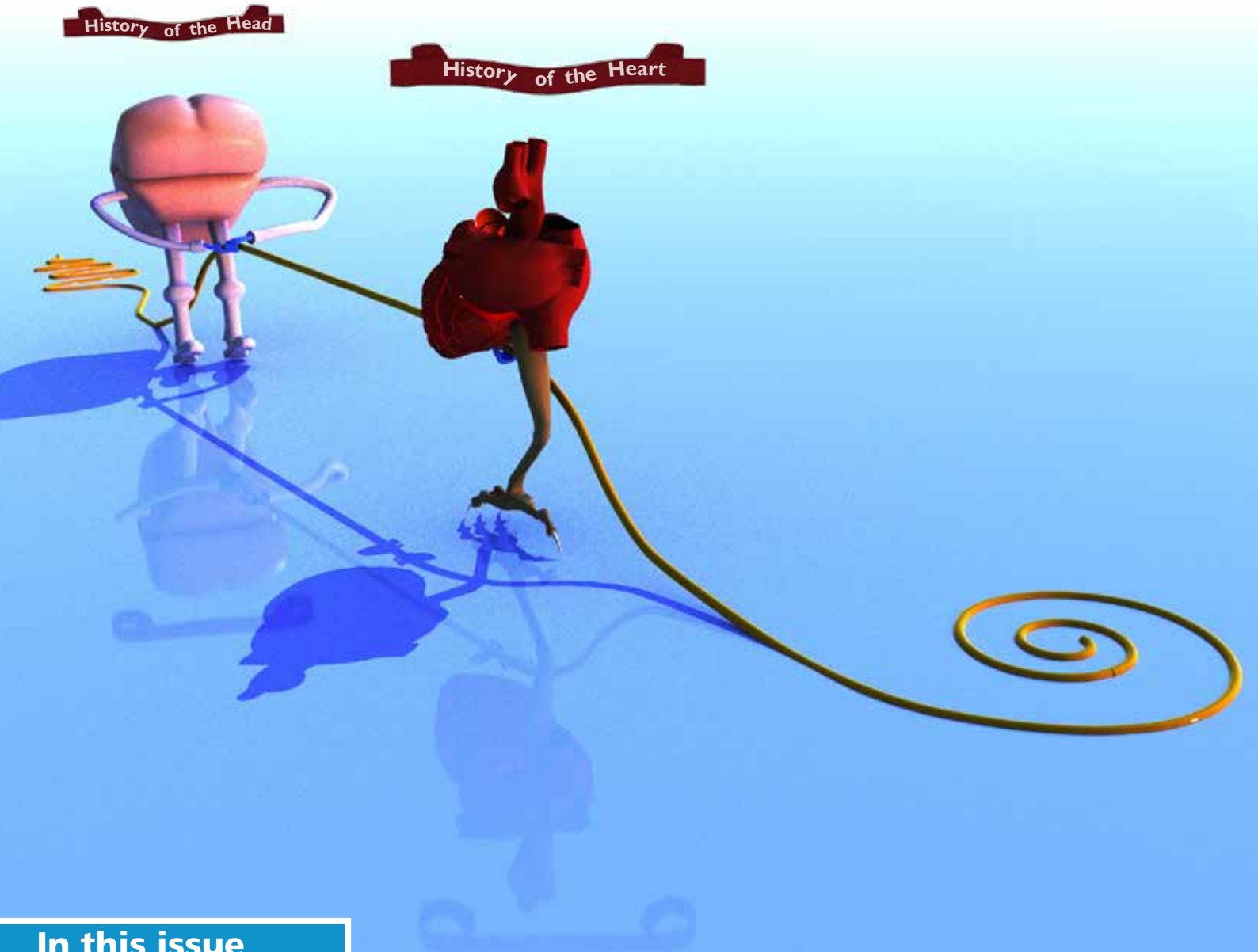
TH 185 | December 2021

TEACHING HISTORY

The secondary education journal of the Historical Association

MISSING STORIES



In this issue

Teaching Britain's 'civil rights' history: activism and citizenship in context

Illuminating the possibilities of the past: the role of representation in A-level curriculum planning

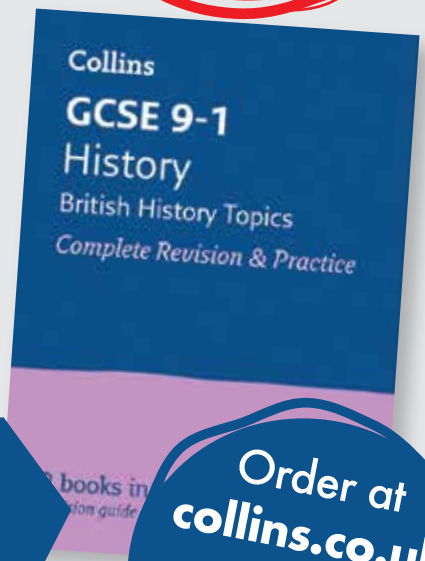
Bringing school into the classroom: teaching about twentieth-century social change through the history of education

