the steel*. Together, they imply the superiority of the Spaniards over the indigenous:

> Well, the Conquest is about the Indians versus the Spaniards … Indians, I am not saying that they had a physical appearance like homo sapiens, but they had the head like, you know, and were naked back then … And the weapons, you see that the indigenous have the sticks and arrows, and the Spaniards have swords, and swords against a stick just … the sword just breaks it in two pieces, man! (Alex)

> I think both would be surprised because the indigenous leader (Moctezuma) would say: "Oh God, who is this? He is tall, white, blond hair, blue eyes ..." and the Spaniard leader (Cortés) would say something like: "What the hell is this? This midget, almost naked, and so … let's smash him!" And of course … I guess that since the Spaniards were carrying best weapons – not firearms, but more advanced things than spears and wood shields, I mean … War was quick ... (Michelle*)*

In the students' narratives the images of weaponry are the most explicit and direct since submission or dominance are correlated with military power. The images of characters' appearance stress dominance and racial stereotypes, as if the indigenous have the appearance of prehistoric humans and thus their submission to people who represent white European ideas of beauty is only natural. These discursive images highly value the Spaniards as superior and more technologically developed, in opposition to the poor value given to the indigenous people. Without directly stating it, Alex and Michelle construct a moral representation of the event by judging the characters based on their appearance and means of war.

The unspoken rules of language – discourse 2 Over the course of the interview, a second discourse emerges representing the Conquest as a consequence of communication problems, in which the role of language is central. The participants consider that the existence or absence of language, on either side, is determinant of the course of events and their consequences. Alex states this with hesitation, going back and forth in his judgments. He claims that the absence of a common language was the main reason for "things to happen"; but finally he implies that communication problems between the two groups were caused by the indigenous' specific language:

> So … I think that it was very easy for the settlers to conquer because they had more weapons … and also on top of all the indigenous did not speak their language either. They did not have the same language so there was no communication (…) I think it's the lack of language, because there was not shared language, then things happen because the indigenous spoke an unknown language and people did not know what to do and what to say. … I believe it

would have been better for the Indians to make a deal, but since they did not speak, there was no way …

Michelle also considers the superiority of the Spanish language as a decisive factor, alleging that with it came the intelligence to plan attacks. She speaks of the Spaniards as carriers of language, highly valuing them as intellectually superior strategists:-

Also, they have strategies, communication to plan the attacks …They were more but most importantly, they had brains, language … The indigenous, although they were a great civilization and built huge pyramids, I think they didn't even speak a language … I guess they used paintings, like painting on walls to communicate with each other, or something …

Michelle hesitates to acknowledge that the indigenous can even talk; she judges Indians as prehistoric and backward, only able to communicate through rock drawings.

The gift of culture – discourse 3

This discourse appears at the end of the students' explanations, grounded in what they think the historical actors' beliefs were and how they assess these actors' respective levels of culture. From the adolescents' perspective, lack or insufficiency of culture determined the fate of both sides at the conclusion of the Conquest. Alex describes how by acquiring the Spanish language after their defeat, the Indians could be civilized and gain culture in contrast to their initial state of wildness:

Man … Mexicans were wild, mindless people like kids with little clothing, babbling, believing in the wind and fire, as if natural forces would solve their problems … That's why they lost … So then, Spaniards inculcate their culture in them 'cuz they require Indians to be made Spanish (...) I think it was better because … dude! It is obvious! The indigenous would have new customs for their own good … They were turned into people …

Alex judges Mexicans to be wild, lethargic beings, lacking culture but possessing backward beliefs which ultimately caused their own defeat. He also thinks that the indigenous' cultural assimilation is positive and morally responsible, since it supposedly gave them civility and Spanish values to would enable them to behave better in society.

For her part, Michelle seems to share Alex's judgment. She recalls that the indigenous had an omen that made them trust in the Spaniards with blind faith, which ultimately lead to their defeat:

I guess the indigenous thought they knew the Spaniards were *coming*, their gods ... to mix and teach them new things ... I mean, I heard in school that the indigenous were very religious, that they worshiped the gods of nature and that Indian legends said that their real gods would arrive from the sea or something … I think their lack of culture, of reasoning, is why they lost and were conquered*.*

Michelle judges the indigenous for their beliefs which, in her view, make them naïve and compliant; she also conveys that backward religiosity is the reason for their submission. To her understanding, it is the indigenous peoples' lack of culture that determined the course of history and resulted in their own colonization.

The moral fabric of the Conquest: The role of moral judgments in historical explanation

In the students' view, the above common discourses articulate coherent explanations of the event. However, each discourse is immersed in a web of moral values and intentions not explicitly stated at first, which lead to questions about the moral fabric of these discourses and its implications. The analysis shows three main functions of the moral judgments in the students' discourses: justification of the course of history and the actions taken by historical actors; assignment of blame for conflict and war; and normalization of the historical consequences.

The Conquest as an inevitable fate

While both students explain the Conquest, they implicitly unfold the morality behind the history they are telling. Both Michelle and Alex legitimize what they are narrating by means of the historical motifs and moral values in their accounts, which serve to justify the Conquest's course and effects.

Alex appeals to moral judgments in the three discourses to justify the Spaniards' victory and its consequences. As seen in the earlier analysis, he constantly judges the indigenous to be cowardly inferiors, something he sees as evident in their armaments, reasoning, culture, and physical appearance. He also positively values and morally excuses the indigenous' assimilation into Spanish culture by describing what he sees as its advantages. These judgments allow him to explicitly portray significant asymmetries between Spaniards and the indigenous, and thereby implicitly justify the ineluctable end of this war. Alex' final thoughts on the causes of the Conquest summarize his judgments:

> Indians had to have brains and think because I think they knew that someday the Spanish were coming, or some people that could be Spanish or American or whatever, but I believe that someday, indigenous knew they were coming, that this would happen, and they had to be prepared. Because I think that when Spaniards conquered America, Mexico, Cuba, and all those territories, it was very easy for the settlers … When Spaniards saw all the Indians who came, Spaniards were prepared for the unexpected, they knew that this was coming …

Here he finally introduces a determinant aspect to historical explanation: fate. This allows him to frame his discourses as the telling of something that was inevitably going to happen, thereby morally justifying colonization, as if it were historical fate for any civilized country, *the Spanish or whoever,* to come and civilize any uncivilized culture, *Mexico, Cuba, or any of those territories.*

Michelle uses similar reasoning to morally justify the Conquest. As noted earlier, she rationalizes that the Conquest was a necessary evil. She justifies it as a civilizing process that brought peace and progress to a society which otherwise would have collapsed in its own violence. Michelle ends this rationalization by praising the supposed benefits of colonization, giving it an unavoidable character: *I think it happened because it had to be, it had to happen.* Furthermore, Michelle legitimizes the Spaniards' victory at the expense of indigenous people by depicting the indigenous as inferior in culture, language, and technology. She extensively elaborates her ideas of ethnic superiority in order to negatively judge the indigenous while highly valuing the Spaniards, for instance in her narrative's emphasis on the "better" appearance and clothing of Spaniards. This allows her to morally excuse Spaniards' actions, ascribing to them the agency of a superior civilization.

Whose fault is it?

When Michelle and Alex justify history, it is by directly attributing agency to specific characters. This attribution is used to excuse, as well as to blame. In this regard, as the students judge characters' intentions and actions they are implicitly or explicitly assigning blame. For instance, Michelle places blame on both sides for causing war and violence.

First, in *the gift of culture* discourse, Michelle indirectly blames the indigenous for assuming a passive role, judging them for being religious and lacking in culture. She also blames them for their own tragedy, ascribing negative responsibility to them since they supposedly placed blind trust in the Spaniards. Further on, Michelle argues that because of fear or misunderstanding of indigenous customs, the Spaniards provoked the war, emphasizing that, from her perspective, Spanish religion inherently involves bigotry and punishment:

> Maybe they tried to talk, but at seeing the indigenous customs, they probably thought "That's witchcraft!" and got shocked and said, "Ahhh! Wait, this is wrong! Kill'em!" Because Spaniards are supposed to be united in a cause that is good, because God said so, but it would really be a bad cause ... But I think all that for them, everything happened because of God, "There´s food, thanks God! God for this, God for that" … Come on!

In respect of Alex, his view of the indigenous as primitives is the keystone of his judgments in all his discourses; he uses this image to place blame on them, portraying them as unable to speak and reason. His rationalization of the broken negotiations, presented earlier, is exemplary of this. Throughout his narrative, he judges and blames the Indians for the conflict, for resisting the invasion which he sees as being in their own best interests.

Taking the Conquest for granted

It is noteworthy how both students explain the conflict by using normalization and generalization. This is explicit in Alex's narrative, where he takes for granted the events described in his discourse as regular causes and consequences of war. From his perspective, uncivilized people always succumb to powerful civilized ones. Further, as he justifies and normalizes the Conquest he takes for granted its violent consequences; rapes committed by the conquerors are just a normal occurrence in the history of conquests and civilization:

> Because even if it's wrong … When you conquer, you want women ... The Spanish there, they have friends and they laugh … "I have been with this woman and you with that one, ha ha …" Because you see that in the movies, how they conquer a place and then, for example … (…) the cowboys rape the Indian women and such … But dude, having a child would involve … would be half and half genes, the regular Mexican that is more Span(ish) … This generation of kids would evolve for the better …

For her part, Michelle uses her discourse to normalize the power and supposed ethnic supremacy of the Spanish over the indigenous. Throughout her narrative she takes violence for granted, although when describing the Conquest's causes, she seems distressed by what she considers an unreasonable act:

> From what I was told in school, or that I remember, there was a party organized by the indigenous to welcome those who landed ... But then … I guess it was very shocking, because you see all the dances and such and suddenly they start killing ... Oh, God, that´s not fair! (…) But then, you know? ... This always happens, when the new people landed and conquered …

Michelle rejects as a betrayal the attack perpetrated by the Spaniards during the indigenous' festivities. However, ultimately Michelle comes to the idea that what happened is normal in human history.

Conclusions

The present study highlights the importance of morality in historical explanation. In accordance with previous research (Kinloch, 1998; Lee & Ashby, 2001) the results presented support the pertinence of these studies to historical education; they also demonstrate the relevance of discourse analysis to deepen knowledge of historical narratives' functioning.

The analysis shows that the students' sense-making of history intertwines historical and moral concerns, personal values, and socially significant motifs such as peace and progress. In this process morality plays a significant role, especially moral judgment functioning as a discursive linkage between personal moral stances and historical understanding.

Michelle and Alex explain the Conquest as a civilizing process legitimized in the language of material, cultural, and intellectual progress, while the violent nature of colonialism is overlooked. They achieve this by using an array of moral judgments, within three discourses that pertain to the historical characters' personal traits, reasoning abilities, and beliefs. Moral judgments tend to relate to misconceptions of the past and present-day prejudices, as demonstrate other studies (Lee & Ashby, 2001; Von Borries, 1994). In general, the participants appraise the Conquest through their own moral values, which are rooted in personal historical beliefs of cultural development and civilization.

Overall, moral judgments allow the participants to discursively construct the Conquest as a positive moral event; using a common narrative pattern of Western development, the Conquest is portrayed as a historical process of pacification and development supposedly common to all cultures. These findings are relevant as they allow understanding of how morality and historical knowledge blend in the explanation of history. However, the findings are limited in scope as it is the data collected. More research including a more significant amount of narratives is necessary, in order to fully understand the role of morality in historical explanations through identification of general trends and global categorizations. It is hoped this study encourages further research in that direction.

The study's findings show that the functioning of moral judgments is grounded in the use of historical assumptions, together with discursive practices which articulate the participants' moral appraisals. One such practice is the description-as-attribution, by which, based on misjudgments of certain historical actor's characteristics, the participants attribute negative or positive traits; an example is the participants' depiction of the indigenous as inherently backward cave-dwellers. Another is the discursive interplay of oppositions that the students use to cement their moral judgements and consequent historical beliefs. They repeatedly assess actors and actions using their discursive images within the frameworks of wildness opposing progress, savagery opposing peace, and primitivism opposing civilization. Finally, their rhetorical uses of violence are also worth noting, as they implicitly use notions of "good violence" and "bad violence" to judge historical actor's actions and its consequences.

The foregoing also demonstrates that although the students' historical knowledge is poor and inaccurate, their historical explanations entail complex cognitive and discursive operations of sense-making, especially those related to their moral judgments. This suggests seeing morality not as an obstacle but as a factor enhancing the students' historical understanding and moral

reflection. Some of the participants' comments support that idea, as when Michelle displays moral concern about the attacks against indigenous people, questioning these events' official interpretation and their justifiability. This study's results allow for an awareness of this situation but not its examination, so further research is needed in this regard.

There also remains the issue of debates over what constitutes a legitimate historical education. A great challenge for educators is the promotion of disciplinary skills together with civic and moral goals. For instance, the complex issue of historical causality has been deeply addressed by historians and educators, yet the results of this discussion in classroom practice have not been as expected and student explanations tend to remain simplistic (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Carretero, Jacott & López-Manjón, 1995). In this regard, should we expect students to think like historians, or to use historical causality to understand relevant social issues? I opt for the second choice, but this is an open question that needs further discussion. The findings also suggest the various factors at stake in the students' engagement in the sense-making of history, such as their emotions, social context, identity, and gender. However, the limits of the data do not permit a deep analysis of the above aspects; further research is still needed to advance the findings on history and morality contained in this study.

Finally, of main relevance is the adolescents' type of historical understanding. The way the students address history throughout the three discourses suggests a common belief that progress and civilization, peace and order, must be achieved at any cost. Underlying their historical explanations is a moral assumption that violence is explicable and acceptable, since it contributed culturally and morally to both the colonizers and the colonized. Overall, they appear to agree that everything judged as incorrect or negative belongs the past, and is inherently prehistoric and backward. These findings are worrisome and have important implications for history teaching and moral education, as the students' historical understanding mainly fosters prejudice and the justification of unfair practices. The above findings indicate that further research is necessary to stimulate more complex historical explanations and, most importantly, a more empathetic historical understanding grounded in social justice-oriented moral reflections.

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Appendix 1
The Conquest of Mexico. Semi-structured Interview Guide

1. To star the interview I would like you to comment: What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the Conquest?
2. Where the Indigenous lived before the arrival of the Spanish? (How do you think was Tenochtitlan (the main Indian city)?)
3. What do you think about the indigenous of those times? (What does they looked like? How they lived, what they believed?)
4. Were they peaceful or violent?
5. We have another great actor of this fact: the European. How do you imagine that they were in those times?
6. Were they peaceful or violent?
7. How do you imagine the encounter between Indigenous and Spaniards?
8. Do you think the leaders had intention for dialogue? (Have you heard of the leaders who were there?)
9. So far, women had been found in the background or absent. What will be their role in those times?
10. Why did the Conquest take place?
11. We know that a great war occurred, how do you imagine it?
12. In addition, in a huge exercise of imagination, where would you be in that war?
13. Do you think this war was necessary? (Did this war make sense?)
14. Finally, we know that the city of Tenochtitlan fell and after all this started a process known as Mestizaje (mix of culture), how would you define it?
15. At the end, what conclusions you drawn from this historical event? (As a Spaniard/ Mexican, how does this topic make you feel?)

Note: The questions in parentheses are the complementary questions that emerged while conducting the semi-structured interviews.

PRIMARY SOURCES IN SWEDISH AND AUSTRALIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATIONS OF VIETNAM'S KIM PHUC

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Abstract:

This article compares primary sources used in Swedish and Australian school History textbooks on the topic of the Vietnam War. The focus is on analysing representations of Kim Phuc, the young girl who was infamously chemically burnt with napalm. Applying an approach that incorporates Habermas' three knowledge types, this article focuses on student questions and activities in relation to how sources are treated in textbooks. The article uses a case study approach to conduct a comparison between how, and if, Swedish and Australian textbooks engage students through questions and activities directly connected with the use of primary sources. Findings suggest that current textbook approaches could incorporate a greater variety of questions with differing knowledge types, to use images more consistently beyond illustrative purposes, and to structure activities that require students to compare and contrast two or more primary sources.

Keywords:

Australia, Cold War, History curriculum, Kim Phuc, Secondary history teaching, Source analysis, Sweden, Textbooks, Vietnam

Introduction

The impact of current democratic political instability in many nations, including a harking back to an unidentifiable by gone era as is alleged of some in conservative politics in countries such as the US, Australia, and the UK[1] cannot be ignored. A rejection of two-party political systems is also occurring with electoral repercussions in nations, such as Australia, that are not used to minor parties having substantial political control. This is evidenced in the United States with the election of party-outsider, but conservative contender, Donald Trump, in 2016. For both Sweden and Australia, nations that sit on the periphery of global disputes and continents, but still contribute to and have an economic, social, and political stake in these geo-political debates these international issues are of keen interest and relevance to their own domestic political policies and actions. School curriculum, and the subject of History which is well placed as a platform for identity and to address the current uncertainty, must therefore respond to the current political milieu both nationally, or domestic politics-based and in consideration of impacts of the international sphere of politics will have on school students[2] now and into their futures. The discipline of history, with its traditional focus on using primary source documents to navigate through various perspectives can provide students with at least some of the tools

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1 For example, as evidenced by statements made by some conservative politicians, such as Nigel Farage, former Leader of the United Kingdom Independent Party (UKIP) who argued for a separation from the European Union (EU) so that Britain could become once more an autonomous governing nation, however legislatively flawed the logics of the arguments might be.
2 The term *student* is used throughout to refer to school aged students.

in which to engage with the political discussions going on around them. The History curriculum broadly, and also source activities included as part of History teaching in school classrooms, play a significant role in educating students and providing them with the skills to be critical, active citizens (Sharp, 2015).

In consideration of this information regarding students' skills and abilities, this article analyses student activities in relation to sources included in textbooks, including the knowledge types activities elicit from students. To do this, the sources and their associated content and accompanying student activities are analysed to determine whether the sources are included in order to encourage historical skill development such as source analysis, if the sources are linked to knowledge and understanding or comprehension of their content, or if the sources are included to provide an illustration, for example as an aesthetic to accompany written text. The pedagogical purposes of the sources will be examined by applying Habermas' knowledge types to the analysis. Whether or not the sources, both quantity and variety, differ significantly between the two nations, Sweden and Australia will be investigated; and whether the accompanying text and source activities deal directly with the sources reflecting a variety of knowledge types, based on Habermas' (1994; 1998) theory, including statement, explanation/ interpretive description, critical reflection/analysis, or emancipatory/transformative. This article focuses on analysing how textbooks aim to facilitate the teaching and learning of history, through sources. With sources as a marker of the authentic work that historians do, their inclusion in textbooks whether as an inquiry approach to teaching or treating students as passive observers of sources, and how high school students are exposed to sources in official curriculum documents is of interest.

Purposes of textbooks: activities and sources

A study of textbook sources and associated activities enables an analysis of the exercises that guide students and emphasise what is important for students to learn. For 'time poor' students who have been instructed to read a chapter in a textbook and answer the questions that follow, it would be tempting to just go to the questions and find the answers they need from the main text to answer the activities, rather than to read the chapter first for an understanding of the topic and then to answer the questions. Likewise, for teachers who are experiencing the various pressures of the demands of the job of teaching, if unable to prepare a thorough lesson on a set day (due to a wide variety of reasons including school disruptions), or homework activities, it would likewise be appealing to go to the source activities, read the questions and select those that seem to be a good fit for students to complete.

Therefore, the importance that textbook activities have in providing a thorough reflection of the types of knowledge and skills that the textbook authors, and teachers too, want students to learn become obviously important. It is of central interest to many governments, education researchers, and other key stakeholders to study what students are required to learn and to achieve at school. This is evidenced, in part, by the interest in not only nation-wide external based assessment tasks, but also the OECD PISA rankings[3] and how individual nations rank against each other and their own past achievements. While the content of the curriculum and

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3 As stated on the OECD website: "The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), organized by the OECD, is a triennial international survey which aims to evaluate education systems worldwide by testing the skills and knowledge of 15-year-old students. Since the year 2000, every three years, students from randomly selected schools worldwide take tests in the key subjects: reading, mathematics and science" (https://www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa/)

accompanying syllabus documents can be clearly known, the same cannot be said for what students are instructed to achieve. Analysing textbook activities is one way to partially uncover this current deficit of knowledge in this area of research. One of the limitations of doing research into analysing historical representations present in textbooks is that the textbook authors, who are commonly teachers (especially the case for Sweden), former teachers, curriculum writers, or academics are commonly strictly adhering to the syllabus and/or publisher requirements. That is to say, they do not have the opportunity to demonstrate a significant amount of academic freedom outside the bounds of the curriculum documents. However, the activities that commonly accompany the content, do provide textbook authors with the opportunities to hone in on areas of content with more flexibility.

Methodological approach to analysing sources

Drawing on Habermas' three types of knowledge (1987) or, three domains of learning, provides an avenue to evaluate sources, and any associated activities, included in History textbooks to determine what type of knowledge they elicit from students. Of interest to this article is whether the sources are used for illustration; that is, included with no reference either in the main text or in student activities. Second, whether they are used for comprehension only, for example through factual statements in the main text or the style activities, for example questions that ask for basic descriptions such as *what is*, *who is*, *what happened*? Third, whether the sources are provided as an explanation or an interpretive description. For example, if the accompanying main text or activities encourages an investigation of the sources, by the students, through the way they are incorporated and if they encourage interpretation through asking *why* questions, encouraging inquiry. Fourth, if there is a focus on critical reflection and analysis. This can sometimes be evidenced through sources positioned side by side that have competing perspectives. Students are then trusted to be able to make their own determination of how they perceive the sources (albeit usually with guidance), and to consider questions such as *in whose interests* and *who benefits and who loses*? Finally, and linked to active citizenship (see, for example, Sharp, 2015), the sources are analysed to determine their inclusion for emancipatory purposes. This is when students consider the information they are provided in order to engage in a type of cognitive active citizenship that invites students to engage in a critique of commonly held assumptions. It is through the examination of sources that historical consciousness can be cultivated and dismembered from ambiguous traditions (Habermas, 1988).

Habermas' theory includes technical knowledge, practical knowledge, and emancipatory knowledge. Each different type of knowledge contains a higher level of thinking. The technical knowledge draws on content that accounts for, describes, is factual, and/or is easily verifiable. It can be seen as highlighting comprehension. The practical knowledge develops on from the statement knowledge type, and includes explanation, interpretation, judgement, and dialogical communication with others. The third type, emancipatory, recognises and encourages knowledge that is subjective, encourages students to be self-reflective, and is concerned with how students (when applied to an educational context) position themselves and others. (see *Table 1: Knowledge types applied to sources in textbooks* demonstrates how a variation of Habermas' knowledge types are applicable to source analysis). Habermas' long standing commitment to dealing with issues of citizenship, especially those surrounding historical trauma and specifically dealing with Nazism, the question of Europe (see, for example, Habermas 1988; 1994), and what it is to be a citizen makes his three types of knowledge an appropriate guide for the analysis of primary sources in school History textbooks. This is particularly significant here, as the case study for this article investigates sources used in the Cold War topic of the Vietnam War, a conflict arguably brought about (at least, in part)

by Vietnamese citizenship and how this was viewed by different stakeholders and who had the right to determine that both in relation to Vietnamese sovereignty and how this impacted international politics at the time.

As many of the sources included in History textbooks are visual, it is important to be able to relate, adapt, or select an appropriate visual analysis approach to undertake an analysis alongside text-based sources. For this article, the adaptation of Habermas' knowledge types are juxtaposed with van Leeuwen and Kress' work "on the interaction between the verbal and visual in texts and discourse" (Wodak, 2001, p. 8) to enable a critical engagement with the visual images. The visual analysis approach for the analysis of sources "… is qualitative and … focuses on each text …" (Bell, 2001, p. 15) and aligned with visual culture perspectives, framed by Mitchell (2002, p. 87) as a preferred option as "… it is less neutral than 'visual studies'… vision is … a 'cultural construction', that is learned and cultivated, not simply given by nature …" This approach differs significantly from other types of visual analysis approaches that are aligned with quantitative measures, such as a purely content analysis approach. Importantly for this research, individual image sources are analysed within their historical context and within their inclusion in textbooks as context pedagogical point.

An explanation of the purposes of the inclusion of sources in Australian textbooks is provided by the *Oxford Big Ideas* textbook:

> Photographs, drawings and other images are historical sources that can provide information about the past. Sources can be used to frame arguments or ideas about history. Sources alone, however, do not constitute evidence. Evidence is the information you create when you interrogate a source and ask specific questions about it. You can use evidence to support a historical argument. The questions you ask about a source and the evidence that you uncover as a result will depend on the purpose of the inquiry and the argument you are making. (Carrodus, Delany, McArthur, Smith, Taylor, and Young, 2012, p. 22).

Following a survey of all the primary sources used in the Cold War sections of the textbooks under investigation, a deeper analysis of the portrayal of Kim Phuc is selected as a case study for this article. The photograph, taken by Associated Press photographer Nick Ut, of her as a nine year old girl suffering horrific napalm chemical burns is an international symbol of the conflict in Vietnam and is reproduced in countless contexts, including History textbooks across a range of countries. Both Australia and Sweden feature the photograph of Kim Phuc in junior high school History textbooks, and it is frequently used as an introduction to image analysis. In addition to being used as an educational topic, Kim Phuc's image is also used in popular culture; for example famous street artist, Banksy, has used her image as a commentary on American culture and capitalism (see Fig. 1); and she is still in the public arena even over forty years after the photograph was taken and distributed globally by news organisations. Further demonstrating the sustained public and media interest in Phuc's experiences, a March edition of Australian popular newsstand glossy magazine, *Who*, featured a story titled 'Surviving the Scars of War' (Who, 2016, pp. 67-68) detailing Phuc's recent medical treatment to lessen her pain associated with the scaring the napalm caused on over 65% of her body. A scan of national and international news sites show that in the first six months of 2016, Kim Phuc features in in excess of 50 media reports.
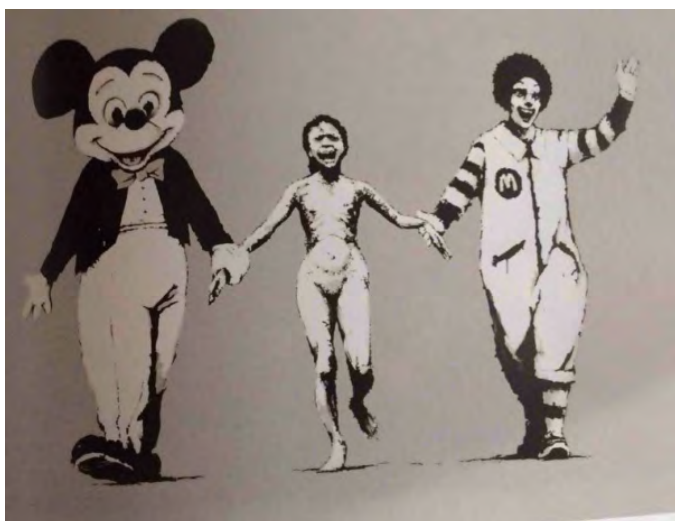
Fig. 1. Kim Phuc represented by Banksy is subversive street art (Banksy, nd)

Being such a prominent symbol of the Vietnam War, selecting Phuc as a case study for the analysis of how primary sources are incorporated and used as a pedagogical device in History textbooks, is highly relevant. The repetition in the public sphere of Kim Phuc's image and story, even when it is reproduced through subversive street art, means that it continues to be fixed in people's minds so much so that even those who don't know her name would recognise her image. The repeated use of her image does not mean that all students know Kim Phuc's name or story, therefore the learning about her in History classrooms becomes important for teachers particularly as her image is included so commonly in History textbooks around the world.

TABLE 1. Knowledge types applied to sources in textbooks

Knowledge Type	Attributes of the Knowledge Type	Habermas Definition	In textbook activities, types of questions asked include:
Illustration only	• Source included to fill the page, perhaps as a filler and perhaps as an aesthetic	Not applicable.	No questions or activities associated with this type of source. Not included in the main text of the textbook.
Statement (draws on Habermas' technical knowledge)	• Factual • Accounting for • Confirmation • Brief description • Statement • Highlights comprehension	Emerges from the questions "what" and "how"; largely descriptive knowledge, often based on observation; helps people regulate, predict and control their daily lives.	What is? Who is? What happened? When? How much? How often?

Explanation/ Interpretive Description (draws on Habermas' practical knowledge)	• Explanation • Interpretive • description • background	Emerges from the question "why" and is interpretive rather than descriptive. Concerned with motives and causes, and helps us understand people's actions and attitudes, and thus helps us in our dealings with these people.	How was that possible? What does it mean? Why? What happened afterwards?
Critical Reflection/ Analysis	Connecting to the student, students' experiences and previous knowledge. References to parallel contexts, theoretical concepts or models	Emerges from the questions "in whose interests" or "who benefits and who loses".	How can I understand this? What can I compare with? Why did people act/ react in that way? What could have happened?
Emancipatory, transformative knowledge (draws on Habermas' emancipatory knowledge)	Students are required to consider how to take a theoretical understanding of a history topic or concept and to 'activate' it in an authentic, active citizenship context that critiques commonly held assumptions	Concerned with the effect of power, privilege and advantage in situations, and thus help people emancipate themselves from various forms of disadvantage and oppression, and to seek justice for themselves and others.	What action could be taken?

Case Study: Presenting Kim Phuc sources in Swedish and Australian textbooks

The case study selected for this article focuses on an analysis of sources about Kim Phuc, included in two Swedish and two Australian textbooks, according to the knowledge types identified (see Table 1). Textbooks, in addition to providing information for students to learn content and historical skills, can also act as a pedagogical device for teachers, guiding them to approach content and sources in particular ways that align with the textbook authors' professional preferred way of teaching History. Australian textbook *Retroactive 10* (Anderson et al, 2012) has a total of 14 sources across the Cold War topic; and of the three related to Vietnam, one is about Kim Phuc. Covering approximately half the page, the photograph by world renowned press photographer, Nick Ut, and associated activities is used as a feature in the Retroactive 10 textbook. The famous image (see Fig. 2) showing Kim Phuc running naked down the road suffering severe chemical burns caused by the napalm bombing attack, shows other village children and soldiers also coming along the road. The photograph is included as both a source to accompany the main written text and for an extension activity for students to undertake, requiring them to access online resources to continue their analysis of the photograph and to place it within its socio-political historical context. However, it does more than this. To the left of the photograph, there are four statements that explain how the photograph can be read visually and in this way signposts the different components of the image (for example, background, foreground, dark and light, and use of contrasts). In this way, the textbook can be read as professional advice for teachers to apply their pedagogical practice, using these statements as a guide to purposefully teach about this photograph. That is, not have students individually, or even in small groups, reading the textbook and answering questions; but rather for teachers to use these statements as a way to introduce

class discussion about the photograph in order for students to develop a deep understanding of the photograph and its historical context. Teachers are also able to apply these types of statements to other photographs or images both within this topic and for other topics they teach. In this way, the textbook acts as a professional development tool for teachers to either develop their skills in source analysis, or as a refresher for the knowledge and skills they have already acquired for example at University or other professional development experience. Viewed in consideration of the pedagogical advice provided to teachers on how to use photographs as primary sources in an inquiry based classroom, the activity in *Retroactive 10* can be viewed as being in the explanation/interpretive description category of knowledge types. Students, in this activity, are required to consider the impact of visual techniques in detail, rather than just use this photograph source as a comprehension activity. The four points made about the image read:

- Frightening scene is emphasised through the dark background and fear on the faces [red line pointing to the clouds in the sky]
- Child in foreground brings the viewer into the drama [red line pointing to a boy, fully dressed, running along the road. He is crying as he runs]
- Note the central image of the naked and terrified child [red line pointing to Kim Phuc]
- The soldiers' heavy uniforms contrast with the vulnerability of the children [red line pointing to a soldier, preoccupied with something in his hands, walking in the same direction as the children are running]. (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25)

Fig. 2. Kim Phuc included as a photograph analysis activity

The caption in *Retroactive 10* identifies the photograph as being "… one of the most enduring images of the war and turned public opinion in Australia and the United States against the continued commitment of troops to the conflict" (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25). Of interest, at no time is Kim Phuc mentioned by name, nor is she included in the main text of the textbook. The episode that led to Kim Phuc being burnt is also not referred to in the main text.

An activity is also included in the textbook's online link. This activity, listed as part of the *eBookplus* is a 'comprehension and communication' activity that requires students to access the photographer's webpage and read about his version of events regarding the napalm attack on Kim Phuc's village. After reading his first-hand account, students are required to "Note the source annotations and then discuss the impact this source would have had on public opinion" (Anderson et al, 2012, p. 25). This activity focuses on explanation/interpretive description attributes. Students, using the background information they gained from the textbook, then provide an explanation for the impact of the photograph. the activity is concerned with eliciting from students causes of events and moves beyond description by having students attempt to understand people's actions and attitudes.

The Swedish textbook *Levande Historia 9* (Hildingson and Hildingson, 2012), covers the Vietnam War across two pages and is allocated more space than any other conflict during the Cold War in this textbook. The picture of Kim Phuc (see Fig. 3) running from the horror of her village burning covers half a page, and is the classic, well known photo of her, cropped to focus mainly on the village children running alongside of her and with the soldiers in the background. The text accompanying this photograph reads:

> In 1972 airplanes from South Vietnam attacked a village with napalm, a liquid burning with intensity. The girl at the picture, Kim Phuc, got napalm on her clothes and they caught fire. She threw her clothes off and fled with severe injuries. Nick Ut's photo is one of the most classic pictures from the Vietnam War. (Hildingson and Hildingson, 2012, p. 387)

Fig. 3. Nick Ut's famous photograph in Levande historia (p. 387)

There are no exercises connected to the photo, therefore it is categorised as included for illustrative purposes. The third textbook also from Sweden, *Historia Prio 9* presents a different aspect of Kim Phuc. In the book there is a picture of Kim Phuc, as an adult, smiling and sitting in front of a poster sized photograph of her as a child; crying and running from the napalm and the soldiers (see Fig. 4). This is from the same series of photographs that are within all the textbooks, and the caption reads:

> As a nine year old Phan Thi Kim Phuc was burned on her back and arms by American napalm bombs. The picture, on which she runs for her life, was cabled out over the world.

As an adult Phan Thi Kim Phuc works actively to help children in war zones. (Almgren et al, 2013, p. 73)

Fig. 4. Kim Phuc as an adult sits in front of the famous Nick Ut photograph of her as a young girl, included in Historia Prio 9 (p. 73)

In this textbook, Kim Phuc's image is not just being used as a primary source document, contained within a specific and bounded historical period of the Vietnam War. Instead, the textbook authors also utilise it for a present day understanding on the impact of war on its victims by showing Kim Phuc's humanitarian work to assist children who suffer from conflicts. However, despite the lengthy and albeit informative caption, with no activities accompanying this photograph, it can only be categorised as illustration within the knowledge type on the provided model, so far as student activities are concerned.

Forming part of a two page spread titled "Agent Orange and Napalm" within the key concept of "Empathy", the fourth textbook, for the Australian curriculum, *Oxford Big Ideas*, also includes the famous photograph. The two page spread starts with a definition of historical empathy so that students are able to understand the context of the photograph's inclusion. The textbook reads:

Historical empathy is understanding what happened in the past through the range of perspectives of people living at the time. It is about explaining people's behaviour based on an appreciation of their specific beliefs, customs and values and the contexts in which they acted. Rather than merely knowing *what* people did, historical empathy allows us to understand *why* they did it.

Empathy does not mean judging a culture or people subjectively, by *your* standards. It requires a balanced and objective understanding of the social and cultural norms of the period you are studying. Historical empathy requires a deep understanding of the context of a particular period, so that you can understand people's motives and intentions. Empathy does not excuse the actions of people in the past, but it does allow us to better understand them. (Carrodus et al, 2012, p. 28)

Like *Retroactive,* this textbook does not mention Kim Phuc by name, even though she is an internationally well-known person, and this photograph (as part of the media coverage of this war) is widely regarding as contributing towards the West's withdrawal from the conflict. The questions and activities surrounding the image in both textbooks also do not deal specifically with the photograph (see Fig. 5). The very violent and confronting image of a young girl, naked (as vulnerable as can be), with the impact of the chemical burns already evident is laid bare on the textbook page for high school students to see; yet no mediation is provided. No inclusion of her name, her biography, or those of her fellow villagers is provided; despite in both textbooks this photograph taking up a large portion of the page. In *Oxford Big Ideas*, the closest the textbook comes to addressing the photograph is a question that reads: "What were the effects of dropping Napalm on villages?" (Carrodus et al, 2012, p. 29). Students *could* (although it needs to be noted they are not directed to do so), chose to consider the photograph in their response to the question, but it is more likely that they will focus on the written text as it specifically deals with the question, "what were the effects…" in a way that encourages comprehension only, meaning this textbook is categorised within the lower-order thinking statement knowledge type.

Source 1.36 Children fleeing a village bombed with Napalm

Source 1.37

We sure are pleased with those backroom boys at Dow [Chemicals]. The original product wasn't so hot—if the gooks were quick they could scrape it off. So the boys started adding polystyrene—now it sticks like shit to a blanket. But if the gooks jumped under water it stopped burning, so they started adding Willie Peter (white phosphorus) so's to make it burn better. And just one drop is enough, it'll keep on burning right down to the bone so they die anyway from phosphorus poisoning.

A US army source talks about Napalm.
Quoted in *Vietnam Inc.* by Philip Jones Griffiths (1971)

Source 1.38

We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in the decisions on Vietnam acted according what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. We made our decisions in light of those values. Ye were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generation explain why.

Extract from *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vie* by Robert McNamara, 1995. Robert McNamara w US Secretary of Defence from 1961 to

Fig. 5. Primary sources and questions on the Vietnam War?" (Carrodus, Delany, McArthur, Smith, Taylor & Young, 2012, p. 29)

In the main, it could be legitimately claimed that in *Oxford Big Ideas*, the photograph is included more as an illustration, albeit a ghastly one, rather than a substantial part of the content. It is the decision of the teacher, then, to determine whether or not this image is addressed in a way that extends beyond the students' potentially voyeuristic gaze, and instead to examine the issue with historical empathy, or other key historical concepts.

Discussion and Conclusion

On the whole, the activities surrounding this photo engage students in only lower order thinking activities, if any at all. Two textbooks include only a photograph of the young Kim Phuc with no mediating activity and can be categorised as being for illustrative purposes only. In these textbooks it is included more as a violent aesthetic, perhaps to shock students or be a site of visual interest, but not to be used as part of an explicit, official student activity. One textbook includes a student activity that could be regarded as statement, requiring students to produce factual or comprehension-style responses. Only one textbook, *Retroactive*, moves into the category of explanation/interpretive description, mainly because of it acting as a pedagogical device for teachers on how to analyses sources,; and also because students are required to complete activities on an accompanying online sites, where they connect new information learnt to the broader context of the Vietnam War. Kim Phuc's experience, constructed as a case study in History textbooks, is a valuable inclusion as it is of historical importance, having significantly contributed to bringing about a change in public attitudes, and also for her continued presence as an example of the human impact of war on civilians.

It became obvious in the analysis of the textbook activities that the history teaching traditions of the respective countries are different, and that these teaching traditions become apparent through the types of questions/exercises included in textbooks. The textbook activities can be seen as a reflection of the favoured pedagogical practices of both nations. For example, the Australian textbooks follow the Anglo-American tradition of teaching students to be historians, using sources as the basis for historical understanding and also used extensively in the student activities (this is particularly obvious in the Retroactive textbook, where each and every activity is linked to a source). Swedish textbooks, on the other hand, follow the German philosophical tradition (one that is inspired by the bildung tradition) in the main, although there are some notable exceptions. This is a reflection of Sweden's approach to teaching History in schools, which uses History as a way to acculturate students to Swedish culture, traditions, political systems and history as a reference for understanding and interpreting the present. However, the curriculum from 2011 highlights that History education should focus on knowledge about history, knowledge about how history is written and knowledge about how history is used. The approach is analytical and sources are important, but that is not realised in History textbooks. There are few exercises related to sources, but when they are included, Swedish textbook authors use exercises that require students to explain, compare and analyze. In that way, they apply their factual knowledge and they practice critical thinking.

In textbooks, more attention could be paid to using visual sources critically and in a transformative way through student activities, such as in *Retroactive*. In the visual media saturated environment that students live in today, it is important to provide them with the tools to be able to confidently analyse visual images both within and beyond the classroom. With so many primary sources being visual across both modern and ancient histories, it is vital students develop the skills to analyse them in meaningful ways, and for this to be modelled to students by not including images for illustrative purposes only: to entertain or to fill up space, without being used as a pedagogical experience. In order for students to be acculturated into not just a disciplinary way of thinking and knowing the field of history, but also to be able to use

sources to critically analyse the world around them; a particularly crucial point in the visually saturated media context of the early 21st century, then it is vital that students have those initial learning experience in the classroom under the pedagogical guidance of a teacher. While teachers are equipped with the skills to provide these learning opportunities for their students, textbooks and other mainstream, readily accessible curriculum resources are well placed to provide content that guides and enables a critical analysis of a variety of primary and secondary sources that encompass a variety of perspectives. Accompanying student activities are a vital part of teaching students to use sources carefully and accurately, and also to demonstrate to teachers ways in which source analysis can be used.

One of the main feedback points by the Australian HSC markers, as quoted earlier in this paper, was that students are not able to effectively critique sources when they are presented with more than primary source in an exam situation. The textbooks, both Swedish and Australian, offer no guidance with this matter, with none of the student activities requiring students to compare and contrast any sources; all activities were for individual sources framed only within their own context. The selection of sources then, only being one sided, provide students with little to no option but to agree with the perspective provided. The structures of these questions and activities arguably treat students as empty vessels to be filled, by using sources to cement one perspective, rather than as a genuine inquiry approach.

In an international context where violence against young people continues to be committed, frequently due to differences in political ideologies that lead to conflict against and between citizens, the case study of Kim Phuc's experience can tell a narrative of historical trauma and the long lasting impacts of war, even when peace has been declared, or the armed combat no longer taking place. The example of Kim Phuc shows that this experience is not just the trauma of an individual, nor just a trauma for the nation of Vietnam, but for all of humanity, including the unwilling participants of this conflict.

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THE DILEMMA OF SENATOR WILLIAMS: A CASE STUDY OF STUDENT DECISION-MAKING, CONTROVERSY, AND ETHICAL DILEMMAS

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Abstract:

The titled "Senator Williams, Do You Vote For or Against on the Diego Resolution before Senate" encourages students to engage in historical empathy and critical inquiry on the possible military intervention in the small hypothetical country of Ersatz. The Diego Resolution asks the Senate to endorse the President's plan to move a navy task force to a position ten miles off the shore of Ersatz so that to be available quickly if needed. The resolution does not say explicitly what the Navy will do after it is there, only that it would be "ready to take whatever actions are necessary to protect American lives."

With each document, students receive more pertinent information that presents controversy and ethical dilemmas. Such an investigation encouraged students to confront three fundamental questions:

1) *When does the United States have the authority or obligation to intervene in another country's affairs,*
2) *When, if ever, should the President have the power to use military force without Congressional approval, and*
3) *When, if ever, does the value of American lives outweigh the risk and reward of foreign policy or diplomacy?*

The research involved four questionnaires on the Cast Study's four scenarios in evaluating the effectiveness of its development of the students' knowledge and understanding of the Diego resolution and the related historical empathy and skills of historical enquiry. The research data indicated that the students progressed in the following areas:

1) better understand complicated issues, historical events, and content material;
2) discuss issues with their peers;
3) engage in informative discussion and debate related information presented;
4) become active agents in the learning process;
5) develop solutions to historical problems; and
6) decipher causes of events.

Key Words:

Clues Analysis, Case Study, Compromise, Conflict, Decision-Making, Empathy, Political Pressure, Resolution, Role-play, Simulation, USA

Introduction

In today's history classroom, the use of case studies and decision-making is one of the several strategies that teachers may use to promote differentiation to increase student interest.

Through the case study method, students can search for evidence and clues to analyze while evaluating documents, stories or accounts that improve motivation, knowledge retention, and historical understanding (Weinland, 2012; Pope, et.al, 2010). As former high school history teachers, we found the development and differentiation of pedagogical strategies beneficial to our students. While students collectively appreciate lessons beyond the direct instruction and rote memorization, year after year, students found the comprehension of Cold War events and political movements both vague and confusing. Such a phenomena are especially noticeable when teaching about political developments that led to United States involvement in military conflicts, geopolitical interventions and other U.S. domestic and global policies. Furthermore, most students cannot accurately identify when a military campaign started, what political intervention took place, what nations participated, and the level of presidential and Congressional involvement.

However, rather than lecture, we wanted students to be actively involved with a sense of historical empathy as they became involved with the curriculum via role play and simulation. Through engagement with a case study, students engaged in a fictional scenario where students portrayed an influential U.S. Senator, who is forced to cast a deciding vote on a war resolution. By examining four documents [handouts] that provide critical information for a decision before the Senate, students must decide the perceived importance of American interest and national security in a hypothetical foreign country.

The facilitation of active learning and decision-making by using case study methodology is not new and is used extensively across the Social Sciences and Humanities, including History. Initially considering the legacy of Dr. Hangdell in the 1870s, the idea of students learning through practical engagements via activities and discussion took flight during the 1960s (McDonnel, 2002; Gibbs, 2009). The use of case studies enabled students to understand and react to impromptu decisions and value dilemmas which may have short or long-term outcomes (Byford & Russell, 2006; Chapin, 2003; Pearl, 2000; Wolfer & Baker, 2000). Case studies range from one to multiple documents. In almost all cases, case studies rely on student interaction where students are encouraged to discuss, analyze and clarify their opinions on historically related events. The usage of historical 'fiction' rather than actual events also helps mitigate potential 'blowback' from discussion controversial issues in the first place. By putting the scenario in a hypothetical concept, though using real life situations or contexts, helps the instructor develop the same levels of controversy and critical thinking while minimizing stressors that can hinder the learning process (Lennon, 2107). Students have the opportunity to:

1) better understand complicated issues, historical events, and content material;
2) discuss issues with their peers;
3) engage in informative discussion and debate related information presented;
4) become active agents in the learning process;
5) develop solutions to historical problems; and
6) decipher causes of events (Kunselman & Johnson, 2004; Byford, 2013).

As with almost any lesson, the case study and materials vary in page length, content materials, and level of student interaction. Case studies are often considered dependent on class discussions and clarifying and justifying their opinions. Depending on the desired outcome, the teacher's role is often limited. Within the student discovery phase, there are two applications of delivery: the open-ended and closed-ended approaches. The open-ended occurs when the outcome is not pre-determined, allowing students to investigate issues, conflicts, outcomes and consequences based on their interpretations and decisions (Soley, 1996). In direct contrast, the closed-ended approach follows the assumption the teacher has pre-determined the knowledge, structures, or

conclusions that students will discover through varying degrees of subtlety.

In addition to the perceived benefits associated with case studies, the involvement of historical empathy is often achieved through the analysis and discussion of documents. Gehlbach (2004) illustrated the positive correlation between the ability for students to take another perspective and resolution skills. Furthermore, Barton and Levstik (2004) argued the development of historical empathy provide and prepares students for a pluralistic society. Allowing students to deliberate, analyze, and recognize other individual's values, beliefs, attitudes and motivations different from their own has potential merit. Barton and Levstik (2004) write that 'if students are going to take part in the meaningful discussion, they need to understand differing perspectives are a normal part of social interaction, not an aberration to be suppressed or overcome (p.216). Likewise, Boddington (1980) indicates one possible misconception of historical empathy associated with the cognitive skills of the student. Empathy is a complex blend of thinking and feeling, and the mere notion of compassion itself cannot be achieved without the positive attitude and cognitive skills required to understand other points of view. In fact, historical empathy lies at the core of the case study method. To practice empathy both cognitively and affectively, students should have the ability to:

1) project their thoughts and feelings into a historical situation;
2) distinguish the historical period from their own;
3) utilize reference materials or sources;
4) present the person or situation to illustrate the circumstances of the case or dilemmas; and
5) can be cognitive of the misunderstanding, conflict or tragedy (Portal, 1987 & Yilmaz, 2007).

Historical Background of the High School Curriculum Center in Government

Developed in partnership with the Department of Political Science and the School of Education at Indiana University, the High School Curriculum Center in Government Project designed and developed materials for civics and American government courses. The program's directors, John Patrick, and Howard Mehlinger believed a weakness existed in civics programs and new concepts and inquiry about social phenomena would provide an alternative towards traditional rote memorization. Considered economically feasible in the late 1960s, the classroom curriculum *American Political Behavior* consisted of a one-year course providing students with content dealing with: 1) the Study of Political Behavior, 2) Similarities and Differences in Political Behavior, 3) Elections and Voting Behavior, 4) Political Decision-Makers, and 5) Unofficial Political Specialist (Haley, 1972).

The developers believed traditional materials used at the time failed to take advantage of new pedagogical strategies developed in the 1960s. Traditional curriculum failed to discuss controversial issues; overemphasized the legalistic structure of government at the hand of the political process; failed to build on political knowledge, beliefs, and values that most students already have. Patrick and Mehlinger believed by focusing on the relationships between socio-economic status, role, culture, and socialization; students can analyze and comprehend political phenomena. In doing so, the objectives established for *American Political Behavior* was to: develop students' abilities to select, organize, analyze and interpret information, utilize concepts and make generalizations about political behavior and activities; increasing the capability of developing or selecting political alternatives; making value judgements; and reinforcing democratic principles and political beliefs (Haley, 1972).

The titled "Senator Williams, Do You Vote For or Against on the Diego Resolution of the Senate" was found in Unit 4, *Political Decision-Makers*. Unit 4 focuses on the political roles of the

president, members of Congress, judges, bureaucrats along with the unofficial political specialists that focus on political influentials outside of the formal government structure. Materials in Unit 4 were designed to prepare students to organize data and apply analytical skills via the case study and simulation approach. In the related to Senator Williams, students examine, speculate, and incorporate values-judgement to resolve a resolution before the Senate to protect American citizens and U.S. interests in the fictional country of Ersatz.

Student participation in the Case Study is as follows [Appendix A]:

> The date is June 3, 1982. You are a first-term senator. As a junior senator, you find yourself on several high-ranking committees. Fellow senators from both political parties think you are honest, trustworthy, and committed to the security of the United States. Over the past month, tensions have grown in the tiny island of Ersatz (see figure 1). Recently, revolutionaries have in a friendly way gained significant portions of the country. To increase tension, the revolutionaries have kidnaped Americans and foreigners as hostages. The President believes with the passage of the Diego Resolution; it will give him the freedom he needs to deal with the current uprising in Ersatz. As a senator, you receive five documents. Each report deals with a unique aspect of the unfolding events and provides valuable information to help you decide if you will ultimately vote for or against the Resolution before the Senate.

With each document, students receive more pertinent information that presents controversy and ethical dilemmas. In this particular, the teacher used four steps to introduce students to a designated issue, to foster discussion, and to promote inquiry while providing reinforcement through a teacher-led classroom discussion (Appendix B).

ο The first step: *The Introduction* establishes the in the context of social and political events that lend themselves to conflict.
ο The second step: *The Learning Experience* allows students to examine documents sequentially while asking critical questions about each document's validity and purpose (Appendix C).
ο The third step: *Comprehension Development* requires students to discuss the merits and facts of each document.
ο Lastly, the fourth step: *Reinforcement and Extension* based on the merits found embedded within each document followed by a teacher-led discussion (Byford, 2013).