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Missing Stories Edition
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TEACHING HISTORY

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Missing Stories

In their prologue to *What is History Now?* (published earlier this year to mark the 60th anniversary of E.H. Carr's seminal work), Helen Carr and Susannah Lipscomb both admit to owning a ruler of rulers: a list of monarchs of Britain from the year 43 to 1952 set out on a 30cm wooden ruler. Intended to present a straightforward inventory, the list is used instead by Carr and Lipscomb to illustrate the processes of selection and interpretation that are inevitably present whenever historians or others seek to marshal the facts of the past to create any kind of historical account. As Carr and Lipscomb point out, the list fails to include any of the monarchs of Scotland (since the list elides 'British' with 'English') and fails to name either of the contested queens, Matilda and Jane. Their stories were assumed not to count; they did not meet the implicit criteria for selection.

While the secondary history curriculum obviously provides much more scope than a 30cm ruler, school timetables still impose tight constraints on what can be included. Teachers' choices are shaped not only by the requirements of national curricula and exam board specifications, but also by the cost of purchasing new resources and the amount of time that teachers would need to invest in developing new subject knowledge. While the latter forces tend to promote high levels of curriculum inertia, teachers' recognition of the power inherent in the stories that they share and interrogate with young people has also prompted them – just as it prompted Carr and Lipscomb to generate a new, collective response to the question 'What is history *now*?' – to think carefully about the stories missing from their curricula. These are the stories that arise from what E.H. Carr originally described as 'the unending dialogue between the present and the past'. They are the stories constructed in response to new questions, asked by new enquirers, with access to new techniques, enabling them to overcome some of the archival silences that Trouillot so powerfully acknowledged. They are often the stories of those of who have been excluded or marginalised within the historical record; the stories that young people – including (but not only) those at risk of marginalisation themselves – need to hear.

Each of the articles in this issue makes a case for the inclusion in the curriculum of such missing stories. The one on which Hannah Elias and Martin Spafford focus is that of the grassroots activism that drove the struggle for civil rights in Britain during the course of the twentieth century. Pointing out that the stories of Rosa Parkes, Martin Luther King and Malcom X still tend to be far more familiar to British students than those of Paul Stephenson, Darcus Howe, Claudia Jones or Jayaben Desai, our authors Elias and Spafford first offer readers a number of principles that might underpin teaching of the anti-racist struggle and then share a wealth of practical advice about relevant and accessible resources to support such teaching.

Claire Holliss is concerned both about stories long neglected by the curriculum – such as those of the LGBTQ+ community – and about the angle or perspective from which the stories that are included have been told. Reflecting on successive waves of A-level curriculum renewal within her department, Holliss explains how her focus on the issue of representation, asking what exactly she is seeking to illuminate, has prompted her to look, for example, beyond presentations of Elizabeth I as an isolated and unusual figure as a female ruler; instead reminding students not only of her elder sister, Mary, but also of other powerful female contemporaries exercising power in various ways across Europe. In making clear the unfamiliar ways in which gender was constructed in the sixteenth century, Holliss has also sought to illustrate for her students the rich new seams of enquiry that the study of gender is opening up.

For Neil Bates and Robert Bowry, the stories that students are in danger of missing, but that could do much to boost *their* sense of belonging and of pride in their local community, are those that have been found literally beneath their feet or under the wheels of vehicles in the neighbouring supermarket car park! Drawing on a range of examples showing how they have used local history to strengthen the coherence of their whole curriculum, Bates and Bowry illustrate how history departments can increase young people's sense of agency through careful consultation and can counter their assumptions that 'history never happens here'.

A local story – that of the border reivers, many of whom had the same surnames as her students in Carlisle – also features in the Cunning Plan developed by Carmel Bones. The plan is essentially to direct readers to the RETEACH website, a free resource supported by the Authors' Licensing and Collecting Society that identifies relevant historical scholarship dealing with fresh or neglected perspectives on topics commonly taught at Key Stage 3 and within the most popular exam specifications.

The missing stories that Chris Jeppesen, Molly Navey and Hannah Cusworth seek to introduce to the history classroom are those of the classroom itself. Jeppesen, a post-doctoral researcher on a Cambridge University project examining 'Secondary Education and Social Change' from 1945 to the 1990s explains how four history teachers worked collaboratively with the project team to develop a series of resource packs, each tackling a different story. Navey and Cusworth reflect on the design and impact of the particular packs on which they worked: the former examining the ways in which school life was shaped by changing attitudes to gender and sexuality; the latter exploring what school life reveals about changing attitudes to race.