Aim and Purpose of a Political

This was designed to investigate fictional events where rebels have taken American hostages, equipment, and significant portions of the country of Ersatz. Students analyze and evaluate four following documents [handouts] that build upon each other to provide information outlining the social and political difficulties associated with foreign affairs and international conflict. Such an investigation encouraged students to confront three fundamental questions:

1) When does the United States have the authority or obligation to intervene in another country's affairs,
2) When, if ever, should the President have the power to use military force without Congressional approval, and
3) When, if ever, does the value of American lives outweigh the risk and reward of foreign policy or diplomacy?
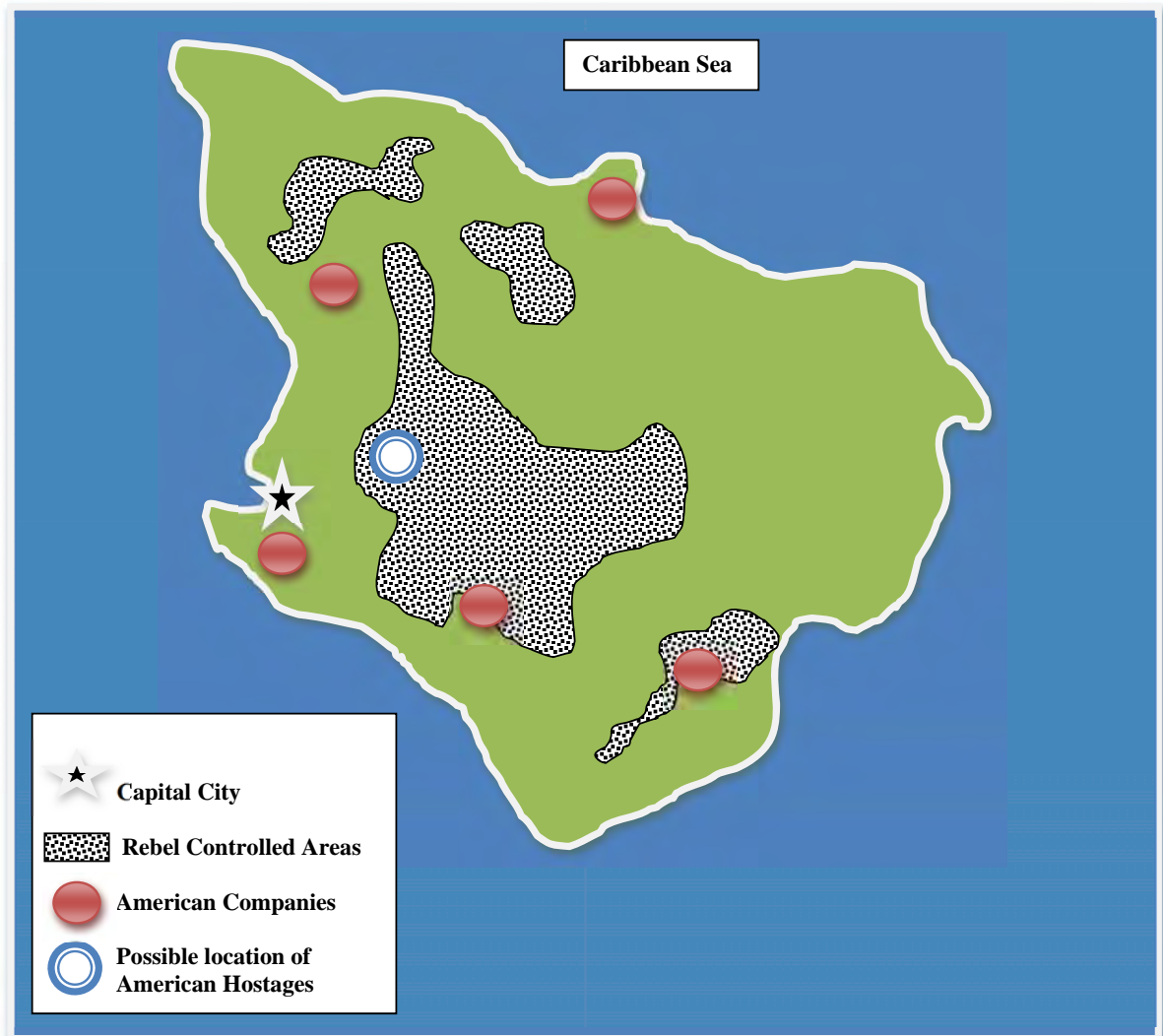
Fig. 1. The Island Nation of Ersatz

A lesson like Senator Williams provides an opportunity for substantive, high-level thinking when teaching about political activity that requires value analysis about a policy decision framed within an empirical context such as the Cold War or other events associated with social studies classrooms.

Research Methodology: Sample Selection and Method

At the time of the activity, 173 students were enrolled in seven United States history classes in a private suburban high school in a large southeastern city. Eventually, 160 students completed the activity, providing a 92% return rate. Based on the authors' proximity to campus, the knowledge of the schools academic setting, and experience working with the department's history teachers, two teachers were purposely selected to participate. This target population fits the sample frame designated for high school students enrolled in a social studies course albeit through a purposeful sampling design (Creswell, 2008 & Groves et.al, 2004). Students

were given the lesson titled 'The Dilemma of Senator Williams' while discussing social and international events which created paradoxes in the United States foreign policy. In a single classroom setting, students considered the possible actions of rebels and the potential consequences of human life if the United States intervened through the series of the Case Study's four scenarios with a similar Likert question. This lesson was neither formative or summative in nature. This activity was conducted and completed in one 60 minute classroom setting.

The survey instrument was simple, utilizing multiple scale designs. Each questionnaire had four questions, with three being the same for all four scenarios. Question one was a standard five-point Likert scale of agreement, with five being highly agreed to one highly disagreeing. Number three was neutral or undecided. All four scenarios had questions structured similarly in nature. The Likert scale questions were designed to be categorical, using simple numeration more accurate towards labels which have no defining measurements or dimensions (Howell, 2004). The intent for students to 'define' a choice which by, in itself, would have no numerical value over any other option; except for percentages of response. Each potential answer to a question with the scale used alphabetic order (a, b, c, d, and e) instead of official numbers to help establish impartiality. The second question was nominal in nature and changed for each of the four scenarios; asking students what account or scenario was of importance in their decision-making.

The third issue consisted of a two-point scale inquiring if students would vote yes or no, to the resolution. The last issue consisted of a seven-point Thurstone scale asking students the level of difficulty in making the decision, in issue three. Each Thurstone scale had a one (1) labeled 'extremely easy' and a seven (7) labeled 'impossible'; with the corresponding numbers in between left blank and up to the student to decide. Such a scale helped establish a similar or corresponding data set to that of the Bogardus social distance scale, a statistically useful measurement technique for measuring students choices and opinions (Creswell, 2008). The scale was similar for all four surveys.

Since the questions were of different enumeration as determined by the various scales used; questions one and four are intervals with question two representing nominal and question three ordinal, it was determined only percentages would be used for questions one and three with questions two and four also using percentages as well as mean and standard deviation (Creswell, 2008, Howell, 2004 & Babbie, 2002). The comparison was made by gender. As each new layer of information was developed the responses were compared for differences

Findings and Discussion: Scenario One

Once scenario one was introduced students' response whether the President should intervene without Congressional support saw nearly half of the female students selected 'disagree' (See Table 1) followed by 20 'agree' or 'strongly agree' (19%) and 27 (25%) undecided, skewing the mean to a 2.56, between 'disagree' and 'not sure'(See Table 1). Nine students selected 'strongly disagree' illustrating a dispersal of choices, correlated by a standard deviation of 0.974. For males the dispersal was greater, having a standard deviation of 1.02, with no plurality of decision or choice discernible in their responses. Thirty-five percent of male students indicated no intervention was required, followed by 32% strongly agreeing on presidential intervention.

When asked which event or scenario was most relevant to their rational for question one. Students selected from the following options;

(1) the kidnapping of American and foreign hostages,
(2) past presidential abuses of power,
(3) military intervention to rescue hostages,
(4) possible Russian or Chinese intervention,
(5) or an open 'other.'

Response 1 had the highest votes tallied for both males and females with 38 (36%) for the girls and 27 (50%) for the boys. The girls had significant differences in response for 3 with 24 votes (23%) and 4 with 23 (22%). Though the kidnapping was important for a majority, military and other country's intervention also had an impact on this sample group (45%). Males indicated 13 (24%) responses for Russia and China (4), while only 6 (11%) for military intervention (3).

TABLE 1. Responses for Question one, do you support the President intervening without Congressional support?

		Males				Females			
		Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4
1	Strongly Agree (A)	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	10 (19%)	16 (30%)	4 (4%)	7 (7%)	12 (13%)	21 (20%)
2	Agree (B)	17 (32%)	11 (20%)	25 (46%)	13 (24%)	16 (15%)	21 (20%)	35 (33%)	30 (28%)
3	Neutral / Don't know (C)	13 (24%)	12 (22%)	8 (15%)	11 (20%)	27 (25%)	26 (25%)	31 (29%)	31 (29%)
4	Disagree (D)	19 (35%)	21 (39%)	8 (15%)	11 (20%)	50 (47%)	45 (42%)	24 (22%)	20 (19%)
5	Strongly Disagree (E)	2 (4%)	6 (11%)	3 (6%)	3 (6%)	9 (8%)	7 (7%)	4 (5%)	4 (4%)
	Mean	3.00	3.00	3.57	3.51	2.56	2.75	3.23	3.39
	Diff. Between males and females (Mean)	0.44 ←	0.25 ←	0.34 ←	0.12 ←	→ 0.44	→ 0.25	→ 0.34	→ 0.12

Question three asked students if they would, based on the provided information, vote for or against the Diego Resolution. The vote split among gender with 61 (58%) of female students indicated 'yes' while male students, 29 (55%) failed to support the resolution (See Table 2). When asked the difficulty in making their decision via the seven-point Thurstone scale, females responded lower in scale than the males, indicating female students viewed the situation and similar decisions easier with a mean of 4.09 as compared to the males at 4.45. Both male and female students showed medium sized clusters of responses indicated by their standard deviations.

Scenario Two

When asked 'do you believe the President should intervene without Congressional support' females responded with seven students (7%) strongly agreeing, 21 (20%) agreeing, 26 (25%) unsure or neutral, 45 (42%) for disagreeing and seven (7%) for strongly disagreeing. The mean response was a 2.75 with a standard deviation of 1.05, placing females still in the overall disagree range. Compared to the first scenario, only 19% were in agreement as compared to the 27% in agreement with presidential action now. The neutral category remained conceptually the same, potentially illustrating a shift in perceptions or apprehension.

TABLE 2. Would you vote yes or no on the resolution?

		Males				Females			
		Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4	Scenario 1	Scenario 2	Scenario 3	Scenario 4
1	Yes	24 (44%)*	27 (50%)	11 (20%)	14 (26%)	61 (58%)	57 (53%)	28 (27%)	28 (26%)
2	No	29 (54%)*	27 (50%)	43 (80%)	40 (74%)	45 (42%)	49 (46%)	77 (73%)	78 (74%)

* One male did not answer this question

Males responded with four (8%) strongly agreeing, 11 (20%) agreeing, 12 (22%) as neutral or unsure, 21 (39%) as disagreeing, and six (11%) as strongly disagreeing. The mean response to this question was a 3.00 with the standard deviation of 1.02. Unlike the female students, male students moved further into the disagreement categories, opposite in the direction of their female counterparts. In the first scenario, 38% of the males voted for the President acting alone with 39% against involvement. By scenario two, only 28% were in favor with 50% against involvement. The neutral category shifted by less than one vote and surprisingly, developing a rather impressive dispersal for this question. The males were minimally in favor as defined by the highest votes allocated, by percentages, there was no valid agreement.

With additional information provided from the first scenario, students were again asked what particular event was the deciding factor in voting for or against the Diego Resolution. Choices consisted of,

(1) that no American lives were lost,
(2) there is no risk of war,
(3) American honor/reputation is preserved,
(4) The President is supported or,
(5) the open 'other,' which offered no other defining statements.

The females responded indicated areas of consideration were (41%) that lives were not lost, (39%) there was little to no risk of war, (13%) for American honor,(3%) for Presidential support and (5%) for the open 'other.' The females were, for the most part, evenly decided that no American lives being lost and no risk of war be the most significant reasons for their earlier choices. Similar to females, male students were in ample majority for answers one and two, no lives lost and no risk of war, albeit slightly higher in the majority of 85% of votes tallied.

Interestingly, when it comes to the next question, 'are you for the resolution?', Males were in similar disagreement with 27 votes for and 27 against, equating an even divided among the sample population. Likewise, females were in favor with 57 voting yes (54%) to 49 (46%) against with a difference in four votes between the two scenarios.

Differences in the difficulty towards answering this question as asked by prompt four were also identical between scenario one and two, as the males had a mean response of 4.09, equal to their previous answer, while the females responded with a 4.47. As in scenario one, students found the question difficult to answer. Differences recorded after the second scenario showed a slight movement of male students voting 'no' on question one with the females, moving slightly, towards a 'yes' in allowing the President to act without congressional support. Genders were also different towards the acceptance or rejection of the resolution as males shifted slightly towards yes, creating a deadlock while the females move ever so slightly towards 'no.' Overall, there were negligible differences between responses for both genders between scenario one and two.

Scenario three

The third scenario provides students with additional information which resulted in a significant shift for boys. In scenario three, 35 males responded as either 'strongly agrees' or 'agree' with 65% of the total vote, a sizeable difference, and the first recorded majority agreement. Only 11 students selected 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' (21%) with eight (15%) either neutral or uncertain. Findings represented a significant difference and shifted in the perception of Presidential power. Females also recorded significant changes voting for Presidential support with a plurality listing either 'strongly agree' or 'agree' with 46% of the votes. Responses illustrated an increase in the neutral category, up five votes for a total of 29%, second only to 'agree,' indicating possible confusion or reticence in voting yes. However, there were only 28 votes in the two dissenting categories for 27% of the sample group, providing a significant reduction from the first two scenarios.

Question two offered the following events that may have had the most influence in the previous decision. Options here were, (1) the possible location of American hostages, (2) Erzats troops may not be able to free hostages without a compromise, (3) possible American military action, (4) possible execution of American hostages, and (5) open 'other.' The females were somewhat split in their responses as 37 (35%) saw the killing of hostages as most significant while 31 (29%) seemed to think the location of the hostages as most pertinent. The next choice was far less common with only 15 votes (14%) for military action, followed by 14 (13%) of a compromise and nine (8%) for open 'other.' For the males, 26 (48%) saw the execution of the hostages as the most influential variable by a significant margin than the other choices. The next, with 17 votes (32%) was the possible location of the hostages followed distantly with only six votes (11%) for possible American military action. Compromise and 'other' only received four votes apiece (7%) for less than 14% or the sample population. Both genders saw the location and possible execution of the hostages as most significant in their decision making though the females were more divided across the spectrum of choices.

For voting on the resolution (question three) the males and females, for the first time were in general agreement with 43 (80%) of males voting no compared to 77 (73%) of females. Though the males had voted continuously not to support the resolution throughout the previous scenarios, scenario three represented their most concise or tally in this category. For the females, scenario three described was the first definitive reluctance to support the resolution by 28 votes or 28%. For women students, the difference was still minimal, having a mean of 4.17, compared to scenarios two (4.47) and one (4.45). Males found this question easier with an illustrated mean response of 3.35, a significant dip from scenarios two and one (4.09) which recorded similar mean scores.

The standard deviation for both remained high, however, as both populations were a point and a half (1.5) indicating a relatively wide dispersal of question difficulty.

Scenario four

In the fourth and final scenario, responses from both groups headed in opposing directions as the females increased general support while males remained consistent in their hawkish stance. Females answered with 21 (20%) votes for strongly agree, 30 (28%) towards agreeing, 31 (29%) in the neutral or unsure category, 20 (19%) in disagreeing with only four (4%) in the strongly disagree range. A total of 41 votes or 48% of the sample in the agree on the range which is the plurality and slightly more so than the previous vote of 46% agreement. Male students tallied 16 (30%) votes in the strongly agree category, 13 (24%) for having agreed, 11 (20%) in neutral, 11 (20%) in disagreeing and only three (6%) for strongly disagree. Findings total 19 votes for 54% of the population, still a majority but significantly less than the 65% polled in scenario three. Both groups are still for Presidential action without Congressional support. Interestingly the mean scores for males for all four scenarios (3.00-3.00 – 3.57-3.51), within the third choice or category as described as 'unsure/don't know.' As the scenarios moved forward, the means increased, becoming more ensconced. For female students recorded means indicated a slightly different trajectory. Initial responses were in between 'disagreement' and 'neutral/don't know' (2.56-2.75 – 3.23-3.39) only to move firmly into the 'neutral/don't know' range by the end. They also had a stronger response tally in the 'don't know' category from the beginning, ranging from 25% to nearly 30%, or a fifth to almost one-third of possible votes tallied. The students, as a population, found these questions and the scenarios they were based on to be difficult to answer.

Question two the events or scenarios students selected from (1) most Americans favored taking action to save the hostages, (2) a political party that seemed to lack the courage would risk losing votes in the next election, (3) financial or political support in return for Presidential support, (4) the murder of Mr. Fletcher, and (5) open 'other'. For both males and females, the murder of Mr. Fletcher was the most significant choice, as the males garnered 32 responses (59%) to the girls' 57 (54%). Their second choice was also similar in votes tallied with 'other' seeing 11 responses for the males (20%) and 21 (20%) for the females. Only 10% of the males chose based on concerning Americans favor action and 6% each for a political party losing votes and financial support. Female students, however, provided a strong response for taking action with 21 votes tallied for 20% of their population. However, for answers two and three, political parties and favors only 3% and 4% respectively voted for such actions. In general, only the murder of Mr. Fletcher seemed to unify the genders, indicating a lack of certainty in answering the reason for making such a decision. This may suggest confusion or possibly critical thinking struggles as the students tried to clarify their emotions to thoughts as scenarios unfolded.

In the voting for or against the Diego resolution, both genders indicated their lack of support. As the exclusive information unfolded, males stayed resolute. In the first scenario, 54% voted no, with the second scenario illustrating a split opinion. As scenario three provided additional information, a majority, 80%, voted no, followed by 74% in the last question. Though not in favor, the males were, by no means, solidly so throughout the different situations. Females were for the resolution in scenario one and two (58%-53%). Scenarios three and four indicated females had switched answers tallying 73% and 74%.

As for the difficulty in answering this question, the females stayed consistently within the four range with a mean response of 4.04 though this figure also illustrates a small but regular drop in difficulty throughout the scenarios (4.45-4.47 – 4.09-4.04). However, when unified as a population and resoundingly against the resolution, their low response dropped ever so slightly. The standard

deviation for the last scenario was still relatively high, however (1.57) indicating that the cluster was not any more compact than the previous situations. The male students reported the decision process was easier than their counterparts but remained static until scenario three when a significant plunge in difficulty was recorded. Overall males registered less trouble answering and in the decision-making process.

Conclusion

The Dilemma for Senator Williams is an interesting example of how new, and pertinent information can drive new, possibly even critical and empathetic thinking in students. What is interesting in the data collected here is the difference between males and females overall perception towards the situation and how, as the story unfolds, this difference becomes increasingly smaller regarding the means in their response. For the males answering whether they were for the Diego resolution, many were undecided in the first two iterations of the storyline, measuring a mean answer of 3.00 for both scenarios. This 'halfway' in determination represents the category of unsure' and 'don't know' with 20 in the 'yes' columns and 21 in the no (in scenario 1). By the second situation, approval dropped to 15 in the agreement while 27 were unsure; leaving the same mean in response. However, by scenario three, the males were solidly in agreement with over 65% voting respectively to 54% in the 4th scenario. Overall – the males never left the uncertainty and gradually moved up the spectrum by nearly 0.37 of a point at its zenith.

In comparison, the females began in the no category, for both scenarios one and two with 55% to 49% respectively. While scenario two illustrated the second least difference in the four different actions – it was scenarios one and three which indicated the significant differences. By four both genders were almost in agreement with only a 0.12% between their means. The females, unlike the male students, moved consistently from no support to undecided to favor of the resolution in a clear linear fashion, with means of 2.56 (disagree), 2.75 (disagree), 3.23 (not sure/undecided) and 3.39 (not sure/undecided). Female students never wavered and were more consistent in rating the difficulties of their decisions, unlike their male peers. The female students netted a rise of 0.44, slighter higher than their male counterparts.

These differences in rankings are seen as relatively significant as the students, individually and as a group modified their decisions based on new information and subsequently indicated so in their responses. Each scenario 'added a layer' of information compounding the issue of the hostages and asking students how they would respond, developing a linked data set to their differences and potential thinking of their responses. Such findings cannot be overstated as the differences perceived might be distinct in-group or in classroom discussions. The dialogic discourse, albeit in discrete form towards the activity only or in discussing the differences in responses as well, are conduits to critical and empathetic learning (Lennon, 2017).

Teacher-led, student dialogues are powerful tools for engaging students in a broad and varied range of conceptual thinking exercises, and this activity is no exception. As the instructor moves the students from one scenario to the next, each with the overlapping degrees of new information, the teacher can refrain or engage the students during each segment, to elicit discussions or dialogues pertinent to their concerns or views. Using student differences in answering, without identifying the student, but by showing the class the numbers or percentages, can be an easy prompt for those willing to talk about their decision-making processes. This activity style has been utilized effectively in other scenario types, especially with ethics such as the trolley dilemma, allowing for complex thinking while avoiding controversial issues as the scenarios are abstract and not grounded in real world subjects or issues (Lennon, Byford & Cox, 2015).

With proper prompting as well as functioning as an 'outlet' to prevent hostility or frustration, the instructor can use the scenario to help guide students through levels of thinking beyond mere rote memorization while avoiding common pitfalls of controversial issues or other discussions that generate hostility. By doing this, the teacher develops a twofold objective; promoting dialogic discourse invaluable for students in hearing contrarian views and understanding that their peers may be different but that okay, and to allow these same students to critically rationalize what is not an easy, or possibly even a solvable problem (Lennon, 2017). If anything, an issue of complexity where there are no simple fixes or easy answers. Both of these activities allow for students to learn from each other, peer influences as well as the teacher in developing higher functioning skills so necessary for a functioning democracy.

High school students today were born after the end of the Cold War. While the United States may no longer have a defined enemy in the former Soviet Union, global tension nations remain high among regions and nationalities. Students often fail to understand the social and political networks that abide within the United States Congress and the President. To expose students to the perceived realities of statesmanship and foreign diplomacy, students were exposed to a simulated case study involving, foreign governments, American lives, and global and domestic economic interests. This time-tested moral dilemma allows students to analyze, evaluate and decide the final vote on the fictional Diego Resolution. This lesson provides students with creative insight into the functions of government, political party alignment, and American domestic and geopolitical interests not commonly found in today's social studies curriculum.

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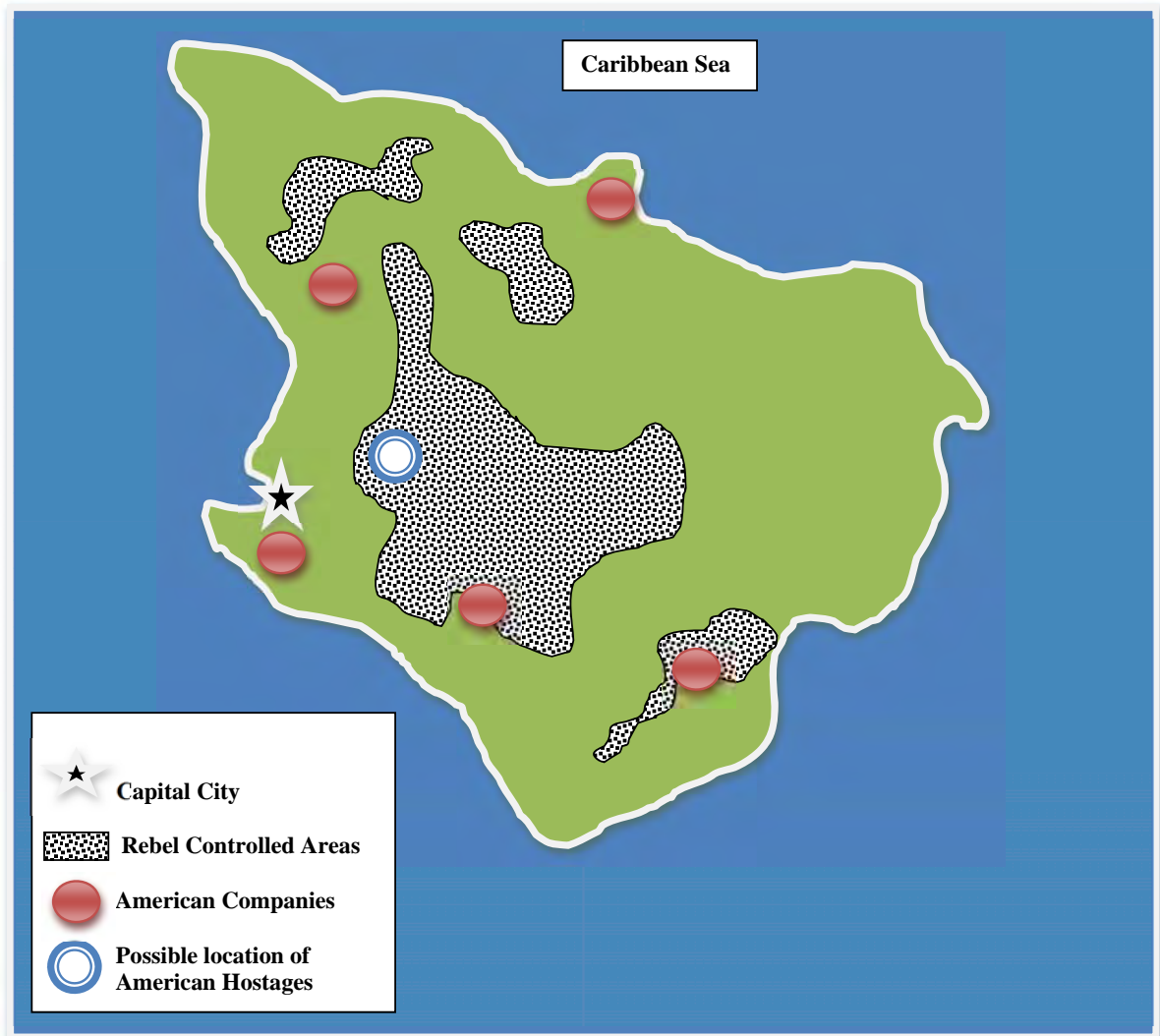
Fig. 1. The Island Nation of Ersatz

For the Student (Appendix A)

The date is June 3, 1982. You are a first-term senator. As a junior senator, you find yourself on several high-ranking committees. Fellow senators from both political parties think you are honest, trustworthy, and committed to the security of the United States. Over the past month, tensions have grown in the tiny island of Ersatz. Recently, revolutionaries have in a friendly way gained significant portions of the country (see figure 1). To increase tension, the revolutionaries have kidnaped Americans and foreigners as hostages. The President believes with the passage of the Diego Resolution; it will give him the freedom he needs to deal with the current uprising in Ersatz. As a senator, you receive five documents. Each report deals with a unique aspect of the unfolding events and provides valuable information to help you decide if you will ultimately vote for or against the Resolution before the Senate.

Procedure and Preparation for the Teacher (Appendix B)

For the Teacher
Teaching about social and political developments and decision-making during the Cold War, especially activities regarding possible American military intervention might be difficult for some students to understand. This fictional provides the teacher with a lesson that 1) helps students speculate or hypothesize based on the sequential events, 2) provides students with the opportunity to test their hypothesis based on documents provided, 3) promotes student application of information and ideas presented in documents, and 4) requires students to construct a value judgement based on their findings. Additionally, this lesson helps to increase cooperative skills and critical inquiry by using a subsequent case study. To help guide students, please use the steps are below.

Step One: Introduction
Set the in the context, and then considered and focus on students while establishing a purpose:
To prepared the students are told the year is 1982. Each student is a new Senator, who is well received by both political parties. Recently, the tiny island nation of Ersatz has come under attack from revolutionaries friendly to the Soviet Union and China. To increase hostility, the revolutionaries have taken Western hostages. The President needs your support to pass the Diego Resolution. The President believes the passage of the resolution will allow him the ability to deal with the uprising. As senators, it is your responsibility to read each document, discuss its merits and vote either for or against the Diego Resolution.

Step Two: Learning Experience Distributed
Students examine the evidence individually or in small groups with fundamental questions being posed, active participation with students explaining and analyzing information: Explain there is a total of four documents for analysis. Each report deals with unique and culminating events with potential national and international implications. Indicate to the class; they have a total of ___ minutes to analyze, evaluate, discuss and vote based on information found in each document.

Step Three: Comprehension Development
Students synthesize and evaluate the information with a discussion between students and teacher:
Provide students with the Island of Ersatz (Appendix B) and document 1. Instruct students to imagine they are the last and deciding vote needed to pass the Diego Resolution. After a total of ____ minutes, conduct a class discussion and record student decisions to vote for or against the Diego Resolution. After each class vote, encourage a brief class discussion on the events, or lack of information that may have influenced their decision-making process. The teacher might ask what the merits for or against voting for the Diego Resolution based on the information provided? Continue this process for documents 2 through 4. Check for understanding and differing opinions after additional information is acquired.

Step Four: Reinforcement and Extension
Students transfer the learning to the topic in general with teacher-led discussion: Instruct students to decide their final vote for or against the Diego Resolution after the last handout is provided. Survey students to see if any changed their votes while examining the handouts. In addition, students should consider the following questions: 1) When does the United States have the authority or obligation to intervene in another country's affairs, 2) When, if ever, should the President have the power to use military force without Congressional approval, 3) When, if ever, does the value of American lives outweigh the risk and reward of foreign policy or diplomacy, and 4) What criteria did one use in evaluating the importance and worth of each handout?

Student Documents - Handouts (Appendix C)

"SENATOR WILLIAMS, DO YOU VOTE AYE OR NAY ON THE RESOLUTION BEFORE THE SENATE?"

(Handout #1)

"What? I am sorry, dear. I did not hear what you said," Senator Mark Williams apologized as he became aware that his wife was speaking to him. "Excuse me; what were you saying?"

"I said: How did you intend to vote on the Diego Resolution? I assume that is what is on your mind; that is why you rolled and tossed about the bed all night, mumbling in your sleep."

"I do not know," he replied. "The situation in Ersatz seems certain to get worse before it improves. The Ersatz government acts as though it is paralyzed; it has lost control of the capital city. In the meantime, the revolutionaries continue to kidnap Americans and other foreigners and to hold them as hostages. I am afraid that many of the hostages will be killed unless the Ersatz government gives in to the rebels. However, would the hostages be any safer then? I do not trust the rebels or the government. We have helped that corrupt government so long that it expects us to come to the rescue in every one of its crisis – but at least we can work with it. If the revolutionaries win, they will probably seek friendly ties with Russia or China; Americans will be driven out, and American-owned properties in Ersatz will be taken by the revolutionaries with no compensation to the companies."

A newscaster describes the situation. Senator Williams rose up from his chair and turned on the morning television news in time to hear the news announcer say:

"However, the President believes that if the Senate passes the Diego Resolution, it will give him the freedom he needs to deal with the current uprising in Ersatz."

"Very simply the Diego Resolution asks the Senate to endorse the President's plan to move a navy task force to a position ten miles off the shore of Ersatz so that to be available quickly if needed. The resolution does not say specifically what the Navy will do after it is there, only that it would be "ready to take whatever actions are necessary to protect American live." Some sources believe that the Navy is already on its way to Ersatz. It is unclear this morning how the vote scheduled for 12 noon will be decided.

"Many in the Senate fear that if they approve the resolution, the President will take that as a green light to invade Ersatz, and the United States may find itself involved in a local war that might continue for months or even years. They remember some years ago when President Lyndon Johnson interpreted the Tonkin Resolution as a vote in support of policies to widen the war in Vietnam. These Senators are cautious about giving such a blanket endorsement again because they feel the President abused power and made many decisions that should have been made by Congress.

These Senators also argue that there be many measures the American government can take to ensure the safety of Americans in Ersatz without giving the President the power called for in the Diego Resolution. On the other hand, Senators favoring the resolution argue that the President need a vote of support to strengthen his hand in dealing with a very delicate problem: how to protect the lives and property of Americans and prevent an anti-American takeover of Ersatz without invading the country.

"At this moment, the vote looks very close. We may not know the outcome until the very end when Senator Mark Williams makes his decision. At last word Senator Williams was still undecided, despite the fact that he is a member of the President's political party and backed him for the Presidency. It may be that the final vote will be 51-49, with Senator Williams casting the deciding ballot."

"Sounds like a real thriller, doesn't it?" said Senator Williams sarcastically as he pulled on his coat and opened the door. "Stay tuned to that station and learn Senator Williams's choice! Well, it is likely to be a rough day. I'll be home for dinner."

Williams hears further news. As he drove to his office, Senator Williams listened to the latest news from Ersatz on his car radio. . . . Five more Americans had been kidnapped, making a total of fifty-three Americans who had been taken from their cars, from their homes, and in a few cases right out of their offices. Thus far, only men had been captured, leaving behind terror-stricken wives and children . . . Air Force General George Patrick had been quoted as having recommended dropping paratroopers into Ersatz to rescue the Americans, followed by helicopters to airlift all the Americans out. The Department of Defense denied any such plan . . . Meanwhile, Russia said it was studying the situation very carefully. Russian diplomats warned that the problem would become severe if the United States intervened in Ersatz in any way.

"It is not getting any better," Senator Williams thought. "The revolutionaries seem to be moving about the city at random with little opposition from the Ersatz police or government troops. Within a few hours, the government may fall. Some – maybe many – Americans will be killed. However, what will the President do if we pass the Diego Resolution and give him unrestricted use of the navy as he thinks best? If he invades, the rebels will probably kill those Americans being held, hostage. We might even have to keep forces there to support the present government. What would Russia or China do if we took such action? What would other Latin-American nations do if we were to invade one of their neighbors? Has the President tried all possible channels of communication between American diplomats and the rebel leaders? Don't we have any allies who might try to negotiate on our behalf so that force would not be necessary?"

Questions for Handout #1

1. Based on the information given thus far, do you believe the President should intervene without Congressional support?
   a) Strongly Agree
   b) Agree
   c) Don't know
   d) Disagree
   e) Strongly Disagree

2. Based on the information given, which <u>event</u> or <u>scenario</u> do you believe most relevant in your decision to vote for or against the Diego Resolution?
   a) Kidnapping of American and foreign hostages
   b) Previous Presidential abuses of power
   c) Military intervention to rescue hostages
   d) Possible Russian or Chinese intervention
   e) Other

3. By what you know now, how would you vote on the Diego Resolution?

   a) For the resolution

   b) Against the resolution

4. If the final vote came down to your deciding ballot; how hard would it be for you to make this decision?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Extremely
Easy

Impossible
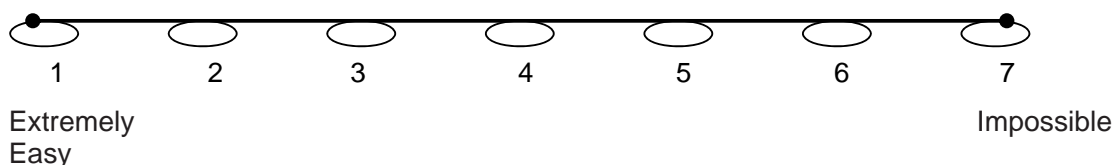
BY WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED THUS FAR, HOW WOULD YOU VOTE – FOR OR AGAINST THE DIEGO RESOLUTION? PLEASE EXPLAIN

(Handout #2)

As he slipped through the side door of his office, Senator Williams was met by his secretary. "Hi, boss. Glad you're here. The office is a mental institution. People are stacked up in the outer office waiting to see you, and the telephone is constantly ringing. I think everyone in the nation wants to tell you how to vote or be the first to learn what you are going to do."

"How do people expect me to vote?" Senator Williams asked. "I would estimate that opinion is about 2-1 for your voting for the Diego Resolution and support the president. However, it is sometimes hard to tell. For example, you received a long telegram from the faculty of Sinclair College urging you to vote in such a way that 1) no American lives will be lost, 2) there will be no risk of war, 3) American honor will be preserved, and 4) the President is supported. I'll let you figure out how they want you to vote."

"I wish I have a choice like that. What I fear is that if we do not act, someone will be killed; but I'm also afraid that if we do intervene even more people might die. Moreover, would American honor be enhanced or tarnished if we sent an invasion force into a small, defenseless nation? Who is waiting to see me?"

"About twenty reporters and one television crew!" "Tell them I will have no statement to make until after I vote. Who else is waiting?"

"Probably fifteen other people, including Mrs. Fletcher, whose husband is one of the hostages in Ersatz, and Joe Flynn, a representative from Allied Electrical Corporation. As you know, Mr. Flynn's company not only contributes heavily to your last campaign but also owns considerable property in Ersatz. Incidentally, Mark Jones, the editor of the Globe in your hometown wants you to call."

Williams grants some interviews. For the next two hours, Senator Williams met with fourteen people and placed or received eight telephone calls. The most difficult interview was with Mrs. Fletcher, who began to weep as soon as she entered the office; pleading with the Senator not to support the Diego Resolution for fear her husband would be murdered. She urged a policy that would give the revolutionaries what they wanted if they would free the hostages. Joe Flynn, on the

other hand, argued that the Senator should back the President and vote for the Diego Resolution. He pointed out that fifty-three captured Americans were in grave danger regardless of what action was taken. No one could predict what the rebels might do. What was certain was that property in Ersatz owned by Americans would be taken over by the new government if the revolutionaries won.

Between interviews, Senator Williams called Mark Jones. The <u>Globe</u> editor wanted to know how the Senator intended to vote so that the paper could carry the story on the front page that evening. Editor Jones also expressed his opinion that the most important factor to consider was that the United States should take a firm stand and make it clear that it would not stand by quietly when its citizens were threatened.

Questions for Handout #2

5. Based on the information given thus far, do you believe the President should intervene without Congressional support?
   a) Strongly Agree
   b) Agree
   c) Don't know
   d) Disagree
   e) Strongly Disagree

6. Based on the information given, which <u>event</u> or <u>scenario</u> do you believe most relevant in your decision to vote for or against the Diego Resolution?
   a) That no American lives are lost
   b) There is no risk of war
   c) American honor/reputation is preserved
   d) The President is supported
   e) Other

7. By what you know now, how would you vote on the Diego Resolution?
   c) For the resolution
   d) Against the resolution

8. If the final vote came down to your deciding ballot; how hard would it be for you to make this decision?

   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Extremely   Impossible
   Easy
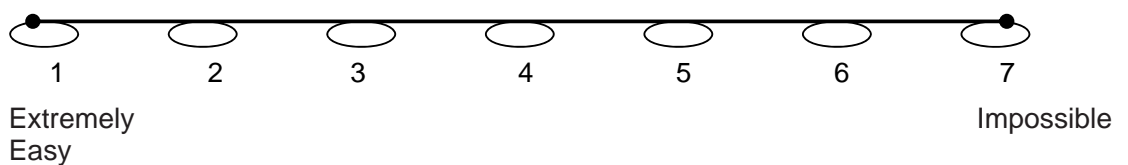
BY WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED THUS FAR, HOW WOULD YOU VOTE – FOR OR AGAINST THE DIEGO RESOLUTION? PLEASE EXPLAIN

(Handout #3)

As his last visitor was leaving, Senator Williams's secretary rushed into the office and said: "The President is calling. He is holding on line 9." Senator Williams picked up the phone and said: "Good morning, Mr. President."

"Hi, Mark. Sorry to bother you. I know you're very busy. However, I thought I'd call before you went over to the Senate. Can I count on your vote today?"

"I do not know, Mr. President. I think it is a very messy situation. I'd like to support you, but I am not sure that the Diego Resolution is good for you or the country. The present government of Ersatz lacks strong popular support. I despise the rebel's terrorist tactics, but I'm not sure the United States should intervene in just this way."

"Look, Mark, I need your vote. It is going to be close. Let me give you some information that hasn't been made public. We think we found where the revolutionaries are holding the American hostages. It is in the countryside, a few miles outside the capital city. Ersatz government troops cannot free them because the revolutionaries would surely have warned of the attack hours before it came off. However, I think we have a good chance of dropping our paratroopers in at night, freeing the hostages, and capturing the revolutionary leaders before they know what hit them.

"It is risky, but doing nothing is risky too. We have a message from the rebels that starting today they will execute one American every six hours until the government agrees to free all political prisoners it is holding and enters into negotiations with them."

"Mark, I need your vote. You'll have to trust me on this matter. Many people depend on us to do the right thing. Incidentally, drop by the White House at 5:00 P.M., and I'll fill you in on the plans to free those Americans. I'll see you later."

"Good-bye." Senator Williams returned the telephone to its stand.

Questions for Handout #3

9. Based on the information given thus far, do you believe the President should intervene without Congressional support?
   a) Strongly Agree
   b) Agree
   c) Don't know
   d) Disagree
   e) Strongly Disagree

10. Based on the information given, which <u>event</u> or <u>scenario</u> do you believe most relevant in your decision to vote for or against the Diego Resolution?

a) The possible location of American hostages

b) Ersatz troops might be unable to free hostages without compromise

c) Possible American military action

d) Possible execution of American hostages

e) Other

11. By what you know now, how would you vote on the Diego Resolution?

a) For the resolution

b) Against the resolution

12. If the final vote came down to your deciding ballot; how hard would it be for you to make this decision?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely Easy						Impossible
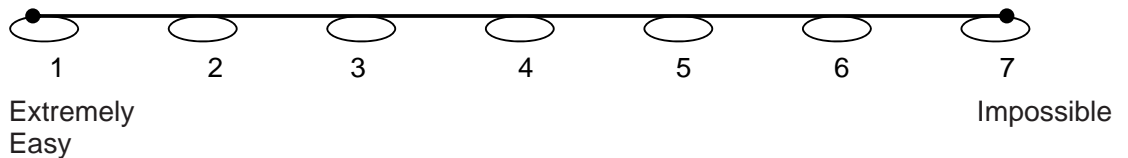
BY WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED THUS FAR, HOW WOULD YOU VOTE – FOR OR AGAINST THE DIEGO RESOLUTION? PLEASE EXPLAIN

(Handout #4)

Roll call had already begun when Senator Williams left his office to walk to the Senate. Just before leaving, he had a call from the Senate majority leader (his party leader) urging him to support the President. In the view of the majority leader, the Diego Resolution would become an important political issue. In his opinion, most Americans favored taking some action to save the hostages. A political party that seemed to lack the courage to act would risk losing many votes in the next election. Moreover, if Williams wanted any help from the President on any of his projects, he should plan to support the President today.

As Senator Williams strode toward the Senate chamber, he was met in the hallway by one of his assistants.

"It looks close, Senator. I think your vote will tip the balance. Incidentally, I just heard on the radio that one of the hostages – a guy named Fletcher – was found. He had been murdered."

Senator Williams entered the Senate just in time to hear the clerk call his name.

"Senator Williams: Do you vote aye or nay on the resolution before the Senate?"

Questions for Handout #4

13. Based on the information given thus far, do you believe the President should intervene without Congressional support?

a) Strongly Agree

b) Agree

c) Don't know

d) Disagree

e) Strongly Disagree

14. Based on the information given, which <u>event</u> or <u>scenario</u> do you believe most relevant in your decision to vote for or against the Diego Resolution?

a) Most American favored taking action to save the hostages

b) A political party that seemed to lack the courage to act would risk losing votes in the next election

c) Financial or political support in return for Presidential support

d) The murder of Mr. Fletcher

e) Other

15. By what you know now, how would you vote on the Diego Resolution?

a) For the resolution

b) Against the resolution

16. If the final vote came down to your deciding ballot; how hard would it be for you to make this decision?

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   1      2      3      4      5      6      7
Extremely                                Impossible
Easy
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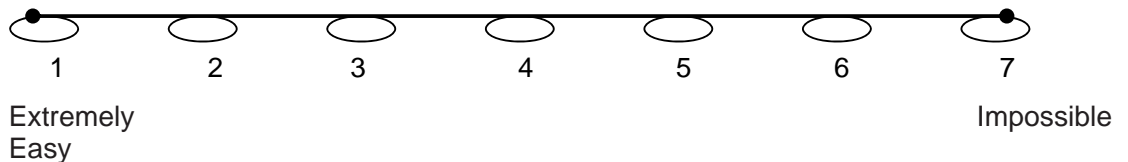
HOW WOULD YOU VOTE?

EXAMINING THE VALUE OF TEACHING SENSITIVE MATTERS IN HISTORY: THE CASE OF POST-WAR SRI LANKA

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Abstract:

Driven by the overarching objective of promoting reconciliation through education, this paper explores the impact of history teaching on youth identity and ethnic relations in Sri Lanka. Building on the arguments of scholars the likes of Cole and Barsalou (2006) *who hold that the failure to deal with the causes of conflict could have adverse future consequences, the study attempts to answer the following question: Should the controversial issues that are believed to have led to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, be discussed in the secondary school history curriculum?*

The investigation is largely based on the findings of 71 semi-structured interviews with youth and history teachers in Sri Lanka, and supplemented by an analysis of history textbooks and existing literature. The analysis of textbooks reveals that thus far such issues are either glossed over or completely ignored in the history lesson. The primary data generally supports the inclusion of contentious matters by uncovering the glaring lack of knowledge among Sri Lankan youth regarding the origins of the conflict, highlighting the need to curtail the spread of misinformation, and indicating how the avoidance of controversy goes against the goals of the discipline.

However, problems related to the willingness and capacity of teachers in dealing with sensitive subject matter and the prevalence of pedagogies that suppress critical thinking, present a compelling counter argument. This points towards the conclusion that controversial issues should be discussed in the history curriculum, provided that certain conditions which would support teachers and students in dealing with them are fulfilled.

Key words:

History teaching, Controversial issues, Identity, Sensitive issues, Reconciliation, Sri Lanka, Ethnic relations, History curriculum, History textbooks, Post-conflict education, Pedagogy, Reconciliation through education, Secondary school curriculum, Tamils, Sinhalese

Introduction

Amidst the chaos and the calm that Sri Lankan society has been navigating through since 2009 when the war drew to a close, the concept of reconciliation has become a central topic of conversation. Despite the cessation of armed violence, lingering communal tensions have been resurfacing sporadically in the form of riots and attacks among the general public. These recurring displays of ethnic and religious discord have finally placed reconciliation in a prominent position within the post-war development agenda of Sri Lanka.

Among the many avenues through which reconciliation can be promoted, education is one which often receives less recognition than it deserves. Within education, the teaching of history at the school level warrants particular attention due to its ability to influence mindsets and values. Yet, it is also generally an underused component of the social recovery process in countries emerging from conflict (Cole & Barsalou, 2006). This is likely due to the fact that history education in most

nations tends to largely focus on the ancient past which is so far removed from contemporary society, that it can be safely handled in the classroom. In the words of Levstik and Barton (2011, p. 1), 'Too often history instruction is simply a march through time that never quite connects to the present.' However, for history teaching to pursue its true potential as a conciliatory tool it needs to engage more with modern history (McCully, 2012).

Dealing with the recent past through the discipline of history is particularly important when it comes to post-conflict societies, since the roots of conflict usually lie within that period. Chapman (2007, p. 321) discusses the gravity of this task, which may involve altering the understanding of contested histories and unearthing difficult and uncomfortable recollections. As she writes, 'There are very few societies that lack at least some events that the government or specific groups would prefer to relegate to the trash heap of national amnesia.' According to Chapman the discrimination of minorities is one of the key issues that most countries have trouble discussing in the history books. The Sri Lankan scenario presents an interesting case study in this respect. Starting from civil unrest and riots in the early 1980s, the Sri Lankan civil war which progressed into a full-fledged armed conflict between the Sinhalese majority government and a Tamil separatist group called the 'Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam' (LTTE), was generally known as a war between Sinhalese and Tamils. To borrow from Jayawardane (2006, p. 217), 'The ethnic conflict has created not only a renewed interest in learning about the country's past but also a tendency to view the past in ethnic terms.' The extensive body of literature on the conflict and its causes contains much discussion on several controversial events and ethnically sensitive factors relevant to the 20th century. However, these events are either glossed over or completely ignored within the secondary school history textbooks, which also fail to capture the religious and ethnic diversity of the country by portraying it as a Sinhala-Buddhist nation and underplaying the other cultures (Jayawardene, 2006).

Given that eight years after the end of the civil war the roots of conflict are yet to make a meaningful appearance in the national history syllabi, this paper aims to answer the following question: Should the controversial issues that are believed to have led to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, be discussed in the secondary school history curriculum? The reasons behind the specificity of this question are twofold. First, focusing on the discussion of the causes of the conflict alone without going into the conflict itself, can be considered a pragmatic way of tackling an otherwise overwhelming task. Second, the Sri Lankan war which lasted for 26 years, is blotted with painful memories of violence and injustice. Dealing with such grave matters relatively soon after the end of a conflict is possibly too much to ask of secondary schools (Cole, 2007). Therefore, the magnitude and time considerations of the task necessitates the avoidance of doing too much too soon.

Beginning with an overview of the research methodology, the paper will move on to an analysis of the aforementioned controversial issues and their place within the Sri Lankan History curriculum. Finally, the merits and demerits of the arguments surrounding the discussion of sensitive matters within history lessons will be explored and applied to the Sri Lankan case. Apart from raising criticisms regarding the evasion of difficult subject matter, studies that investigate the impact that history education of this manner has on Sri Lankan youth, are hard to find. This project intends to fill that gap.

Methodology

This article is based on a tripartite analysis of literature, secondary school history textbooks and primary data; with the latter two components being used to prove the research problem and answer the research question respectively. Apart from providing an account of contentious pre-

war incidents in Sri Lankan history, literature relevant to the topic is utilised to lay out the main arguments regarding the handling of sensitive matters in the school history curriculum and to supplement the findings of field data.

The identification of the sensitive issues is followed by an analysis of how such matters are dealt with in secondary school history textbooks. The reason why the project is limited to secondary school is because it is during this stage of education (i.e. grade 6 to 11) that history is introduced as a compulsory subject for all students. The only textbooks used for history education in all government schools are those produced by the Educational Publications Department, under the purview of the Ministry of Education. Within secondary school, recent history, particularly the British colonial and post-independence periods to which the sensitive issues belong, are covered in the history syllabi of grade 9 and 11. As such, for this article the analysis is limited to the textbooks of those two grades. These books were first published in 2007 when history became a standalone subject (it was previously combined with social studies). While a revision of the grade 11 book came out in 2015, the grade 9 book is still in the process of being revised. Thus, one grade 9 book and two grade 11 books make up the sample of textbooks examined in this study.

The primary data presented in this paper is taken from a larger research project which looks at education and ethnic relations in Sri Lanka by exploring the role of history teaching in rebuilding national identity. While the project is still ongoing, some of the findings of the fieldwork conducted thus far are perfectly placed to contribute towards the current research. The fieldwork consisted of 71 semi-structured interviews with youth and history teachers in three districts in the country, namely Matara, Mullaitivu and Ampara. With the districts being chosen based on their ethnic composition[1], the youth sample was made up of 20 Sinhalese from Matara, 16 Tamils and 3 Muslims from Mullaitivu and 18 Muslims and 2 Tamils from Ampara. They were accessed through a youth organisation which offers diploma courses. As such the respondents were school leavers between the ages of 18 to 25, who had finished learning the local history syllabus in secondary school and were mature enough to discuss its impact.[2] The group of history teachers involved in the study were from five government schools in the fieldwork locations. The sample comprised of five Sinhalese teachers from Matara, four Muslim teachers from Ampara and three Tamil teachers from Mullaitivu. Discussions with the youth were largely designed to uncover their perceptions of ethnicity identity and ethnic conflict in relation to their understanding of history. While the teacher interviews broadly covered several aspects of history as a discipline, specific focus was placed on the challenges associated with teaching history in an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous post-war nation.

The 'sensitive matters' and their place within the history curriculum

The final years of British colonialism and the early years of independence in Sri Lanka were peppered with sensitive issues and controversial events, several of which came to have a bearing on the breakout of the ethnic war. As such, the roots of the conflict are believed to have been sown in this period; as elucidated by Tambiah (1986, p. 7) who stated that, 'Sinhalese-Tamil tensions and conflicts in the form to us today are of relatively recent manufacture – a truly twentieth century phenomenon.' While the level of agreement on this time frame is quite high (others who support

1 Over 94.5 percent of the population in the Matara district for instance are Sinhalese, while 90 percent of the population in the Mullaitivu district are Tamil and 41.5 percent of the population in the Ampara district are Muslim (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka, 2015)
2 The gender ratio of the group was 52.5 percent male to 47.4 percent female. However, gender was not considered to have a significant influence on the findings of this study.

it include Little, 1994; Nayak, 2001; Ghosh, 2003; Clarance, 2007), the discourse regarding the root causes themselves or the contentious matters in question contains more varied opinions and interpretations. However, although they do not form an exhaustive list of causes, there are several matters belonging to these eras which feature prominently in most accounts of the ethnic conflict. Brief discussions of each of them are presented below, followed by analyses of their presence within secondary school history textbooks of Sri Lanka.

- The Tamil minority held a more favourable position than the Sinhalese majority during British colonial times. This is because the significantly higher concentration of missionary schools in the North gave Tamils much better access to education (Ghosh, 2003; Clarance, 2007; Herath, 2007; Perera, 2009). Another contributory factor was that the infertility of the Northern areas led Tamils to place greater importance on education, both as a source of livelihood and as a vehicle of social mobility (Manogaran, 1987; Wijesinha, 2007). Thus, having received better schooling, particularly in the English language, Tamils occupied a disproportionate number of places in the higher education and employment sectors. Many believe that growing resentment towards these imbalances and calls to bridge them were manifested fully when ruling power was passed from the British to a Sinhalese- majority government.

  The history textbooks which cover the British colonial period mention that a knowledge of English was a requirement for government positions; but do not note the inequalities that existed among Sinhalese and Tamils in terms of access to English education and the favourable position that Tamils gained as a result. Instead of discussing these ethnic imbalances, the textbooks focus on elite versus rural inequalities in education and employment that fragmented Sri Lankan society at that time.

- The transition from communal representation towards territorial representation as the mechanism for local participation in the colonial government, as well as the granting of universal franchise, were highly contested issues. While Sinhalese favoured these moves based on the numerical strength of their ethnic group, Tamils opposed them for fear that they would not be adequately represented in national politics and would be subjected to Sinhalese domination (Manogaran, 1987; Nissan & Stirrat, 2002; Clarance, 2007). The latter's concerns were disregarded in the Donoughmore constitution of 1931 which abolished communal representation and adopted universal suffrage (Nissan & Stirrat, 2002). According to Nissan and Stirrat (2002) and Gracie (2009) alternative means of protecting minority rights were ineffectual against majority powers.

  Communal representation, which is mentioned several times in the textbooks, is introduced in the Grade 9 book as the origin of contemporary communal problems (Educational Publications Department, 2007a). It is also referred to as a measure that was going to 'bring about detrimental results for the future of the country' (Educational Publications Department, 2007b, p. 23). Although this is clearly a majoritarian perspective, it is the only viewpoint offered to the students. Later on it is noted that Tamil leaders were against discontinuing communal representation and granting universal franchise. However, the abolishment of the former and the adoption of the latter are referred to as purely positive advancements of the parliamentary system, ignoring minority concerns regarding their potential implications.

- Approximately one million Indian Tamils were stripped of their citizenship and voting rights by the Ceylon Citizenship Act of 1948 and the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act of 1949, passed by the first post-independent government of Sri Lanka (Nayak, 2001). The officially communicated reasoning for the measures was that Indian Tamils who were

brought down by the British as indentured workers and settled in Sinhalese dominated areas of the hill country, were temporary residents and thereby India's responsibility (Manogaran, 1987; Nayak, 2001; Nissan & Stirrat, 2002; Perera, 2009). While many scholars believe that the political motivation of these enactments was to limit the Tamil vote (Manogaran, 1987; Nayak, 2001; Nissan & Stirrat, 2002; Clarance, 2007; Gracie, 2009; Perera, 2009), some add that it was also intended to limit the left-wing vote (Vittachi, 1995; Nayak, 2001; Nissan & Stirrat, 2002; Perera, 2009). The second group further note that many Ceylon Tamils supported this legislation at the time.

This matter is mentioned twice in the grade 9 history textbook. In the first instance the two acts are simply referred to as 'important landmarks in the political sphere during the middle part of the 20th century,' which instated measures enabling Indians and Pakistanis residing in Sri Lanka to legally obtain citizenship (Educational Publications Department, 2007a, p. 99). The next mention notes that some Tamils leaders opposed the measure, citing that the government revoked the rights given by the British to the estate Tamils. The depiction of the issue in this manner not only lacks clarity, but it also creates space for confusion since the acts are first presented in a positive light and then shown to be contentious, without further elaboration.

- The 'Sinhala-Only' Act which made Sinhala 'the one official language of Ceylon' was passed by the House of Representatives in 1956 (Sahadevan & DeVotta, 2006). According to Perera (2009, p. 113) this was '… one of the first inter-ethnic agreements that was broken, for prior to independence, leaders from all communities had agreed that Sinhala and Tamil languages would replace English as the official language of the country.' With Sinhala alone becoming the language of administration Tamil speakers were severely affected, particularly in terms of public sector employment and education (Sahadevan & DeVotta, 2006; Wijesinha, 2007; Gracie, 2009; Perera, 2009). Upon the passing of this bill, a Tamil political party organised a satyagraha (non-violent protest) outside parliament, which led to the development of anti-Tami riots (Nissan & Stirrat, 2002; Sahadevan & DeVotta, 2006). While these were the first ethnic riots since independence, they erupted again in 1958 on an even larger scale (Vittachi, 1995).

The 'Sinhala-Only' Act is introduced in the textbook under the heading 'Implementation of policies respecting social and economic backgrounds, national language, religion and culture' (Educational Publications Department, 2007a, p. 103). It is thereby portrayed as a purely positive measure, ignoring its implications on Tamil speakers. The textbook mentions the decision to give Tamil a due place, without elaborating on what that entailed. The broken agreement regarding a dual language policy is also omitted from the discussion. Although reference to 'the tense situation caused by the language bill' is made at a later occasion (Educational Publications Department, 2007a, p. 117), the riots that erupted over this issue in 1956 and 1958 are left out. Overall, the textbooks give no indication that the Sinhala-Only issue is widely accepted as one of the main factors that deteriorated ethnic relations in the country.

- Starting from the Gal Oya River Valley Development Scheme in 1948, successive governments implemented policies to resettle people from over populated Sinhalese areas to Tamil speaking areas in the North and East. Commonly referred to as 'State-aided colonization schemes', these policies altered the demography of these provinces, as evident from the decline in the Tamil speaking population in the East from 88 percent in 1946 to 75 percent in 1981 (Gracie, 2009). Some scholars believe that issues over land access were part of the reasons behind the ethnic riots of the 1950s (Nissan & Stirrat, 2002), since as Perera (2009, p. 116) states, 'Making the Tamils a minority in areas

where they would otherwise have been a majority was an effective step in reducing their legitimacy and political power.'

The grade 11 textbook discusses the creation of agricultural settlements in the dry zone. However, the list of objectives in forming them does not include the government's alleged political motivations of increasing Sinhalese electorates, and the list of challenges in establishing them fails to mention the opposition raised by Tamil politicians against these so called 'colonization' schemes. In fact, the demographic details of the areas chosen for these settlements are kept out of the conversation, as are the ethnic implications of allocating property to thousands of Sinhalese in what the Tamils considered to be their homeland.

- In the early 1970's the government introduced standardisation policies and a district quota system for university education. These measures were viewed by many as discriminatory forms of affirmative action for the educationally disadvantaged (Clarance, 2007; Wijesinha, 2007; Perera, 2009). As explained by Gracie (2009) and Nayak (2001), the impact of the standardisation schemes was such that Tamil applicants needed to obtain higher marks than Sinhalese applicants to gain entry into the same courses. The quota system which was designed to favour those from rural backgrounds, also had a detrimental impact on Tamils (Nissan & Stirrat, 2002), particularly those from Jaffna (Gracie, 2009). All in all, as concluded by Nayak (2001, p. 165), 'This new scheme drastically reversed the ratio of Tamil medium students in the universities.'

  Despite having a section titled 'Striking characteristics of the Sri Lankan education sector during the three decades since 1948' (Educational Publications Department, 2015, p. 107), the textbook fails to mention anything regarding the standardisation policies and district quota system. Given the strong opposition raised against these mechanisms and their direct connection to the youth unrest that was prevalent in the 1970s, this omission can be regarded as a clear attempt to avoid dealing with contentious subject matter.

- Owing to the growing frustration of Tamils against Sinhalese dominance; the post-independence period saw the transformation of Tamil demands from equality to self-rule in a separate state, and the escalation of their approaches from peaceful political tactics to separatist warfare. In July 1983, the LTTE assailed and murdered 13 soldiers of the Sri Lankan Army. This attack sparked the deadliest anti-Tamil riots the country had ever witnessed. According to Devotta's (2006) description of the events, Tamils were hacked to death and burnt in their cars and houses. While the official death count was placed at 400, other reliable sources claimed that it was between 2000-3000, with another 100,000 Tamils being displaced from their homes and approximately 175,000 fleeing abroad as refuges (Clarance, 2007). Known as 'Black July', this fatal period of rioting is regarded as the onset of the ethnic conflict.

  The local history lessons covered in the textbooks end with the constitutional reform of 1978, which means the historically significant 83 riots are not included in the curriculum.

To sum up, the issues discussed above paint a picture of how relationships between the Sinhalese and Tamils gradually soured in the recent past, leading to the outbreak of the civil war. The analysis regarding the appearance of these issues in history textbooks reveals that they are either glossed over by focusing on a majority perspective and by omitting key pieces of information; or else they are completely ignored. This is not surprising, considering that the version of history presented in the books bears all the hallmarks of an official master narrative. That is, the textbook provides

one distinct account of the past, leaving no room for interpretation and not even alluding to the possibility of plurality in interpretation.

Having shown through the analysis of history textbooks that sensitive and contentious subject matter is avoided within the Sri Lankan history curriculum, the paper now turns to the task of examining the normative value of dealing with such content. The discussion is based on a combination of existing literature and primary data gathered through interviews with youth and history teachers.

The case *for* the inclusion of sensitive subject matter

The generally accepted benefits of teaching controversial issues are ample, particularly within the field of social studies. Summarising the key points made by some of the experts in the profession (e.g. Oliver and Shaver, 1966; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Evans and Saxe, 1996), Asimeng-Boahene (2007) holds that the discussion of contentious matters in the classroom is seen as a means of creating civic minded citizens who could perform effectively in a participatory democracy. The usefulness of pedagogies that deal with controversial topics in improving the critical thinking skills of students is undeniable (Rossi, 2006), as is their ability to teach students how to use evidence and shared values to constructively deal with those whose perspectives differ from their own (Young, 1996 cited in King, 2009). Relating these arguments to the subject of history, Levstik and Barton (2011) note that a grave consequence of the avoidance of controversy is that it denies the interpretive nature of history and thereby hinders the aforementioned efforts of promoting effective democratic participation.

Another argument in favour of teaching contentious matters through history is that it could influence perceptions of one's own group as well as other groups, since identity is intricately connected to the portrayal of a group's past (Cole, 2007). This is particularly applicable to societies recovering from conflict, as 'The combination of countering prejudicial stereotypes with recognition of a group's own responsibility for certain aspects of the conflict may provide for new perspectives and better understanding of the other side in a way that could contribute to resolution' (Barkan, 2005, p. 230).

Furthermore, teaching the difficult past through history education is necessitated by the goals of the discipline. As contested as it is, the argument that the purpose of studying history is to build up the future by learning lessons from the past, received strong support from the primary data. In the words of Kamilia, a Tamil youth from Mullaitivu[3],

> Learning history is important to know about the past … of what has happened already … and to make sure that those things … those mistakes … that we are not going to make it [sic] in the future.

Certain youth in the study specifically noted the relevance of 'correcting mistakes' to the ethnic struggles that took place in recent Sri Lankan history. This could be seen as a reflection of their feelings towards the current ethnic discord, which some believe to be a repetition of past mistakes. The need to *think historically,* which has received considerable support among history educators, is also relevant to these arguments. Levesque (2009, p. 27) describes this as 'The intellectual process through which an individual masters – and ultimately appropriates – the concepts and knowledge of history and critically applies such concepts and knowledge in the resolution of

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3 The identities of all respondents in the study have been protected with the use of pseudonyms. Their ethnicity and hometown however, have not been changed.

contemporary and historical issues.' What this means for school history is that students should not only be given factual knowledge but should also be endowed with the skills necessary to make sense of that knowledge in terms of how it was constructed and how it can be applied to different contexts. While dealing with contentious topics is an important aspect of thinking historically, thinking historically is in turn a useful method of dealing with contentious topics.

In a book titled 'Teaching History for the Common Good', Barton and Levstik (2004) explain what it means to 'do history'. Combining the activities and purposes of history education they present four stances to clarify the practicality and importance of history teaching; one of which is the moral response stance. Advocates of this believe that students should be expected to remember and recognize the virtues and vices of historical happenings. According to these authors, remembrance is important in terms of encouraging youth to empathise with the hardships faced by different groups throughout history. This is particularly true with respect to those adversely affected by conflict (McCully, 2012). While admiration serves to identify role models, condemnation plays a part in instilling a sense of justice in young people, upon hearing of past acts which marginalised, victimised and oppressed certain groups in society (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Once again, data from the interviews with youth backed this theory. When asked their opinion of a stone inscription made by a past king of Sri Lanka which mentioned that non-Buddhists were unworthy of the throne, 60 percent of Sinhalese Buddhist youth themselves expressed anger and frustration over what they believed was the promotion of racist sentiments. Many of their comments resembled that of Akvan, a youth from Matara, who stated,

> That is really unfair. Just like us the other ethnic groups should also have the same rights.

One of the main findings from the field research which highlights the need to teach sensitive matters is the glaring lack of knowledge that exists among Sri Lankan youth regarding the breakdown of relationships between Sinhalese and Tamils. When asked how tensions between the two groups first started and what they think led to the war that ravaged the country for over two decades, only a mere 17 percent of the total number of youth interviewed offered specific responses. In an effort to minimize subjectivity, the categorization applied to the responses was based on the general consensus that can be derived from the literature regarding the contentious matters that led to the war. What is referred to as 'specific' in this context are answers which mentioned any of the ethnically sensitive issues which were discussed in the previous section of the paper. Among them, only language and education related factors were brought up in this study, with even the historically poignant 83' riots receiving no mention.

While the answers presented by the remaining 83 percent of the youth cohort can be broadly identified as 'non-specific', it is possible to make a few further distinctions among them. Responses based on rights or equality is one category. Yet, even those who offered such replies were unable to elaborate on *which* rights were denied or *why* such inequality existed. Thus, the question regarding the causes of the ethnic conflict often received abrupt and noncommittal responses as follows:

> The problem of majority – minority. And racism. (Imran, a Muslim youth from Ampara)

Tamil calls for a separate state formed another category of vague answers. While a few connected them, albeit hazily, to the deprival of minority rights, most respondents made questionable or inflated claims such as that of Govinda, a Tamil youth from Mullaitivu who asserted that,

> Tamils thought that they can't be *slaves* for the majority people so they wanted a separate state.

The rest of the non-specific response group was made up of a variety of ambiguous suggestions as to what triggered the war. Among them were misunderstandings between ethnic groups, Sinhalese and Tamils not liking each other, caste differences, selfishness, personal reasons that blew out of proportion, and fighting for the throne. In general, the responses were riddled with inaccuracies and misconceptions. While some were merely misguided, others, perhaps unintentionally, carried racist undertones. The following is an example of each kind:

> Just because they had competitions between ethnic groups … like kind of finding who is the best … so they fought with each other. (Praveena, a Tamil youth from Mullaitivu)

> Tamil people wanted to capture *our* country. (Thamindu, a Sinhalese youth from Matara)

Some of the answers in this category contained unsubstantiated or questionable anecdotes. For instance, a youth from Ampara shared an elaborate account of a Tamil leader who died while carrying out a hunger protest and attributed the Tamil ethnic group's decision to take up arms, to his untimely death. Another respondent held that the war began because Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, started hating Sinhalese people when one of them murdered his sister. Other stories included allegations of the Sinhalese imposing a particular kind of tax exclusively on the Tamil community and a tale about a party held in the North at which a small clash that erupted between Sinhalese and Tamils was taken too far.

These factually bare anecdotes prove that misinformation is spreading within and across communities. This brings to mind the need to 'reduce the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse,' (Ignatieff, 1998, p. 173 cited in Cole, 2007, p. 119) which according to Cole, should be addressed not only through truth commissions but through history education as well. The validity of this point stems from the prime position held by formal education among the various means through which knowledge of the past is transmitted to the younger generation. In fact, 58 out of the 59 youth who were interviewed in this study confirmed that school was the main source through which they learned history, with media and parents being secondary influences. In a similar study conducted by Conway (2006) in Oxford in England and Mid Ulster in Northern Ireland it was found that although students gained historical insights through multiple avenues, they were influenced most by the history lessons taught in school. Conway's respondents in Oxford agreed that compared to anything else, public perceptions of present day issues were most effectively challenged through history education. Referring to the prevalence of historical myths in Northern Irish communities, Conway states the following:

> I argue that these versions dynamic as they undoubtedly are, have not been as uniformly pervasive as we have been led to believe and that school history can make more inroads into myths learnt outside the classroom than has been previously thought. (2006, p. 67)

If this argument is applied to the Sri Lankan case, teaching youth about sensitive issues in recent history could go a long way in addressing the significant lack of historical knowledge and related spread of misinformation that is rampant in the local community.

Conway's research with educators showed that a majority of teachers involved in the study advocated the teaching of contentious matters through the discipline of history, believing it to be useful in easing communal conflicts. Similarly, nine out of the 12 teachers in the Sri Lankan study felt that such matters, most of which are connected to ethnic issues, need to be explained to the students. For instance, the sentiments of Ms. Saakshi from Mullaitivu were conveyed by the translator as follows:

So they didn't tell the real stories, real problems that caused the ethnic war/ethnic conflict in the country. So her opinion is that students should know it. Students should know everything.

While these teachers cautioned that the inclusion of such issues should be done in a manner that does not promote racism or discrimination, the propensity for it to do so was the basis of the argument of the three remaining teachers who were opposed to this measure. This brings up the need to explore the other side of the debate on teaching contentious matters in history.

The case *against* the inclusion of sensitive subject matter

A simple statement made by a Sinhalese teacher sums up the concerns raised by respondents about ethnically sensitive issues in Sri Lankan history and their place within the curriculum.

If you include these it (sic) will promote racial issues. (Mr. Bathiya, a teacher from Matara)

Freedman et al. (2008) discuss similar concerns put forth by some teachers in Rwanda who supported the government's stance that the discussion of historical matters relating to ethnicity would rekindle tensions between different communities. While this is a legitimate concern, the risk of it occurring needs to be weighed against the consequences of withholding information about difficult events. Based on the empirical evidence, the ignorance displayed by youth regarding significant events in their country's past, could be considered as a main consequence in the Sri Lankan case. It remains to be seen whether this general ignorance is in some way connected to the active role played by youth in propagating religious and ethnic intolerance in recent times.

On the other hand, even if contentious matters are taught in school, personal biases and external influences may prevent students from accepting them. Referring to research carried out among Estonians regarding their knowledge on Estonia's entry to the Soviet Union, Wertsch (2000) explains that although the respondents were better acquainted with the official version of events taught in school, they placed greater belief in the private version that was passed around within the community. According to Wertsch (2000, p. 39) the interviewees reactions to the official account could be considered as a case of 'knowing but not believing.' It can be argued however, that students are not expected to unquestioningly believe what is presented, but to critically analyse the information provided through history lessons. In fact, in a later work Wertsch (2002) asks if the objective of history teaching is to encourage critical thinking or to create a shared identity based on a historical narrative endorsed by the state. This question was posed in relation to the concept of promoting a 'useable past' through history instruction at the school level. According to Fullinwider (1996) a proponent of 'patriotic history', a useable past is needed to help students to become good citizens with an interest in improving their country. In his view the discussion of contentious events could hinder the promotion of such a past. This problem, which appears unresolvable for the most part, is explained clearly by Cole who writes,

Closely related to the conservative nature of history education and the political discord that negative portrayals of the in-group inspire is the problem of finding a balance between frank critique and a narrative positive enough to engage students, as well as between nationalism and patriotism. (2007, p. 128)

Incorporating the ideas of Foner, Cole herself presents a response which, though not a solution in itself, offers some valuable insight in this regard. It reads,

Teaching, which presents history to students as an academic discipline with widely accepted standards and methodologies, rather than as a political tool or expression of nationalism, can

help make the study of history "at its best … not simply a collection of facts, not a politically sanctioned listing of indisputable 'truths', but an ongoing means of collective self-discovery about the nature of our society" (Foner, 2002, p. 88). (Cole, 2007, p. 126)

Aside from these ideological dilemmas, the bulk of issues relating to the treatment of difficult pasts through history instruction, are more practical. Teachers are often hesitant to tackle contentious matters through history lessons and thereby tend to skim over or completely avoid them. This reluctance could be due to a lack of capacity or it could stem from fears of individual perspectives compromising the objectivity required to teach controversial topics (Hess, 2005). The latter concern is particularly applicable to ethnically diverse societies such as that of Sri Lanka. As Low-Beer (2001) explains, teachers too are exposed to the same cultural and community influences as the students they teach. This could colour their perspectives and affect their ability to carry out fair, unbiased discussions in the classroom. In fact, the Tamil teachers in the study disclosed that in relation to certain contentious events they teach students the 'real stories', which differ from those narrated in the textbooks. A couple of teachers also admitted to presenting disclaimers to their students about some of the content in the textbooks, as shown in the following example.

> So this is just for your exams … so just study this for the exams but it is not 100 percent true… whatever is stated here is not 100 percent true. (Mr.Lokesh, a teacher from Mullaitvu)

Thus, the way teachers interpret curriculum content has a significant effect on how students understand it. Using findings from extensive primary research, Evans (1989) explains that while teacher conceptions of history greatly vary, they are closely related to the backgrounds, beliefs, and knowledge of teachers as well as to pedagogy. Therefore, the inclusion of contentious material into the history curriculum is risky since the effectiveness of the effort is largely dependent on the orientation of the teacher.

Furthermore, the pressure to cover the entire syllabus and adequately prepare students to face examinations is another common reason that leads teachers to avoid the time consuming endeavour of tackling difficult subject matter (King, 2009). This point too, received the validation of several teachers involved in the study.

Additionally, sensitive subject matter could elicit emotional responses from students, particularly in post-conflict settings where certain issues are still raw and painful to handle. Hence, when it comes to tackling contentious topics teachers sometimes prefer to deliver a monologue instead of engaging in a dialogue with students, for fear of letting the situation get out of hand (Hess, 2004). As Valls (2007) notes, students are not complaisant recipients of history education. Yet, that is how they appear to be viewed in many countries including Sri Lanka, where history pedagogies either inadvertently or purposefully promote the memorisation and regurgitation of information rather than critical thinking. Such pedagogies, which are unable to generate new insights that would be conducive towards reconciliation, severely impede efforts to educate youth about contentious events in the past.

Conclusion

The first section of this paper revealed that several historically significant sensitive matters pertaining to the recent past of Sri Lanka are either addressed very lightly, or not at all, in the secondary school history syllabus. In doing so, it uncovered that the textbooks contain a state approved official narrative of the past which is presented as the one and only historical account of the Sri Lankan nation. The books, which are written in a way that leads the reader to unquestioningly accept what is given as pure fact, could thus be viewed as tools of indoctrination. This type

of history education denies some of the most basic features of the discipline, as explained by Chapman (2016, p. 5) who holds that 'histories are representations and constructions of the past', they are 'inherently plural and variable', 'histories are authored and shaped by the subjectivities of their authors', and they are typically 'narratives grounded in evidence and argument.' Hence, the avoidance of controversy which is visible in the textbooks, is indicative of larger issues related to history education in Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, the skillful handling of textbook content by teachers is essential if it is to create a positive impact on students. Comprehensive teacher training is therefore a pre-requisite in teaching difficult pasts through history education. While believing that altering the way history is taught is of greater urgency than curricular reform in countries emerging from conflict, Cole and Barsalou (2006) hold that the use of pedagogies that support critical analysis could greatly aid the discussion of contentious matters in a non-discriminatory manner. Based on the views expressed by participants at the Unite or Divide conference held in 2005, Cole (2007) notes that it is not unrealistic to expect teachers to adapt to and utilise new pedagogical approaches and textbook content, since many actually do so. However, greater support which is sensitive to their specific needs and challenges should be extended to them, particularly in post-conflict situations.

Although establishing the research problem of this paper through textbook analysis was a straightforward task, deriving an answer to the research question was understandably more difficult. Based on the arguments that have been presented for and against the introduction of sensitive topics, it is evident that a simple yes or no response will not suffice. While it is both necessary and important to discuss the controversial issues that are believed to have led to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict in the secondary school history curriculum, inclusion of such sensitive subject matter needs to be preceded by teacher training and pedagogical reforms. Taking steps to address the broader issues related to history education that were exposed through this study, is also of vital importance. In the absence of these measures, efforts to educate the seemly ill-informed Sri Lankan youth regarding the country's difficult past, could prove to be more harmful than helpful.

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LEARNING FROM THE AFTERMATH OF THE HOLOCAUST

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Abstract:

In this article I seek to encourage those involved in Holocaust education in schools to engage not just with the Holocaust but also with its aftermath. I conceptualise the latter in terms of two questions; namely, what happened to those Jews who survived the Nazi onslaught and what became of the perpetrators? British researchers in the field of Holocaust education have largely ignored these questions, discovering only that many schools ignore them too. I argue that students are able to benefit in a number of ways from learning about the aftermath of the Holocaust, for the topic provides a sense of closure, allows for a more sophisticated understanding of the fate of European Jewry between 1933 and 1945 and also has the potential to promote responsible citizenship.

Keywords:

Introduction

Depending upon how it is taught, students can acquire an understanding of the Holocaust that is ahistorical, shallow or misinformed and derive little or no benefit relating to citizenship. The possibility of this happening is not just a theoretical one, for research over the past couple of decades has uncovered numerous shortcomings in the way the Holocaust is handled in schools; not least, a tendency for teachers to overlook important topics or treat them with insufficient seriousness (Short, 2015). For example, the part played by the Church in the history of anti-Semitism is frequently omitted or marginalised, making it difficult for students to grasp fully Christianity's role in laying the groundwork for the Holocaust. Some teachers also gloss over the record of anti-Semitism in countries other than Germany, inadvertently encouraging students to see Germans as uniquely susceptible to anti-Semitism and maybe to other forms of racism as well. A further concern is that teachers sometimes fail to examine in appropriate depth the range of victim groups persecuted by the Nazis and thereby inhibit their students from coming to terms with the racist mindset. [The leading authority on prejudice, the late Gordon Allport (1954), argued that one of the facts about which we can be most certain is that racists rarely have a single target in their sights.] Equally worrying is that many teachers have been shown to play down Jewish resistance to the Nazis, mentioning perhaps the Warsaw ghetto uprising of 1943 but little else. Such minimal coverage not only leads to an impoverished understanding of the Holocaust; it also risks students construing passivity in the face of the oppressor as a trait more deserving of contempt than compassion, an outcome patently at odds with any notion of responsible citizenship.

In this article I want to expand upon the notion of diminished or inappropriate learning that results from inadequate content by considering how students can lose out if the Holocaust is taught without making reference to its aftermath. I define the latter in terms of two questions; namely, what happened to those Jews who survived and what became of the perpetrators? Looking in particular at the case of Britain, it appears from the literature (see below) that the majority of researchers and many teachers have ignored these questions. However, they need to be

addressed for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that they can bring a sense of closure (Gray, 2015) in the sense of going some way towards satisfying the need we all have to know how a story ends (Zeigarnik 1927). That said, the benefits are not just psychological; they are also educational. Specifically, an awareness of what happened to those Jews who returned home following their forced exile or incarceration and learning also about the fate of the perpetrators can lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the Holocaust. In other words, certain post-war events illuminate the Jewish experience between 1933 and 1945 and may well influence the way we think about that experience. Studying these events may also help to promote responsible citizenship.

Arguably, the two aspects of the aftermath that are most likely to impact on how students view the Holocaust itself are the return of survivors to Poland and the Allies' pursuit of Nazi war criminals. I shall discuss each in turn after first showing how researchers in Britain have largely ignored post-war developments of any kind.

The dearth of research

Carrie Supple's (1992) exploration of how the Holocaust is taught in schools in the north east of England was the first to be undertaken in Britain. She was rather less concerned with matters of content than with the practical problems that teachers face such as how best to deal with their students' racism. Nonetheless, she carried out a content analysis of available textbooks finding among other things:

> …. little information about Jewish people … reproductions of anti-Semitic stereotypes … no description of the variety of Jewish life before the Holocaust; no explanation of the roots of anti-Semitism, no idea of the variety of responses to Nazism, little on the treatment of minorities other than Jews … No mention of resistance or rescuers; no mention of the role or responsibility of the free world; and no attempt to analyse what made some people into SS murderers …

> (Supple, 1993, p. 21)

There was no reference anywhere in her report to the immediate post-war years.

I too have been negligent in this respect. In a series of studies beginning in the mid-1990s, I interviewed many teachers on an assortment of topics without at any stage asking whether they focused on both the Holocaust and its aftermath. In the first of these studies (Short, 1995) the investigation had a marked emphasis on content. I looked at whether teachers drew parallels between the Holocaust and other genocides and enquired about the amount of time they spent on the history of anti-Semitism and on the role of the Church in promoting it. Other questions concerned rescue, Jewish resistance and the plight of non-Jewish victims, but I did not at any point probe teachers on how, if at all, they covered post-war developments. In common with Supple, I analysed a number of textbooks in widespread use finding them deficient in a variety of ways. Some distorted the truth (depicting Jews, for example, as a monolithic entity, invariably wealthy and committed to Judaism) while others contradicted it. I also commented on the books' failure to allude to the positive side of Jewish history but I made no mention of events post 1945. In a later study (Short, 2001), I explored how the Holocaust is approached in religious education. Teachers were questioned on issues relating to theology and history (most obviously on the role of the Church during the Holocaust), but they were asked nothing about the attitudes and practices of the Church once the war was over. This was a surprising omission on my part as in the introduction to the article I had written:

(Teachers) will mislead their students, and possibly reinforce anti-Semitic sentiment, if they fail to apprise them of the changes in Christian theology *vis à vis* the Jews that have taken place since the war. Students should know that the charge of deicide was repudiated at the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1961 and in the papal declaration *Nostra Aetate* of the Second Vatican Council in 1965.

(Short, 2001, p. 43)

Latterly, I have focused on how Muslim youth relate to learning about the attempted annihilation of European Jewry (Short, 2013). In this study the Holocaust syllabus was a secondary consideration and, once again, post-war events, framed in terms of the two questions referred to above, were not addressed.

Other researchers have had their own particular area of interest. Brown and Davies (1998) were ostensibly concerned with citizenship, but focused rather more on the day-to-day management of school-based Holocaust education. Among other things they urged history and religious education departments to work more closely with one another. They largely ignored matters of content. In Scotland, Cowan and Maitles (2007, et seq), in a series of articles, have looked at the possibility of teaching the Holocaust in the upper reaches of the primary school and at the longer term impact of such teaching on children's attitude towards minority groups. As far as I am aware, they have never shown any interest in the post-war era.

The most recent illustration of researchers ignoring the aftermath of the Holocaust has come from the Institute of Education (IOE) in London (Foster et al. 2015). Nearly eight thousand students aged between 11 and 18 were asked forty questions in order to assess their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust. Only one of the questions, however, had any sort of link with the post-war years. Students were asked if they could identify a photograph of Peter Eisenman's famed memorial to the Holocaust in the centre of Berlin.

A few years earlier, the same team from the IOE published what I believe is the only empirical study with an explicit focus on the period immediately following the Holocaust (Pettigrew, Salmons and Foster, 2009). This study, because of its scale, provides the most compelling evidence that many schools in Britain do not address post-war developments when teaching about the Holocaust. The survey was conducted with an online opportunity sample comprising over 2000 secondary school teachers from across England, not all of whom actually taught the Holocaust. Twenty-four of those who did and 44 of their colleagues subsequently participated in an in-depth interview.

Teachers in the online sample who taught the subject were presented with a list of 35 topics each of which could reasonably form part of a project on the Holocaust. They were asked to identify those they included in their teaching and to indicate, on a five-point scale, how strongly they felt about including them. Among the choices was 'The experience of Holocaust survivors since 1945' and 'Post-war justice and the Nuremberg trials', but no guidance was offered on how these category headings were to be interpreted. The experience of Holocaust survivors since 1945 could mean nothing more than noting how those who fled to the West, either before or after the war, managed to re-build their lives by starting families and pursuing a career. It does not necessarily entail an exploration of the fate awaiting survivors who returned to their former homes in eastern Europe. It is not clear from the survey just how many teachers were asked if they cover this topic (regardless of how they chose to define it), but the figure of 409 who claimed to do so contrasts with the 900 who selected the most popular of the proposed topics, namely, 'the experiences of individual men, women and children who were persecuted by the Nazis.'
Similarly, we cannot be sure what is meant by 'Post-war justice and the Nuremberg trials.' Is the rubric to be understood as dealing only with Nuremberg or does it extend to the trials held

elsewhere in Germany and in other countries (notably that of Adolf Eichmann in Israel) over subsequent decades? And does the term 'post-war justice' embrace those who managed to evade it such as Josef Mengele who found a haven in Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay and Alois Brunner who escaped to Syria? The number of respondents who included this category in their teaching was just 374.

This investigation by the IOE is useful in so far as it makes us aware that many schools avoid the subject of the aftermath of the Holocaust. However, it provides no data on how the subject is handled in schools where it is taught. This is not to imply that the teaching in such schools is necessarily inadequate in some way. On the contrary, it might be undertaken to a high standard, not least because of the information to be found in *Lessons of the Holocaust* (Holocaust Educational Trust/Spiro Institute, 1997), the one commercially produced curriculum of note published in Britain which was sold to well over a thousand secondary schools before being replaced. Written by the distinguished historian Robert Wistrich, the curriculum contains a section on the aftermath to the Holocaust that deals explicitly with the fate of both survivors and perpetrators. Even so, the fact remains that we do not know how teachers approach this topic and are left to speculate because the appropriate research has not been carried out. We can explain this gap in the literature in a number of ways. It may be that researchers are not sufficiently informed about the immediate post-war period to appreciate its relevance to understanding the Holocaust. Alternatively, they might be very well-informed about the period but believe it has no bearing on what can usefully be learnt about the Holocaust. A third possibility hinges on the research community drawing too rigid a distinction between the Holocaust and its aftermath, defining the former as an event that ended with the liberation of Auschwitz or, more accurately, with the formal cessation of hostilities in May 1945. Anything related to the Holocaust that occurred after that date is then necessarily seen as extraneous and as being off limits to researchers (with many teachers thinking along the same lines).[1] I might well have fallen prey to this rationale myself. Operating with a sharp conceptual distinction between the Holocaust and its aftermath does have a certain logic to it, for 'the Holocaust' has to end at some point, but I now believe that in the interests of sound pedagogy we should blur the distinction. In my view a number of post-war developments are integral to learning about the Holocaust and ought to be both taught and researched. I consider next the most significant of these developments as they affected survivors and perpetrators and highlight their relevance for students' learning.

The Jewish experience in Poland 1945–1946

At the end of the war, the remnant of Polish Jewry, having survived the camps or the forced exile in the Soviet Union, returned to Poland to reclaim their homes. They were not welcomed by their non-Jewish compatriots; on the contrary, their presence was deeply resented by those Poles who had gained materially from the Holocaust, having taken over and plundered abandoned Jewish-owned property which they now believed they were in danger of losing (Grabowski, 2011). Jews were frequently killed by those determined to hold on to their ill-gotten gains. According to the historian Jan Gross (2006), the desire of Poles to profit from the catastrophe that had overtaken the Jews even extended to digging up former death camps like Treblinka in search of skulls

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1 Interestingly, the *Lessons of the Holocaust* curriculum, referred to above, was superseded in 2014 by a cross-curricular scheme of work entitled *Exploring the Holocaust* containing a timeline that ends in May 1945. Also, the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (2015), the charitable organisation that since 2005 has been responsible for Britain's annual memorial day, refers to the Holocaust as follows: 'Between 1941 and 1945, the Nazis attempted to annihilate all of Europe's Jews. This systematic and planned attempt to murder European Jewry is known as the Holocaust.'

containing gold teeth that the Nazis had somehow missed. Post-war incidents of this kind should leave students in no doubt that the Holocaust was not just a case of mass murder; it also involved mass theft and not only by the Germans. In Niall Ferguson's (2006) view:

> While the 'final solution' was unmistakably German in design, it is impossible to overlook the enthusiasm with which many other European peoples joined in the killing. … Some were undoubtedly motivated by a hatred of the Jews as violent as that felt by the Nazi leadership. Others were actuated by envy or base greed, seizing the opportunity afforded by German rule to steal their neighbour's property.
>
> Ferguson (2006, pp. 454-455)

As is well known, many Poles rescued Jews during the Holocaust but because of the level of anti-Semitism in the country after the war they were keen that their fellow Poles did not get to know about it. The anti-Semitism manifested itself in different ways and with varying degrees of severity. At the lower end was institutionalised discrimination in the labour market and children at school having to contend with violence from fellow pupils. There was also Jews' particular vulnerability to attack on trains. To quote Gross:

> Train-station attacks took place in several locations. The episodes were typically brief, lasting not much longer than a scheduled stop. … The use of heavy iron objects – rail sections or pieces of railroad equipment – to crush people's skulls were reported. Jews had to be identified before being murdered and … boy scouts played a particularly active role in this process. Men in uniforms with shotguns – railroad guards or travelling soldiers – joined in these rapid assaults and often used firearms.
>
> (Gross, ibid., p. 110)

At the other extreme was mass murder. It is estimated that as many as 1500 Jews died at the hands of ethnic Poles in the fifteen months or so following the end of the war (Michlic, 2005). The first pogrom occurred in August 1945 in Krakow. The second, much better known and far more deadly, took place in the south-eastern town of Kielce in July 1946. In the course of a single day, 42 Jews lost their lives with at least the same number seriously injured. The immediate cause of the violence was a blood libel, the medieval slander that Jews kill Christian children in order to use their blood to make matzo (unleavened bread eaten during Passover). An eight-year-old Christian boy had, in fact, gone to stay with a friend without informing his parents. To avoid punishment he told his father on his return that he had been kidnapped by Jews and it was this false accusation that ignited the violence. The subsequent deaths in and around the town's Jewish community centre (where the boy had allegedly been held captive) were caused by gunfire from the army and police and by beatings from local residents, many of whom worked at a nearby steel mill. A contributory cause of the violence was the widespread perception in Poland at this time of Jews as supporters of the Communist government that had recently come to power. In Michael Fleming's words: 'The linkage of Jews with communism was a long-standing stereotype repeatedly promulgated by both the Right and the Catholic Church in Poland.' (Fleming, 2009, p. 60).

Learning about the origins of this pogrom can help students deepen their understanding of stereotypes. They are certainly able to recognise the potential longevity and devastating consequences of a hostile ethnic stereotype, for the blood libel began life in England as far back as 1144 and, over the centuries, has led to the deaths of an untold number of Jews. Students can learn too about the limitless geographical reach of an ethnic stereotype. The blood libel spread effortlessly throughout the Christian world and by the nineteenth century had infected the Middle East as well, courtesy of Christian missionaries. Most importantly, students should

learn from this pogrom that venomous stereotypes can lead to carnage despite their being wholly without foundation. Indeed, as illustrated by the blood libel, they can be patently absurd, as Jews were arguably the first people to outlaw human sacrifice (*Genesis,* 9:4; *Deutoronomy*, 18:10) and are explicitly forbidden by their scriptures from consuming any kind of blood (e.g., *Leviticus*, 3:17).

In so far as responsible citizenship involves reflecting critically on the society in which one lives, knowledge of the Kielce pogrom might have the added benefit of prompting students to think about why it is that some people are willing to believe completely unfounded rumours. It might further prompt them to ask how society can help such people become less gullible. The stereotype linking Jews to Communism was rather different in that it did contain a kernel of truth; a number of assimilated Jews being prominent members of the Ministry of Public Security. That said, the danger inherent in any ethnic stereotype is that those exposed to it will assume that what is true of some members of the targeted group is true of all of them and consequently, any action based on the stereotype will likely punish the innocent along with the guilty. Students should be made aware of this danger. The Kielce pogrom highlights it graphically as there were a number of children among the dead.

The events of July 1946 reveal the depth of hostility felt towards Jews by many within the Catholic Church in Poland for, as Jan Gross (op. cit., pp. 134-142) makes clear, even after the Holocaust, many of the clergy were unwilling to see the Jews of Kielce as the innocent victims of an unprovoked attack. With one notable exception, no member of the Catholic hierarchy in the country issued a statement after the pogrom that unequivocally condemned anti-Semitism. The exception was the bishop of Czestochowa, Teodor Kubina and he was quickly reprimanded by his fellow bishops for stepping out of line. The titular head of the Polish episcopate, Cardinal Hlond, even appeared to deny that an anti-Semitic incident had taken place in the town when he questioned whether the outbreak of lethal violence could be attributed to racism. The enmity shown towards Jews by most Catholic clergy in Poland at this time can help students to understand why there was never an outright denunciation of anti-Semitism by the Vatican during the twelve years of Nazi rule (Cesarani, 2009). Whilst the Church was silent partly to protect its interests in Nazi Germany (doing so initially via the Concordat of 1933) it was also motivated to keep its own counsel by religious hostility, perceived ideological differences and particularly by a fear of communism that it believed was spread chiefly by Jews. According to Wistrich (2002, p. 154), in most Catholic minds Jews 'were seen as being linked with the forces of liberalism, Freemasonry, rationalism and secularism in the democratic west and with a dictatorial and ruthless Bolshevism in the east.'

Manifestations of anti-Semitism in post-war Poland were not entirely unexpected, for they were nothing new. Despite its diversity and vibrancy, animosity towards the country's Jewish community was rampant before the war leading Ferguson (op. cit., p. 70) to note that 'even as late as 1939, it was by no means clear that the Nazis were the worst anti-Semites in continental Europe.' We know that Poles aided the Germans in destroying the Warsaw ghetto and were responsible for the deaths of at least 340 Jews in Jedwabne in 1941[2] (Gross, 2003), but the extent to which ordinary Poles were anti-Semitic is, perhaps, best illustrated by a meeting in August 1945 of a thousand delegates of the centrist Peasant Party. One speaker proposed a resolution, to tumultuous applause, thanking Hitler for destroying the Jews (cited in Gross, 2006, p. 226).

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2 Jedwabne is a small town in north eastern Poland. After its capture by the Germans in 1941, the mayor agreed to facilitate a massacre of the town's Jews by their Polish neighbours. About half the men of Jedwabne's 1,600 strong Catholic community participated, corralling the Jews into a barn which was then set ablaze.

The fate of the perpetrators

Recently, Reinhold Hanning, a 94-year old former Auschwitz guard was sentenced to five years in prison for aiding and abetting the murder of more than 170,000 prisoners at the death camp (Charter, 2016). Should students learn of this or similar cases (and further prosecutions are in the pipeline) they may well assume that the search for justice that started shortly after the war has proceeded without interruption ever since. The truth is rather different. The prosecution of leading war criminals by the Allies began in Nuremberg in November 1945 and continued either at Nuremberg or elsewhere in Germany until around 1948, by which time the Cold War, having eclipsed all other political concerns, was dictating a change in priorities. The Allies needed to strengthen West Germany economically, militarily and in other ways and this required a substantial reduction in the number of prosecutions. By the early 1950s they had effectively stopped.[3] For the Allies, perceived national interest took precedence over the quest for justice and this meant that many former Nazis were allowed to return to their previous jobs in the armed forces, in the judiciary, in industry and in other areas of the economy. The Allies actually went further and not only abandoned the search for justice but began actively to recruit those they knew or suspected of having committed war crimes (Cesarani, 2001). In particular, the United States sought scientists, such as Wernher von Braun, to work on the country's space programme and to develop its nuclear weapons capacity. Braun had not only joined the Nazi party but had been a member of the SS and had employed slave labour to produce V2 rockets. Such hypocritical behaviour on the part of the United States, prosecuting some Nazi war criminals at the same time as granting American citizenship to those they considered useful, should make students question just how seriously the Allies took the search for justice after the war and how much they ever really cared about the suffering of Jews and other victim groups under the Nazis. The seriousness with which Britain took the pursuit of former members of the Waffen-SS and Nazi police units who had entered the country from eastern Europe in the late 1940s can be gauged from the fact that the government did not set up an official War Crimes Inquiry until 1988, more than 40 years after the end of the war.

An awareness of the ambivalent attitude of the Allies to the prosecution of war criminals might well encourage students to view certain events between 1933 and 1945 in a more critical light. I have in mind the Jews' search for a haven before the war and the later decision of the Allies not to bomb Auschwitz. Regarding the former, President Roosevelt convened the Evian conference in July 1938 to discuss the Jewish refugee crisis. Thirty-two delegates from around the world attended, but the vast majority were at pains to explain why they could accept no more refugees. Students familiar with the Allies' lack of commitment to bringing Nazi war criminals to justice after 1945 may be less inclined to accept at face value the delegates' reasoning (often related to the economic downturn and high unemployment) and to see their real motivation more in terms of indifference to the fate of the Jews. As for the justification for not bombing Auschwitz, one might question whether, as the Allies maintained, it was because of technical difficulties and not wanting to divert resources that would have delayed the end of the war, or whether, as David Wyman (1984) believes, it was more to do with not caring about what happened to the Jews. With knowledge of post-war developments, students are better placed to decide between these competing claims.

Only a small proportion of those responsible for the mass killing of Jews during the war ever faced trial. One explanation for this low number is that thousands of former Nazis managed

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3 By the end of the 1950s and especially after the capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann, the authorities in Germany and elsewhere began again to pursue war criminals seriously.

to evade capture by taking advantage of one of the so-called 'ratlines' established by Catholic clergy. These were escape routes, mainly to countries in South America, but also to the United States, Great Britain and Canada and to countries in the Middle East. The most prominent of the clerics involved was Bishop Alois Hudal, rector of a seminary in Rome for Austrian and German priests. He ministered to German-speaking prisoners of war in Italy and it was in this capacity that he aided the escape of Nazi fugitives including Franz Stangl, commandant of Treblinka, Gustav Wagner, commandant of Sobibor, Alois Brunner, responsible for the Drancy internment camp near Paris and Adolf Eichmann who orchestrated the mass deportation of Jews to ghettos and extermination camps across German-occupied eastern Europe. According to Aarons and Loftus (1991) Hudal provided these high-ranking Nazis with false papers including identity documents issued by the Vatican Refugee Organisation. They further claim that despite Hudal expressing views that were publicly and increasingly pro-Nazi, the Vatican promoted him in June 1933 from priest to titular bishop. They maintain that he was very close to Pope Pius XII.

It is, of course, important for students to know that many Nazis did stand trial and, in ways that I discuss below, their testimony can be used to promote students' political literacy.

Potential benefits of learning about the aftermath

I suggested in the Introduction that in addition to providing a sense of closure, a study of the aftermath of the Holocaust can lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the Jewish experience between 1933 and 1945. By focusing on Poland, students are able to see that the Holocaust indisputably involved theft as well as murder and that the Germans were not the sole beneficiaries. The need to emphasise this dimension of the Holocaust was evident in the 2015 survey by the IOE cited earlier. When asked to define the Holocaust, not a single student mentioned or even alluded to theft, their answers referring exclusively to the killing (Foster et al., 2015, op. cit). Whilst addressing this misconception does not require teachers to go beyond 1945, it would appear from the IOE survey that teachers either ignore the issue of theft or make reference to it in a way that is quickly forgotten. A study of post-war Poland, however, highlights the issue with particular poignancy, making it difficult to overlook and, arguably, more difficult to forget. The same can be said for attempts to ensure that students do not associate anti-Semitism with Germany alone. This possibility is clearly one of the drawbacks of teaching the Holocaust and has led some commentators to argue for the subject's exclusion from the curriculum (Rowley, 2011). It obviously helps to rebut the criticism if students learn that anti-Semitism over the centuries has had a significant impact on many countries other than Germany. Whilst it is not difficult to achieve this objective when teaching just about the Holocaust and the build-up to it, the depth, viciousness and widespread nature of anti-Semitism in post-war Poland is likely to impact particularly strongly on students, not least because it occurred after the Holocaust and the murder of most of the country's Jews.

Engaging with the aftermath also allows students to reflect more critically on certain contentious issues arising from the Holocaust. A case in point concerns the long-standing debate over the role of the Catholic Church and specifically whether it did enough between 1933 and 1945 to protect Jews (See Rittner, Smith and Steinfeldt, [2000] for a balanced discussion). Students should be made aware of this debate and of all the evidence, direct and circumstantial, that has a bearing on it. The circumstantial evidence has surely to include the response of Catholic clergy to the Kielce pogrom and the part played by the Vatican in aiding the escape of leading Nazis. Another contentious matter relates to the decision not to bomb Auschwitz. If students learn about the Allies' inconsistent attitude towards prosecuting Nazi war criminals and also about their willingness to recruit and grant citizenship to former members of the SS, they might reasonably conclude that the murder of Europe's Jews was not regarded by the Allies as an especially heinous crime. Such

indifference on the Allies' part to the plight of the Jews offers students an alternative and credible explanation for the failure to bomb Auschwitz; it also offers them another way to understand the largely unsuccessful outcome of the Evian conference. This more cynical cast of mind is not only plausible but has the added benefit of shielding students from the anti-Semitic charge that the Allies had fought the war on behalf of the Jews. [The need to protect students from this malicious and baseless allegation is clearly a real one for, according to Foster et al (op. cit., p. 2), over a third of the students they questioned believed that the Holocaust 'triggered Britain's entry into war.']

Learning about the aftermath of the Holocaust can also be of value to students in respect of citizenship education. The background to the Kielce pogrom enables them to deepen their understanding of racism by familiarising themselves with one of its key components, namely ethnic stereotyping. They are able to learn about both the durability and extensive influence of such stereotypes and also about their destructive potential even when lacking a grain of truth. Moreover, the pogrom serves to remind students of how social institutions can foster and perpetuate ethnic stereotypes and the danger of them doing so. I refer specifically to the role of the Catholic Church in associating Jews with communism and the consequences of this association in terms of the suffering caused to innocent and guilty alike.

Useful knowledge relevant to citizenship also emerges from the war crimes trials that took place. Defendants' testimony, freely given, can help to promote students' political awareness by shedding light on the nature of the totalitarian state and on how such states shape the thinking of the individual. Stern Strom (1994) demonstrates these benefits with reference to the trial of Rudolf Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz. At one stage during the trial he was asked whether he thought the Jews he murdered deserved their fate. He replied as follows:

> Don't you see, we SS men were not supposed to think about these things: it never even occurred to us … And besides it was something already taken for granted that the Jews were to blame for everything … We just never heard anything else. It was not just newspapers like *Der Stuermer* but it was everything we ever heard. Even our military and ideological training took for granted that we had to protect Germany from the Jews … It only started to occur to me after the collapse that maybe it was not quite right, after I had heard what everybody was saying … We were all so trained to obey orders without even thinking that the thought of disobeying an order would simply never have occurred to anybody and somebody else would have done just as well if I hadn't … You can be sure that it was not always a pleasure to see those mountains of corpses and smell the continual burning. But Himmler had ordered it and had even explained the necessity and I really never gave much thought to whether it was wrong. It just seemed a necessity.
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> (Stern Strom, 1994, p. 433)

We know that many schools in Britain do not teach about the aftermath of the Holocaust and there is no reason to think that the situation in other countries is any better. Wherever schools provide Holocaust education I would urge them to address those aspects of the aftermath that can provide students with a sense of closure, influence the way they understand the Holocaust and help develop their political literacy. Researchers, in turn, need to realise that the topic is worth investigating, for we currently have no knowledge of how teachers who do engage with the aftermath go about it and a continued lack of research risks entrenching bad practice. However, the practicalities involved in schools incorporating the additional content will likely prove difficult because of the well documented problem of teachers having to work within severe time constraints.

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FROM THE HOLOCAUST TO RECENT MASS MURDERS AND REFUGEES. WHAT DOES HISTORY TEACH US?

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Abstract:

Through studying cases of genocide and mass atrocities, students can come to realize that: democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected; silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can – however unintentionally – perpetuate the problems. Because the objective of teaching any subject is to engage the intellectual curiosity of students in order to inspire critical thought and personal growth, when we teach History, it is helpful to structure lesson plans aiming not only to educate students about particular topics such as the Holocaust and global mass atrocities but to help them prevent possible future atrocities.

Through the historical analysis we should be engaged to the moral and anti-racist education. Thus the principal aim of the educational project that we propose is to explore secondary school students' knowledge / understanding of the Holocaust and recent mass atrocities. However, we are also interested in examining how knowledge / understanding is related to other issues, such as students' attitudes towards out-groups or their beliefs in a "just world".

Students attend various workshops, see Appendix, Workshops 1-4, pages 126-49, plotting refugee journeys, investigating why refugees are migrating, analyzing stories written by survivors, studying Nazi propaganda means aiming to fuel bigotry and hatred, watching photos and film scripts on topics of Holocaust and recent mass atrocities, and looking at the legacy of the Holocaust. The aim is to help students draw links between historical events and the world today. Thus the Holocaust is linked with the recent mass atrocities, the refugees in Greece, the victims and survivors of different genocides from the past to the present day.

Key words:

Genocides, Mass atrocities, Knowledge/understanding of the Holocaust and recent mass atrocities, Learn how to prevent possible future atrocities

Introduction

Through studying cases of genocide and mass atrocities, students can come to realize that: democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected; silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can – however unintentionally – perpetuate the problems. Genocide is not a "natural" phenomenon, but occurs because individuals, organizations, and governments make choices that not only legalize discrimination but also allow prejudice, hatred, and ultimately, mass murder to occur (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Why teach about Holocaust?).

Because the objective of teaching any subject is to engage the intellectual curiosity of students in order to inspire critical thought and personal growth, it is helpful to structure an educational project according to the following themes:

- Why should students learn the history of Holocaust, about various genocides and refugees?
- What are the most significant lessons students should learn from studying the Holocaust?
- Why is a particular reading, image, document, or film an appropriate medium for conveying the topics that someone wishes to teach?
- Democratic institutions and values are not automatically sustained, but need to be appreciated, nurtured, and protected.
- Silence and indifference to the suffering of others, or to the infringement of civil rights in any society, can – however unintentionally – perpetuate these problems.
- Understand the roots and ramifications of prejudice, racism, and stereotyping in any society.
- Develop an awareness of the value of pluralism and an acceptance of diversity.
- Explore the dangers of remaining silent, apathetic, and indifferent to the oppression of others.
- Think about the use and abuse of power as well as the roles and responsibilities of individuals, organizations, and nations when confronted with civil rights violations and/or policies of genocide.
- Understand how a modern nation can utilize its technological expertise and bureaucratic infrastructure to implement destructive policies ranging from social engineering to genocide (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Why teach about Holocaust?).

In the project that we propose we basically use the method of "historical empathy"; it is the process of students' cognitive and affective engagement with historical figures to better understand and contextualize their lived experiences, decisions, or actions. Historical empathy involves understanding how people from the past thought, felt, made decisions, acted, and faced consequences within a specific historical and social context (Endacott & Brooks, 2013, p. 41).

Duration of the project

The project will last 4 months and will include 12 sessions. The first session will include the presentation of the project (Table 1).

Educational Project 4 Months – 12 Sessions – Students work either in teams or by themselves		
Duration of each Session	**Thematic Units**	**Educators**
3 hours	• Presentation of the project • Interactive workshops: Research – Discussion • Between Sessions Research – (if necessary): Brief meetings: Discussion and Feedback • Conclusion – Evaluation	

TABLE 1

Evaluation of the project

The evaluation of the project will take place in the end with the evaluative reports from the participants about the achievement of the project's objectives and the success of the activities.

In order to display historical empathy, students must alternate between focusing on the other as they recognize what another person was likely to be feeling in a given situation and focusing on the self as they are reminded of a similar experience in their own lives that caused a similar affective response. The process of forming affective connections to the past enables students to view historical figures as human beings who faced very human experiences and leads to a richer understanding than perspective taking alone (Endacott & Brooks, 2013, p. 43).

Barton and Levstik (2004; Brooks, 2008) define historical empathy as being a "process of understanding people in the past by contextualizing their actions". Moreover, Lee and Ashby (2001; Brooks, 2008) identify the concept to concern "where we get to when we know what past agents thought, what goals they may have been seeking, and how they saw their situation, and can connect all this with what they did".

When we teach History, it is helpful to structure lesson plans aiming not only to educate students about particular topics such as the Holocaust and global mass atrocities but to help them prevent possible future atrocities. Through the historical analysis we should be engaged to the moral and anti-racist education (Layman & Harris, 2013, p. 4). Thus the principal aim of the project that we propose is to explore secondary school students' knowledge/understanding of the Holocaust and recent mass atrocities[1]. However, we are also interested in examining how knowledge/understanding is related to other issues, such as students' attitudes towards out-groups or their beliefs in a "just world". Students attend various workshops plotting refugee journeys, investigating why refugees are migrating, analyzing stories written by survivors, studying Nazi propaganda posters aiming to fuel bigotry and hatred, watching photos and film scripts on topics of Holocaust and recent mass atrocities, and looking at the legacy of the Holocaust. The aim is to help students draw links between historical events and the world today. Thus the Holocaust is linked with the mass atrocities in Middle East, Asia and Africa, the various refugees in Greece, the victims and survivors of different genocides from the past to the present day (Cf. Stephen, 2013, p. 36).

What competences will the teacher focus on?

• Respect for human life
• Empathy
• Communicative skills
• Do the right things
• Developing writing composition skills

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1 Though the project refers to Secondary Education, there are references to material focusing on Primary Education (e.g. Rose Blanche and Erica's Story illustration) along with more demanding material such as, for example, Bob Behr's testimony. One can adapt the material or part of it to different age groups (from primary to upper secondary education), or one might choose to work according to his/her class demography, dynamics, age, aims and objectives.

In particular:

1. **Knowledge construction and epistemology**
   Ideal are methods like critical thinking, the use of ICT, research in the Internet for information, use of social media, use of MS Office for writing, evaluation of the information, argumantation, self-evaluation, peer-evaluation.

2. **Co-operation and participation**
   Ideal are methods like learning by doing, task-based and skill-oriented learning activities in order to achieve co-operative learning.

3. **Self and interaction**
   The teacher should always support the creativity of his/her students.
   He/she should play his/her role in order to increase interaction among students.
   He/she should always encourage the learners' achievements and deal with moments of misbehaviour in different ways.
   Especially children with special needs need a certain way of encouragement and a safe learning invironment.

4. **Diversity and empathy**
   • Ideal are methods which point out the right to be different and the respect towards the different.
   • Suitable are strategies that show other views, other perspectives, other attitudes, other style of life.
   • Questions must be answered about the way people face issues related to diversity under certain circumstances/cituations and influenced by certain people, means (e.g. economical, political, national etc.).
   • Questions must be answered about the way people react to diversity according to their identity, environment, culture, feelings, etc.
   • Empathy is the key-word to achieve understanding and acceptance of diversity.

5. **Human rights and equity**
   • The best thing for a teacher to do is to guarantee that in his/her classroom everyone's human rights are respected.
   • The students should participate equally and feel free to express their opinions.
   • Children should also feel responsible to ensure equal access to learning in the class-room.
   • Developing strategies for the prevention of violence is also necessary.
   • Children should understand and accept that human rights are non-negotiable.
   • So the activities should be planed like wise.

What concepts will you need to develop with trainees?

• About the meaning of childhood
• About adult-child relationships – natural and self-evident?
• The victims of the Nazi ideology

What methods will the teacher use?

1. Students observe, analyze, and interpret human behaviors, social groupings, and institutions to better understand people and the relationships among individuals and among groups.
2. Students understand, analyze, and interpret historical events, conditions, trends, and issues to develop historical perspective.
3. Students will describe various forms of interactions (compromise, cooperation, conflict) that occurred between diverse groups during World War II.
4. Students will describe significant historical events during World War II and explain cause and effect relationships.

In order to achieve this goal students should be engaged in team work and joint initiatives in the project's four workshops, see Appendix, pages 126-49.

Workshop 1: Introduction To The Holocaust, Analyzing Propaganda
Workshop 2: Resistance To The Nazism
Workshop 3: Testimony Of The Living
Workshop 4: Cases Of Recent Mass Atrocities – The Refugees

Co-operative activities and exercises would prevent conflicts and discrimination and achieve discipline. Activities based on learners' active involvement (learning by doing, task-based and skill-oriented learning activities) would empower learners and enhance co-operation among them (Tasks for democracy).

Conclusion - Evaluation

Referring to all the exercises, ask the students how they have previously regarded refugees and how now. Do they sense any change within themselves, concerning their attitudes towards refugees, since starting this project? What changes are there? The teacher needs to guide this discussion with sensitivity, encouraging the students to be frank, but being assertive if students rudely challenge each other over differing viewpoints (Cf. Lego poster: Teachers' guide).

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WORKSHOP 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE HOLOCAUST, ANALYZING PROPAGANDA

Students will be introduced to the concept of propaganda. A discussion will help to complicate students' understanding of this topic and to dispel misconceptions.

I) **Time line (The crucial events from 1919 to 1945)** (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum: Holocaust Encyclopedia – Timeline)

    Questions about the time line to be discussed:
- What were the key events?
- What were the emotional responses of people to these events?
- What propaganda messages did you see?
- What were the different types of media used? (Cf. United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum: https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20150703-propaganda-1EXT_1-0_LESSON1_EXTENSION.pdf)

II) a) Nazi propaganda — photographs:
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/gallery.php?ModuleId=10005202&MediaType=ph

b) Holocaust Encyclopedia: Nazi propaganda:
https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005202

III) a) Nazi Racial Ideology - Nazi Persecution of Specific Groups:
The Nazis believed Germans were members of a "master race," superior in mind and body to all other peoples. The Nazi state sought to foster this supposed "superiority" by preventing Germans from intermingling with "inferior" peoples, and encouraging the number of children born to "healthy" members of society while preventing the procreation of "inferior" types (Fig. 1) (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Nazi Ideology and Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution – Introduction; United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Nazi Ideology and Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution – Notes).

Fig. 1. "You Are Sharing the Load! A Hereditarily Ill Person Costs 50,000 Reichmarks on Average Up to the Age of 60." Reproduced in high school biology textbooks, by Jakob Graf. (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Nazi Ideology and Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution – Introduction; United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Nazi Ideology and Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution – Notes).

b) The "euthanasia" program:

The "euthanasia" program was Nazi Germany's first program of mass murder. It predated the genocide of European Jewry (the Holocaust) by approximately two years. The program was one of many radical eugenic measures which aimed to restore the racial "integrity" of the German nation. It aimed to eliminate what eugenicists and their supporters considered "life unworthy of life": those individuals who – they believed – because of severe psychiatric, neurological, or physical disabilities represented both a genetic and a financial burden on German society and the state (Figs 2, 3) (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Holocaust Encyclopedia – Euthanasia Program; United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Special Focus).

Fig. 2. German officers examine Polish children to determine whether they qualify as "Aryan." Poland, wartime. (US Holocaust Memorial Museum)

Fig. 3. This photo originates from a film produced by the Reich Propaganda Ministry. It shows two doctors in a ward in an unidentified asylum. The existence of the patients in the ward is described as "life only as a burden." Such propaganda images were intended to develop public sympathy for the Euthanasia Program. (US Holocaust Memorial Museum courtesy of Marion Davy)

After studying the above Nazi propaganda photos, posters and texts, students complete the following worksheet (Figs 4, 5, 6) (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20150703-propaganda-1EXT-1-8_Diagram_Worksheets.pdf):

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

"STATE OF DECEPTION"

I. MESSAGE

Draw arrows to the visual elements that communicate the message. Think about how line, color, graphics, depictions of people, words, and symbols are used.

Visual cues:

What is the message?

II. CONTEXT

What are the hopes, fears, and grievances present in society at this time? Think about the political, social, and economic climate.

Given that climate, why might this message have had power?

III. AUDIENCE

Who is the target audience? What about this message would be appealing to this group? What reactions might different audiences have had? Could people access and express alternate viewpoints?

IV. CREATOR

Who is the propagandist? What do they hope the audience will: Think: … Feel: … Do: …

V. CONSEQUENCES

What effects could this message have on society?

IV) The Path to Nazi Genocide (The Path to Nazi Genocide):

This 38-minute film examines the Nazis' rise and consolidation of power in Germany, as well as Nazi ideology, propaganda, and the persecution of Jews and other victims. It also outlines the path by which the Nazis and their collaborators led a state to war and to the murder of millions of people:

Film Chapters
- **Prologue** (Starts at 00:00)
- **Aftermath of World War I and the Rise of Nazism, 1918–1933** (Starts at 00:58)
- **Building a National Community, 1933–1936** (Starts at 12:22)
- **From Citizens to Outcasts, 1933–1938** (Starts at 18:12)
- **World War II and the Holocaust, 1939–1945** (Starts at 24:34)
- **Sources and Credits** (Starts at 37:25) (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. The Path to Nazi Genocide)

The students complete the following worksheet while watching "The Path to Nazi Genocide" (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum: https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20150703-propaganda-1EXT_1-2_to_1-4_Film_Worksheet.pdf).

The questions in the worksheet are about: Important events – Emotional response of the German people to these events – Examples of propaganda messages used by the Nazis - Different types of media used by the Na

a) General Questions (from the above material) to be discussed:
- When is propaganda most dangerous?
- What makes me vulnerable to propaganda?
- How can I guard against propagandist techniques?

Purpose: This approach encourages critical thinking and reflection. It explores contexts in which societies can become vulnerable to extreme messages, equips students with skills to assess propaganda's potential consequences, and empowers them to respond to messages that could be dangerous, including hate speech.

b) Students will consider the following themes, which can connect to aspects of their lived experience as youth:
- The impact of new technologies to amplify messages.
- The vulnerability of youth to propaganda.
- The prevalence of indifference and inaction by no targeted individuals and groups.
- The impact of exclusionary and hateful propaganda on individuals and groups.
- The concepts of inclusion and exclusion (the appeal of belonging, the pain of exclusion).
- What makes communities and societies vulnerable to extreme messages? How we can identify problematic propaganda as a warning sign of a potentially dangerous situation (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum: https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20150703-propaganda-2-0_LESSON-2.pdf).

Description: Students will identify problematic propaganda messages or hate speech in their community and become empowered to respond. Examining case studies of youth who took on these challenges provides concrete role models and action steps.

WORKSHOP 2: RESISTANCE TO THE NAZISM

For the Nazis, the national "folk" community or "Volksgemeinschaft" was a community of racially superior individuals who accepted and obeyed Nazi ideology. The Nazis demanded the German public's unconditional obedience, and they tolerated no criticism, dissent, or nonconformity (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Nazi Ideology and Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution).

At first, students participate in general brainstorming about ways people can resist those in authority. The teacher lists their ideas on the board. Students typically focus on physical resistance (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Exemplary Lessons).

The purpose of this workshop is to explore a topic related to resistance during Nazism and individuals who resisted. The students will have the opportunity to present their findings to the class.

I) a) The Nazi propaganda towards the German Youth

Fig. 7. "Students/Be the Führer's propagandists/Students of Universities and Technical Schools avow in 29 March the German Liberation Movement"

Fig. 8. The German Student/fights for Führer and People.[2]

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2 This propaganda poster features a young, swastika-waving German student with the caption, "The German student fights for the Führer and the people". The central character is the physical embodiment of the Nazi ideal for the Aryan race: young, strong, blond and dedicated. The National Socialist German Students' League aimed to combine Nazi ideology with a University education and academic life. Members lived in their own Fellowship houses and wore brown shirts together with their own version of the swastika. Here, the student's military attire and rigid demeanor is typical of expressions of Nazi ideology. Meanwhile, his proud stance and beaming facial expression suggest that he is honored to be carrying the swastika. Instead of idealistic thought and dreams, the Nazis preferred direct action. And serving your country by dying in battle was depicted as the ultimate sacrifice of honor. Retrieved 11/1/2017 from http://www.master-of-education.org/10-disturbing-pieces-of-nazi-education-propaganda/

Fig. 9. This poster references the expulsion of Jewish teachers and students from German schools.[3]

With militant appeals to nationalism, freedom, and self-sacrifice, the Nazi Party successfully recruited students disenchanted with German democracy and their current student organizations. (Library of Congress) (Figs 7, 8, 9) (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. 3.3. Propaganda theme pintables. Making a leader).

b) In spite of the German propaganda, there was an Anti-Nazi Resistance coming from the German Youth: "The White Rose (Weiße Rose)" resistance group, named after a Spanish novel (Rosa Blanco). The Group coordinated efforts on Campus for Civil Rights and Opposition to Nazi policies. Among their efforts on campus were weekly discussion groups, painting "freedom" on brick walls at the entrance into campus, and distributing leaflets opposing the Reich on moral and political grounds, encouraging students to think for themselves (Lisciotto, 2007).

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3 From 1933, the numbers of Jewish students in public schools was limited, supposedly due to overcrowding. In this picture, we can see that the Jewish characters have been given negative stereotypical characteristics like large noses, bent postures, and generally undesirable demeanors. These strategically planned caricatures were designed to distinguish Jews from the Aryan ideal and to create an image of inferiority and untrustworthiness. The idea of the evil Jew was also promoted in children's books like *Der Giftpilz*, which compared Jewish people to poisonous mushrooms and called them "the Devil in human form." In 1936, all Jewish teachers were expelled from German public schools, and by 1937 Jewish pupils had been banned from schools altogether as well. Still, although terrible, this was of course minor compared to what was to come. Retrieved 10/1/2017 from http://www.master-of-education.org/10-disturbing-pieces-of-nazi-education-propaganda/

Students study the following material:
- http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/revolt/whiterose.html
- http://www.historyplace.com/pointsofview/white-rose1.htm
- G. J. Wittenstein, *The History Place - Points of View: Memories of The White Rose – Part One*, 1997, http://www.historyplace.com/pointsofview/white-rose1.htm

Questions to be discussed:
- Why was the "White Rose" movement founded?
- What do you think that the name "White Rose" represented?
- How can one explain that after ten years of Nazi rule, with its incessant political indoctrination beginning as early as in preschool, and in the midst of a "great patriotic war", these students, who had largely grown up under the influence of this regime, resolved to take a stand against Nazi tyranny? Complete the following Table (Table 2).

Means, ways, domains of the absolute control of the Nazi party	Reasons of the open resistance of "The White Rose (Weiße Rose)" group

Table 2

- How did they react?
- The importance of the individual and how an individual can make a difference.
- The importance of standing up for what is right, even if you know your chances of winning are slight.

II) Jewish Resistance:
a) Mordecai Anielewicz's Last Letter (April 23, 1943):

"*Warsaw Ghetto Revolt Commander*
It is impossible to put into words what we have been through. One thing is clear, what happened exceeded our boldest dreams. The Germans ran twice from the ghetto. One of our companies held out for 40 minutes and another – for more than 6 hours. The mine set in the "brushmakers" area exploded. Several of our companies attacked the dispersing Germans. Our losses in manpower are minimal. That is also an achievement. Y. [Yechiel] fell. He fell a hero, at the machine-gun. "I feel that great things are happening and what we dared do is of great, enormous importance …". Beginning from today we shall shift over to the partisan tactic. Three battle companies will move out tonight, with two tasks: reconnaissance and obtaining arms. Do you remember, short-range weapons are of no use to us. We use such weapons only rarely. What we need urgently: grenades, rifles, machine-guns and explosives. It is impossible to describe the conditions under which the Jews of the ghetto are now living. Only a few will be able to hold out. The remainder will die sooner or later. Their fate is decided. In almost all the hiding places in which thousands are concealing themselves it is not possible to light a candle for lack of air. With the aid of our transmitter we heard the marvelous report on our fighting by the "Shavit" radio station. The fact that we are remembered beyond the ghetto walls encourages us in our struggle. Peace

go with you, my friend! Perhaps we may still meet again! "The dream of my life has risen to become fact. Self-defense in the ghetto will have been a reality. Jewish armed resistance and revenge are facts. I have been a witness to the magnificent, heroic fighting of Jewish men in battle. (M. Anielewicz)" (Jewish Resistance: Mordecai Anielewicz's Last Letter (April 23, 1943)).

b) "Zog Nit Keynmol" Hymn of the Jewish Partisans

Zog nit keyn mol az du geyst dem letsten veg,
Khotsh himlen blayene farsthtelen bloye teg.
Never say you are walking your final road,
Though leaden skies conceal the days of blue.
Kumen vet nokh undzer oysgebenkte sha'ah,
S'vet a poyk ton undzer trot mir zaynen do!
The hour that we have longed for will appear,
Our steps will beat out like drums: We are here!
Fun grinem palmenland biz vaysen land fun shney,
Mir kumen on mit undzer payn, mit undzer vey.
From the green lands of palm trees to lands white with snow,
We are coming with all our pain and all our woe.
Un vu gefalen s'iz a shpritz fun undzer blut,
Shprotzen vet dort undzer gevurah, undzer mut.
Wherever a spurt of our blood has fallen to the ground,
There our might and our courage will sprout again.
S'vet di morgenzum bagilden undz dem haynt,
Un der nekhten vet farshvinden miten faynd.
The morning sun will shine on us one day,
Our enemy will vanish and fade away.
Nor oyb farzamen vet di zun in dem kayor,
Vi a parol zol geyn dos lid fun dor tsu dor.
But if the sun and dawn come too late for us,
From generation to generation let them be singing this song.
Dos lid geshriben iz mit blut un nit mit blay,
S'iz nit keyn lidel fun a foygel oyf der fray,
This song is written in blood not in pencil-lead.
It is not sung by the free-flying birds overhead,
Dos hot a folk tsvishen falendike vent,
Dos lid gezungen mit naganes in di hent!
But a people stood among collapsing walls,
And sang this song with pistols in their hands!
(The Hymn of the Jewish Partisans, 2016).

c) The poem "There Were Those" by Susan Dambroff

The teacher reads the poem (found in *Images of the Holocaust*) to the class. This poem explores some of the ways individuals resisted the Nazis. The focus of this poem is not physical resistance. The poem opens up the idea of different forms of resistance.

> "*There were those / who escaped to the forests / who crawled through sewers / who jumped from the backs of trains / There were those who smuggled messages / who smuggled dynamite / inside bread loaves / inside matchboxes / inside corpses / There were those / who were shoemakers / who put nails / into the boots / of German soldiers / There were those / who wrote poetry / who put on plays / who taught the children / There were those who fed each other*" (Facing History 2003–2004).

d) Spiritual resistance in ghettos:

United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Holocaust Encyclopedia: https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005416

After studying all the above, discuss with the class:

- Obstacles to resistance.
- Different types of resistance (spiritual, physical).
- Where resistance took place (ghettos and camps, Nazi Germany).
- How different people resisted the Nazis (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. Narrative).
- The importance of the individual and how an individual can make a difference.
- Defining success in regard to individual resistance to the Nazis.
- The importance of standing up for what is right, even if you know your chances of winning are slight.[4]

After assessing the students' understanding of the project through the discussion, have them consider the relatively small number of people who resisted:

- What would have happened if more people had done something?
- What is an individual's responsibility to society? To his/her family? Personal beliefs? Community? Religious group? Nation?
- To doing what is right even if there are terrific risks and terrible consequences?
- What can the students do in their own lives to make a difference?
- Is there anything they believe is worth dying for? (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum. A. & R. Belfer, *Exemplary lessons – Individual responsibility and resistance during the Holocaust*).

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4 In the novel "*To Kill a Mockingbird*" – make a connection – Atticus says "Simply because we were licked a hundred years before we started is no reason for us not to try to win".

III) "Rose Blanche" (Book. Authors: Ian McEwan/ Christophe Gallaz; Illustrator: Roberto Innocenti)[5] (similar book = "The Boy in the Striped Pajamas"[6])

Instructions for the teachers:

Students-readers can interpret messages, themes and illustrations, etc. with adult mediator. May require some knowledge of WW2.

– Themes:
WW2, War, Loss, Culture, Imprisonment, Germany, Nazis, Execution.

– Picture book techniques:
Uses the same color palette throughout (becoming greyer throughout the book, when she enters the camp and woods). Although revert back to original when new soldiers pass through town (war over).

Change on the last double page of book, colors become brighter (spring time); however, barbed wire still present along with flower previously being held by Rose (flower dead – symbolizing loss of Rose Blanche).

Rose Blanche always in bright colors (main character) although colors change when she sees the boy escaping from the truck (becomes darker and greyer) continue to get darker as the story develops.

Rose Blanche's point of view when looking at children in camp. Becomes more gaunt as the story develops (giving children in camp her food).

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5 A range of different language features keep this story intriguing and the readers lingering on every page, these language features include prepositional phrases and action verbs. Examples of prepositional phrases in this book are when phrases begin with "along, across, over, under and in." These prepositional phrases place a character in a particular time and allow the reader to understand the setting. Grammatical features that have been included in the story help the reader analyze and understand what is occurring in the illustrations. An example of this is on page 2-3 where there have been a number of action processes and verbs to describe the illustration, "the solders… sang songs" "they smiled and winked" and "the children always waved back." This helps the reader subconsciously understand the story and illustrations easier. This page also contains the use of adjectives that are effective such as "grinding, limbering and fantastic" importantly these adjectives describe the noun groups while improving the circumstance. In this book the illustrator, Innocenti, has supported the author's' textual language. This has been achieved with the use of straight vector lines on page 2, these vector lines are pointing straight in the direction that the author wants the attention to be directed at, in this case it is the boy that is waving and the man in the army tank. This is strongly supported by the main character looking directly at the pair. When addressing the illustration on page 12 once again the use of straight line vectors is evident by the use of the lorry and tank tracks that lead up to the main character who has just crossed the safety barrier. It is important to note the use of colors for the illustration. Innocenti has used dull colors in the background while exemplifying Rose and the safety barrier in bright colors, in particular –red, this signifies danger. Retrieved 12/1/2017 from https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/830051.Rose_Blanche
6 I think that this book would be a great companion to "The Boy in the Stripped Pajamas". In many ways, Rose is almost the opposite of Bruno in John Boyne's book. Rose is extremely inquisitive, curious, and observant. She realizes the effect of her actions and how important the situation she encounters is during this time period. Even though both develop a sense of awareness, Rose seems to realize much more about her circumstances and those of Jewish prisoners within this picture book than Bruno. I think comparisons between these two books would be a great way to start a discussion about responsibility, duty, obedience, circumstances, and community. Retrieved 12/1/2017 from https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/830051.Rose_Blanche

Contrasting colors (flower in war zone fog and mud).

Angle of soldier implies that she was the victim of the "sharp and terrible shot".

Use of pathetic fallacy (fog and cold, Rose's mood and look on face).

- How do the words and pictures work together?
Describe the children as motionless with sad and hungry eyes, their eyes appear to look at the reader.

Words and images compliment each other reinforcing what is being said in each, e.g. night time and Rose looks exhausted, and when Rose disappears - town looks bustling and mother looks concerned (Goodreads. Rose Blanche).

Exercises:

Watch the video about the story of Rose Blanche
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cQVgniMcuoE)
and imagine the answers to the following questions:

- Where are they taking the boy who is running and why?
- Who are the people standing behind the barbed wire fence? Why are they there? Why are they so skinny?
- Why is Rose gathering food?
- Why are the soldiers injured and all of the families suddenly packing up to leave?
- Why are the people gone and soldiers in new uniforms where the fence used to be?
- Why does Rose Blanche's mom have to wait a very long time for her return?

Now read the story of Rose Blanche:[7] http://www.slideshare.net/sthomasen/rose-blanche-book-for-infering

Questions to be discussed:

- Why in your opinion is Rose Blanche named from the German resistance movement "die Weiße Rose"?[8]
- Which colors do the illustrations employ and why?[9]

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7 Summary: Rose Blanche was the name of a group of young German citizens who, at their peril, protested against the war. Like them, Rose observes all the changes going on around her which others choose to ignore. She watches as the streets of her small German town fill with soldiers. She watches the enthusiasm for war in her town. One day she sees a little boy escaping from the back of a truck, only to be captured by the mayor and shoved back into it. Rose follows the truck to a desolate place out of town, where she discovers many other children, staring hungrily from behind an electric barbed wire fence. She discovers a concentration camp. She starts bringing the children food, instinctively sensing the need for secrecy, even with her mother. Until the tide of the war turns and soldiers in different uniforms stream in from the East, and Rose and the imprisoned children disappear for ever …
8 "Rose Blanche" is named for the German resistance movement "die Weisse Rose", to include ideas about the resistance and the fate of the young people in it.
9 The illustrations employ darkening hues of red, brown, green, and gray to depict the horror and gloom of the war.

- How do the last two pictures help the reader to understand Rose's death?[10]
- What does the ending image of rebirth with spring provide?[11]
- In your opinion are there any singular elements within the pictures which stand out?[12]
- The author tries to give a child's perspective on war. The book jacket quotes the illustrator (Innocenti) saying that he wanted "*to illustrate how a child experiences war without really understanding it.*" Do you think that they succeed? Why?

Instructions for the teachers:

- While teaching the book, focus on different characters and events in the story. On the last day let the students predict their own endings and write dialogue for the different characters.
- Another exercise for the students would be to write in their point of view. If they were living in the day and age of the holocaust, what would they see, what would they feel, and what would they do on their day to day life. Through this exercise, they can actually get in touch with how they really might feel being a child in those times.

WORKSHOP 3: TESTIMONY OF THE LIVING

I) Erica's story[13] **(Book.** Author: Ruth Vander Zee; Illustrator: Roberto Innocenti)
Instructions for the students:

Watch the presentation**:** http://www.slideshare.net/dalbion/erikas-story-powerpoint
Instructions for the teachers:

Read the book aloud and engage the students in an open discussion about what they felt the answers would be to the questions that Erika asked in her story. Through this the students will learn what the Jewish people went through.

You can put the questions from the story on the blackboard and then ask the students how they think the two groups – the Jews and the Nazis – would feel or which answer each group would

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10 The last two pictures help the reader to understand Rose's death; the first has her standing in the gloom and destruction of the camp laying down a flower, the second shows spring coming and the camp beginning to sprout flowers and spring grass. In this last illustration the reader sees Rose's flower from the previous picture wilted over the barbed wire fence.

11 In all its sadness, the ending image of rebirth with spring provides hope, as not even death and barbed wire can keep the crocuses and flowers from burgeoning. Just as the spirit of Rose cannot be suppressed, neither can nature.

12 Singular elements within the pictures stand out such as Rose's clothes, the Star of David on the Jew's striped pajamas and the Nazi arm bands, highlighting the key influences of the story.

13 Summary: Erika's Story by Ruth Vander Zee is book about a true story told to the author by Erika. The author Ruth, met Erika during a trip to Germany fifty years after World War II. As the two women were talking Ruth noticed that Erika was wearing the Star of David around a gold chain and began to tell her about her stay in Israel. Here Erika begins her story. Erika's story is composed of a series of question because she has very little information to go on. As she tells her story she speculates what her parents must have been thinking throughout their journey. The only thing that Erika knows is that she was born sometime in 1944 and that she was thrown from a train by her mother to save her life while she was on her way to death. Erika's story is told through the illustrations and text that is widely spread throughout the page. The illustrations are full paged and are in black and white except the pink bundle that was thrown from the train. The illustrations are also very detailed. One will also notice that the faces of the people are hidden.

give according to their "position". For example, ask the students how they think the two groups would feel about gas chambers.

A. Erika's Story – Messages (Erica's Story. Student Activities Guide):
As you read in *Erika's Story,* the Jews were put in cattle cars of trains and brought to extermination camps. Cars that were made to hold 8 horses usually carried over 100 people.

Many people tucked messages on scraps of paper into the spaces between the boards of the cattle cars. In these messages, people often gave warnings, told of their love to family and friends, and let others know what was really going on.

Look at the seven black and white illustrations in *Erika's Story* and write a message to someone about each picture.

You may:

• Tell what you think is happening.
• Give a warning.
• Write what you feel the people were feeling or thinking.

B. Questions for Discussion based on *Erika's Story,* cont. (Erica's Story. Student Activities Guide):

1. In *Erika's Story,* how does Erika imagine what life was like for her parents?
2. What does Erika imagine the train ride was like for her parents?
3. From what she says, how would you describe Erika's childhood?
4. How does Erika feel about her life at the end of the book?

Interpreting Questions:
5. Look at the choices of colors the artist used to illustrate *Erika's Story.* What mood does his choice of color suggest to you? Compare with the colors in *Rose Blanche's* story.

C. Questions for Discussion based on *Erika's Story* cont. (Erica's Story. Student Activities Guide):

1. Does *Erika's Story* remind you of any part of your story or the story of someone you love? Have you ever been separated from your parents?
2. Are you adopted?
3. Have you ever been afraid of someone who might hurt you?
4. Have you ever seen someone you love struggle with a difficult decision?
5. Have you seen someone risk their life for another?
6. Have you ever felt like you lost something very valuable and that it could never be replaced?
7. Do you know someone who has a positive and hopeful spirit even though they have been through many difficult experiences?

D. Questions for Discussion based on *Erika's Story* cont. (Erica's Story. Student Activities Guide):

1. What is meant by the term "hate crimes"?
2. Who gets hurt when one group is hateful to another?
3. If you were stripped of your rights to citizenship. If you were no longer considered persons

with any rights. If you had no longer the right to go to school. If your parents had no longer the right to do the jobs for which they were trained. They could not vote. They did not have the right to shop where they wanted or have any kind of representation. How do you think you would feel if all of your rights would be taken from you? Explain.

4. What can you do where you are right now to make sure that in your city, school, or home there are not attitudes which promote hatred and prejudice?

5. When you are aware of hateful attitudes of prejudicial behavior towards someone, is it ok to stand by and hope it goes away?

II) Bob Behr's testimony: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yEEuTEDfFqc

i) Students watch a 30-minute video featuring Holocaust survivor Bob Behr's testimony about growing up in Berlin, Germany, and his reflections on Nazi propaganda.

This will provide a personal entry point to prepare students to visit "State of Deception": The Power of Nazi Propaganda (United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum (https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20150703-propaganda-lesson-overview.pdf > https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20131127-Lesson-4.pdf).[14]

This will help to put the history presented in State of Deception into a personal context with anecdotes that reveal the impact of propaganda on young people during the Holocaust.

ii) Ask students for their reactions and impressions:

• How do Bob's anecdotes help students relate to the broader history explored in State of Deception?
• What does Bob's testimony reveal about the impact of propaganda on young people in Nazi Germany? Why can propaganda have such a powerful impact on youth?

III) "From the Testimony of Nehama Baruchson-Kaufman about Escaping from the Germans Till Liberated by the Red Army" – A theatrical exercise

"*… Winter, snow … We kept walking eastward, two thin girls, abandoned to their fate… among concrete ruins, on roads and paths where the war had brought destruction. Our shoes were tattered, our ragged clothes were completely shapeless, and during that whole time we did not find a single living Jew. There seemed to be no more Jews left in the world and we two were the last who had survived the catastrophe.*

The German raced past us in headlong flight, moving westward. Tens of thousands of refugees were on the march, and we were among them. We walked on swollen feet, hungry for a piece of bread, hiding in abandoned huts outside villages. No one who was not there can understand it, and we can add nothing new for those who were there.
Leah was still so weak that she could hardly lift her feet. "Where are you dragging me? Who is

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14 The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's traveling exhibition, *State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda*, promotes new understanding about the nature and consequences of propaganda. The exhibition illustrates the Nazis' use of the latest, most sophisticated technologies and techniques to disseminate propagandist messages. It chronicles their use of propaganda to win votes in a democracy; consolidate power into a dictatorship; and foster hatred to create a climate of indifference as they persecuted and systematically murdered Jews and others portrayed as enemies of the state.

waiting for us?" she pleaded. I did not reply. I was afraid that unnecessary talk would weaken me. Only once I could not contain my temper and I erupted angrily: "Well, really, as though it makes any difference whether we are going toward the east, the west, or the south", for we were moving into the unknown.

… Somewhere the Russians were still fighting the Germans, but even though we heard the thunder of artillery we kept going. Our bodies longed to stretch out on the ground, to rest, to forget everything. But our feet continued to walk through fields of ice and mounds of snow, and unbelievably we slept as we walked. We sank into a kind of stupor, but beneath the edge of consciousness caution propelled us forward. The instinct of self-preservation prevented us from sitting down, otherwise we might not be able to get up again and we would freeze to death. In this was we kept walking and marching, walking and growing weaker and faltering. At farms we held out our hand for a slice of bread, we begged.

… For two whole days we hid in the house [of a Polish peasant woman] as waves of retreating Germans came in to rest, to search, and to check things out, before they went on. Throughout that whole time the column of retreating Germans passed by the village, soldier after soldier and battalion after battalion. They did not call it a "retreat" but an "evacuation". In the final stage of the withdrawal a special corps, the rear guard, went through. Its purpose was to kill everyone who remained, to destroy everything so that nothing would be left for the enemy. With lances and bayonets they killed the cows and other animals, they prodded piles of hay in the barns and jabbed at mattresses looking for people in hiding. That Polish gentile woman hid us under two mattresses. We heard them enter the house, pounding with the bayonets and sticking them into various places; we heard them very well, but they didn't find us. When they left we came out and heard that the Russians had arrived.

I remember that I picked a flower in the garden and gave it to the first Russian soldier I saw as a mark of appreciation for the liberation. We were so happy, and we thought: this is the start of a new life! …" (The Anguish of Liberation, 1995, pp. 17-18).

The theatrical character: The dramatic myth is based on the special power that the protagonist possesses. In a story the protagonist's features are:

- Qualitative features. Who is he/she? – The question is answered with adjectives that match to the character.
- Actions (Which are his/her actions?).
- Demands (Which are his/her goals?)
- After reading the above testimony, complete the following Table (Table 3).

The protagonist:

Who is he/she	Review of his/her acts		Goals
Adjectives:			
Character:			
Motivation of the protagonist's actions:		**The power that he/she embraces:**	
Other forces:	**Goal:**	**The opposite power:**	

Table 3

WORKSHOP 4: CASES OF RECENT MASS ATROCITIES – THE REFUGEES

What is Genocide? United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum:
https://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/defining-genocide

Cases of Genocide: United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum:
https://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases

Preventing Genocides: United States' Holocaust Memorial Museum:
https://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/how-to-prevent-genocide

The global challenge since 1945 has been the prevention of new mass atrocities. Nevertheless mass atrocities are currently ongoing in Syria, Sudan, North Korea, Central African Republic, Libya, Nigeria, and Congo.

Introduction

A refugee is a person who "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country". (From the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*). People become refugees because one or more of their basic human rights have been violated or threatened. Many of the refugees are women and children. In addition to individual flight from persecution, the modern pattern of refugee movements is that of mass exoduses caused by ethnic conflicts and violations of rights of minorities. No one likes or chooses to be a refugee. Being a refugee means more than just being a foreigner. It means living in exile and often depending on others for basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter.

Where most people can look to their own governments to guarantee and protect their basic human rights and physical security, refugees cannot do so. Refugees should receive the same rights and basic help as any other foreigner who is a legal resident, including certain fundamental entitlements of every individual: refugees have basic civil rights, including freedom of thought and of movement, and freedom from torture and degrading treatment. Similarly, economic and social rights apply to refugees as they do to other individuals. Every refugee should have access to medical care. No refugee child should be deprived of schooling (Lego poster: Teachers' guide).

1ST EXERCISE: THE INTRODUCTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE REGIME:
http://vimeo.com/74987092

This video highlights the global nature of forced displacement and traces major migration events throughout human history. The video covers a range of topics concerning the international refugee regime, including a definition, historical background, major factors, and challenges.

Possible Discussion Questions:

1. What can numbers tell us? What do they leave out?
2. What do you see in the images presented in the video? Which ones communicated to you the most and what did you understand from them?
3. What did you understand about what the refugees were saying in the interviews? Can you imagine yourself in their place?

4. In the video, we learn that refugees are often framed in terms of numbers or as helpless, passive recipients of aid who need to be "saved". What do you think are some of the problems with viewing refugees in this way?

5. Refugees exist within global system of countries, and every person on the planet is supposed to "belong" to a country. All those countries (in a system we call the nation-state system) have a relationship with their "people" – those people are supposed to have citizenship. But when people flee from their countries because of all the reasons mentioned, they may not have documents with them, and their country may not provide passports. How do other countries know who they are? Or they may not have an official country, as is the case with Palestinian refugees. Thus it is important to see refugees not only as forced migrants but as also defined by the system in which we live today – that of a nation-state system with citizenship for all members of the state. Refugees find themselves living outside this system and victims of it. What does being a citizen mean in today's world? What does being a citizen of the country you live in allow you to do? What is not allowed if you are not a citizen? (Davis & Benton, 2013).

Some of the next exercises are simulation games. Games are one of the best methods to help people understand phenomena which are complex and far removed from their everyday lives. A game allows participants to experience emotions in a very personal and enduring manner, but on a smaller scale than in real life. A simulation game works through the creation of a simplified but dynamic scale model of reality. It is an effective way of allowing people to live and feel a remote situation. This particular game is designed to help create awareness, arouse emotions and encourage participants to take action on behalf of refugees (Passages, an awareness game confronting the plight of refugees, 1995).

2ND EXERCISE: "MONOLOGUES ACROSS THE AEGEAN SEA"15 – A THEATRICAL EXERCISE

Read the letter of Ali from Afghanistan. Then describe the characteristics of the protagonist in the Table below (Table 4).

"*My name is Ali and I am 15 years old from Afghanistan. The first memory of myself is when I was five years old. I don't remember much, but I remember I had a good, pleasant life. Only a year passed when the war broke out. My family and I were forced to leave the country. We belong to the Hazara tribe you see, and for that reason we are persecuted in Afghanistan. When I set out for my journey I didn't know where it would end. Till then I had a different view about journeys. I wanted so much to travel. But after all I went through, I changed my mind. This was not a normal journey. We didn't know what to take along and we didn't have what was needed. We hadn't arranged for a ticket beforehand, since we didn't know our destination. I completed the journey alone, with Allah's help. It wasn't important to me where it would end. The only thing that mattered was to leave from Afghanistan safe and live in a world without war. War brings great misery; it is a great obstacle. I told myself that I will overcome all difficulties and I won't let tiredness bring me down. My endurance helped a lot. But others didn't make it. The journey was too hard. Many nights I slept without water and food. I saw and I went through things you can't imagine. Once while attempting to cross a country's borders, the police caught me and I was put in jail for twelve days. I didn't know what would become of me. I was alone among seventy five people from other countries, jailed for various reasons. Even for serious crimes. I had to go on a three day hunger*

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15 Material which gives the opportunity to the teachers to guide the teenagers-students to form their own speech thus opening a dialog with themselves, their peers and the global community.

strike in order to be freed. I continued my journey until I arrived in Greece. The fact that today I am here with you is either the result of a miracle or of a strength I didn't even know I possessed. I want to learn German. I would like to learn many languages, like our interpreter in this workshop. This way I will be able to communicate with everyone. However, I don't want to forget my mother tongue. I feel relieved in Europe and I hope I will be able to live here. I feel I have arrived at a peaceful and safe shore. But there are still some obstacles I must overcome, before I am able to make my dreams come true. With patience and persistence I will make it!" (July, 2016) (Monologues across the Aegean Sea, 2016, pp. 48-49).

The theatrical character: The dramatic myth is based on the special power that the protagonist possesses. In a story the protagonist's features are:

* Qualitative features. Who is he/her? – The question is answered with adjectives that match to the character.
* Actions (Which are his/her actions?).
* Demands (Which are his/her goals?).

Complete the following Table (Table 4)

The protagonist:

Who is he/her	Review of his/her acts	Goals
Adjectives:		
Character:		
Motivation of the protagonist's actions:		**The power that he/her embraces:**
Other forces:	**Goal:**	**The opposite power:**

Table 4

Compare with "Testimony of Nehama Baruchson-Kaufman about Escaping from the Germans Till Liberated by the Red Army".

Discussion Questions

* What do the experiences of the survivors tell you?
* Why is survivor testimony important?

3RD EXERCISE: "WHY TO BECOME A REFUGEE?"

Students study various case studies to explore some of the reasons that force people to become refugees:

* Students study the Refugee assembly resource "Forced from home" (with an accompanying Power Point presentation: http://learn.christianaid.org.uk/TeachersResources/secondary/secondaryassembly_jun08.aspx/ and Presentation Notes: http://learn.christianaid.org.uk/Images/Forced_from_home_presentation_notes_tcm16-34755.pdf)

The above material, using case studies from Bangladesh and Burma, looks at some of the reasons that force people to become refugees. It aims to help students empathize with the situation of people who have to leave their homes. Students come to realize that, increasingly, it is not only war or persecution that forces people from their homes (Refugee Assembly resource "Forced from home").

- Students watch the video: **"People of nowhere":** https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWUx-5sLNXU[16]
- Students watch the video: **"Life on hold":** https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIJ_0x1q6I8[17]
- Students watch the video: "Bangladesh: A Life on Hold. The Story of Noor Jahan, a Refugee from Myanmar": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUyIY8AuG7k

Comprehension and discussion questions:

- What is the one difference between refugees and you?
- What events do you think could have happened to cause a person to flee and leave everything behind?
- What types of experience might refugees endure during their flight?
- How would you feel if you were a refugee who had to leave your home, family and possessions behind and live in another country?
- Define the term "open mind". What does it mean? Why does UNHCR ask that people keep an open mind and a smile of welcome?

Discuss the answers to these questions around the class. Refer to the concept of *discrimination* and discrimination (Teachers' guide in: human rights and refugees).

4TH EXERCISE: "WHAT IS A GENOCIDE?"

Instructions for the teachers:

- Provide students with the list of genocides that have occurred in the 20th century. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_genocides_by_death_toll/; http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/ etc.).
- Inform students that this is only a sampling of cases.
- Handout the article entitled "8 Stages of Genocide" and allow students some time to read through it[18] (Stanton, 1998).

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16 In the short clip *People of nowhere*, Lior Sperandeo, who previously directed the series *People of Mumbai*, *People of Nepal* and *People of Senegal* looks at the human consequences of the Syrian conflict and the resulting populations' displacements. The video compiles images of the people he met and the scenes he shot on the Greek island of Lesbos.

17 The short film *Life on hold* tells the everyday life of Omar, a 17 year old Somali living in a refugee camp situated at the Tunisian border. Since the 2011 war broke out, thousands of refugees from Somalia, Sudan and Eritrea who were living or transiting through Libya have been forced to find refuge in neighboring countries. They're now awaiting in refugee camps at the Tunisian and Egyptian borders, unable to either leave or stay.

18 Language may need to be simplified depending upon grade level of students.

Comprehension and discussion questions:

- What is genocide?
- Ask students to list situations that might be categorized as genocides.
- What are some of the causes of genocide?
- Can genocide be prevented?

Activities

Once students have read the article "8 Stages of Genocide", divide them into groups of 4 and have the groups select a genocide that they wish to research.

Prior to the selection process, teachers may wish to narrow down the list of genocides that students are able to choose from.

- Students will be provided with library time to research their topic and produce the following:
    a. A one page summary of the selected genocide
    b. A display board that traces the history of their genocide and breaks down this history into the 8 stages of genocide (as per the article provided).
    c. Optional: A symbolic emblem to represent the genocide that they have researched. This emblem will be placed on a large classroom timeline once all research projects have been completed.

- Students will present their findings to the class (Genocide Lesson Plan).

5ᵀᴴ EXERCISE: "EMERGENCY SUPPLY CASE"

Before leaving home, most refugees must decide what to take with them. They usually have only a few minutes to decide what is – or will be – most important to them. This exercise ("Emergency Supply Case") helps show the students-players how difficult this choice can be.

Objective: To put together an emergency supply case. Each family must decide which items to carry on the journey (one choice per person).

Time Management: This module should take 5-7 minutes.

Leading the Game: The students-players are grouped by "family". Hand out the guidelines for this module, face down. They must remain face down until you give the start signal.

Each family will have 5 minutes to decide what to take in their emergency supply case (one object per family member). Everyone must be in agreement as to what is chosen (Passages, an awareness game confronting the plight of refugees, 1995, p. 26).

6ᵀᴴ EXERCISE: "CHANGING PERCEPTIONS"

Instructions for the teachers:
Show the photograph (Fig. 10):

Fig. 10

Explain that the picture was taken in the town of Mytilene on the Greek island of Lesbos in late October 2015. The caption explained: *"Migrants keep warm by a fire as they cope with the wet and cool weather while waiting to be processed at the increasingly overwhelmed Moria camp".* Many thousands of people have to wait before they can be registered. Most are thought to be from the war zones of Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Invite young people's reactions to the photo.

Fire can bring warmth and comfort. Staring at the flames is also a time for reflection.

Ask students:

- What might the young woman be reflecting on?
- What might be her mood as she thinks about the past, present and future?
  The photographer has composed the image in a way that stresses individuality. There are no groups of people. None of the six people in the frame is interacting with anyone else. They are not expressing identifiable emotion. More common images of migrants show people in groups, crowded together, sometimes hugging each other, in a state of high emotion.

  Ask students:
- Does this image help you think more about the personal aspects of being a refugee?
- Can focusing on an individual's experience change your perceptions of people in a group? If so, how?

Discuss the following, with the photograph in mind:

"The word refugee isn't a description of a person. It's a description of something that has happened to a person."

Students could write a poem inspired by the photograph or the quote above.

Encourage them to include emotions such as joy, relief, reflection, as well as past, future and present challenges. Refer back to some of the words they noted down in their initial thought showers. They could also use metaphors about fire, heat and light (British Red Cross).

7TH EXERCISE: "TEMPORARY SHELTER"
Instructions for the teachers:

Objective: To create a situation where the students-players must adapt to an uncomfortable and difficult environment (overcrowding, fatigue, …). They must do what they can to pass the time in the best way possible, despite the conditions.

Preparation: Materials: You will need materials to mark off an area that will serve as your temporary shelter. You can use whatever is available (chairs and tables) or you could plant small pickets and link them with a very visible string or large ribbon.

Setting up: The space you choose is very important, especially in terms of its size. According to your playing area, find a place that is not very comfortable (families will not find beds or mattresses …). The space must be perfectly marked off, or confined, in order to avoid disputes and so that the players experience some level of real discomfort. You may also decide to cover the space with plastic sheeting.

For 5 people, the maximum surface should be 2 m², for example, a space of 2 m by 1 m. For 15 people, you would need to mark off a space of 3 m by 2 m.

Time Management: The game itself should last at least 7 to 8 minutes, if the players organize themselves quickly or if the shelter does not poseposes problems. In any case, you are advised not to let the game go on for more than 15 minutes. You should not tell the players how long the game will last.

Make sure they do this! If someone has a "broken" leg, he or she must limp. If someone else has a broken arm, the family must make a sling before departing.

Once they are in the shelter they must settle down as if they were spending the night. They should make themselves as comfortable as possible, while taking into account their injured family members, young children and elderly people.

Time their stay in the shelter, leaving them there for a maximum of 15 minutes. Don't tell them what is happening and let a climate of tension develop among the players.

Context (to be read aloud):
"*Some occurrence has obliged your family to flee from its home but you had to leave without really knowing which direction to go. One member of your family had an accident along the way and is now handicapped. You must deal with this situation and help that person along until you can find a solution for taking care of him or her. "The sun went down an hour ago. You are all exhausted by this traumatic journey and everything you have gone through. You must find shelter for the night so that you can all get a bit of rest. You can hardly walk anymore. You are ready to accept any kind of shelter, as long as the whole family can get inside. You head towards a place where someone has said you might find shelter.*"

Debriefing: Once you call an end to the game, ask the families to stay where they are and discuss for a few minutes among themselves what they felt during the game. Ask them to consider the difficulties that people encounter when they are put in this kind of situation and tell them to write down their answers on their Family Game Sheet.

Next, have each player rate the level of difficulty he or she experienced in this situation, on a scale from 1 to 10 (1 = comfortable, 10 = unbearable) (Passages, an awareness game confronting the plight of refugees, 1995, p. 27).

8TH EXERCISE: "THE FAMILY SPOKESMAN"

Instructions for the teachers:

Objective: In order to go to a host country, each family must send a representative to get authorization to cross the border. This representative, or spokesman, should be persuasive enough to obtain this authorization. This situation corresponds to that of refugees seeking to be admitted to countries with long processes for determining refugee status, as is the case in industrialized countries.

Preparation: Material: - "Password" cards which you will cut out in advance. These must be decoded by some families. You will have the responses with you.
– An official-looking rubber stamp with an ink pad.
– One set of guidelines per family.

Time Management: This game should last about 20 to 30 minutes.

Leading the Game

Give each family a regulation sheet and then leave them alone for 10 to 15 minutes so they can prepare their strategy (with absolutely no help from the game leaders). Then, you will have just a few minutes to hear their cases.

Each family will send you one representative, one at a time. He or she must convince you why the family should receive asylum.

If the spokesman has a submissive attitude, the family will be authorized to enter the country immediately. Stamp their Family Game Sheet and let them pass.

If the spokesman has some other attitude, you will give him a "Password" card to decode and you will go on to the next family without giving any explanation. The spokesman must go back to his or her family and come back to you when they have the answer, in order to obtain authorization (if they do not get the answer, you can grumble and then let them through) (Passages, an awareness game confronting the plight of refugees, 1995, p. 34).

9ᵀᴴ EXERCISE: "MEETING THE LOCAL POPULATION"
Instructions for the teachers:

Text:
"*After being given asylum, the families find themselves in a foreign country where they do not even speak the language. Yet, they are going to have to communicate somehow if they are to move in somewhere, feed themselves, inform themselves or simply play together. "After an endless number of steps and processes, you have finally arrived in a country that has accepted to grant you refugee status. You have just arrived in what will be your new dwelling, in what seems to be a strange neighborhood. The neighbors don't look anything like you and cannot understand you when you try to communicate with them. Somehow you will have make yourself understood if you want to be able to move in and settle down. "Each member of the family is going to go try to communicate with a stranger who is from the area. Children will look for local children. The father will find another father of a family, etc. "In this way, each person will come into contact with a stranger. The stranger will not be able to understand his or her speech because their pronunciation is so different, but they can communicate by tracing the letters of the message on each other's back. Of course, this must be done without talking*" (Passages, an awareness game confronting the plight of refugees, 1995, p. 36).

Transcription of the text and presentation in class:

Exercises that dramatize texts: The organization of the scenes and the characteristics of the protagonists.

i) The students find elements in the above text that can be dramatized:
- The characters
- Time and space
- The problem
- The obstacles and the solution to the problem
- The inner reaction of the protagonists
- The external reaction of the protagonists to the problem
- The outcome of their efforts
- The reaction of the characters
- The solution of the problem

ii) Afterwards the students transform the narrative text to images (scenes, episodes, scenic unities) and they highlight the main elements in every scene (characters, space, time, action).

Based on the facts that they gathered from the "story map", the students organize the scenes accordingly (Table 5): e.g.

Space	Time	Characters	Circumstances

Table 5

REVIEW

Public History. A Practical Guide. Faye Sayer. London, Bloomsbury 2015.
ISBN 978-1-4725-1366-3

Penelope Harnett, University of the West of England, Bristol

What's the point of history? In a time when the value of studying the humanities is often questioned this book provides a genuine attempt to analyse how history impacts on people's lives. The book explains how the past connects with its public, discussing the role which interpretations play in contributing to social and cultural traditions alongside developing personal understanding. Public History is described as a dynamic undertaking involving dialogue between historians, the past and different audiences and Sayer provides detailed examples of how this occurs in different spheres.

Chapters focus on a different aspects of public history (e.g. museums, archives and heritage centres, teaching history, media history etc.) offering readers a comprehensive guide to a range of issues. The context of each chapter is explained in helpful introductions which are then followed by discussion, illustrated by specific case studies.

The variety of international case studies emphasises public history's global importance and the different insights which can be achieved through its practice. Case studies provide opportunities for readers to engage with some of the challenges which public historians face and guided questions encourage them to reflect on their own positioning. The excellent range of references also permits readers to follow up in more detail on issues which have interested them.

This practical and informative book is an essential guide for those wanting to engage with the public history sector. It describes necessary qualifications and skills, and what work in the sector would entail. For those studying history it has a useful chapter providing advice on gaining employment.

This book also has wider appeal for the general public wanting to know how the history around them is constructed and interpreted including the influence of digital media and community history projects. Educators in schools would also find this informative book very helpful: its rationale for studying the subject and examples of how methods of enquiry and historical skills are utilised in practice are all very useful reminders of why history remains such an important subject on the school curriculum.

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