The issue concludes with a reflective piece by Richard Harris, drawing on a range of recent research projects to identify new directions for curricular thinking that might enhance the coherence and power of the entire collection of stories that they share with their students.

Katharine Burn
Christine Counsell
Rachel Foster
Tony McConnell
Editors



HA Secondary News

Well done on making it to the end of another bruising term. I hope that the school holidays around Christmastide bring an opportunity to rest and to reflect on all the super history learning that has happened in classrooms up and down the land in the autumn term, despite the 'slings and arrows'.

In October the Diversity Steering Group published its agreed mission statement. The Steering Group brings together the key umbrella bodies in UK history education – the Historical Association, the Royal Historical Society, the Institute of Historical Research, and the Schools History Project – with the Runnymede Trust. The organisations represented have a common concern that history, particularly the history in examination specifications, is not reflecting good historical practice. The HA's secondary survey of 2021 revealed that the vast majority of schools (83%) who responded to the survey have made substantial changes to their Key Stage 3 curriculum in recent years to address issues of inclusivity and diversity. However, there has been much less progress at GCSE. The Steering Group meets early in the new year to consider how to continue to press for change in conversation with the exam boards and the Department of Education. To quote from the statement:

> *History is not a static, unchanging, fixed account of events. It is a living discipline that explores new avenues, that reviews and reinterprets the past. Textbooks, examination specifications and school curricula therefore cannot remain static. History and historians respond to, are shaped by and challenge the nature of contemporary society. …*
> *A diverse history curriculum should be rich in cultural, political, local, material, environmental, social and economic history.*

Please do read the whole mission statement, published on the HA website.[1]

The new year will bring a lot of work for colleagues involved in initial history teacher education. The DfE's Market Review response contains advice and guidance that is so prescriptive that it is likely to endanger high-quality history ITE provision. In addition, all ITE providers are being required to go through a time-consuming reaccreditation process that will distract from subject development. The HA will continue to argue for, and to support the development of, high quality subject-specific ITE and CPD for beginning teachers. The HA shares the concerns being expressed about the inflexible and generic nature of some of the provision for early career teachers under the new framework. High quality subject-specific ITE and early career CPD recognises that the beginning teacher is not an empty vessel to be filled to a rigid and predetermined timetable. That is why the beginning teachers' section of the HA website has resources that can be taken and tailored to support course co-ordinators, mentors, and colleagues in their ITE year and first year in post in specific settings. And spring 2022 will see an exciting new development. Following the format of the hugely popular and successful subject leader development programme, there will be a pilot of a new history-specific programme for colleagues in their second and third years of teaching the subject. Mike Hill is leading the course team and modules will include what it means to be a history teacher, how to build historical knowledge, and getting better at history.

Some of you may have heard HA deputy president Alison Kitson's keynote speech in November on the topic of historical perspectives on climate change. The climate emergency is the most pressing issue facing humanity in our times and history education needs to play its part in supporting the development of solutions. Alison is also part of a network of history teachers and teacher educators being formed to take this work forward, in collaboration with Arthur Chapman, Kate Hawkey, Peter Langdon and Michael Riley. If you would like to get involved, please contact Alison via the HA and look out for more from the team in the new year.

The onebighistorydepartment blog has continued to be a space for sharing current work and practical ideas by teachers for teachers.[2] If you have been so very busy this term that you have not had the chance to engage, I would encourage you to take some space and time in the break to browse back through this term's posts. Teachers share their thinking and wrestling with varied topics such as creating substantive connections across Key Stage 3, teaching the British Empire, collaborative working, using archival material, the historic environment, and remembrance.

For all of our work to teach better and more inclusive history, we continue to need the support of academic historians. Thankfully there are so many colleagues happy to help. The time pressures we all work under are very, very real, but I doubt that it has ever been so easy for so many to engage with scholarship, and to access new knowledge to make sure that our teaching of history is not inert, out of date, and adrift from contemporary historical debates. The HA will continue to bring academics and teachers together.

But first, as I write this, a holiday! I hope that the festive period and enjoying spending time in whatever way restores you means that we arrive at the start of a new year in a good place. All my fingers are crossed that we will be able to meet in person at the HA conference and other wonderful history teaching events in 2022.

REFERENCES
1 www.history.org.uk/aboutus/module/8777/our-commitment-to-diversity/10617/diversity-steering-group-mission-statement
2 https://onebighistorydepartment.com



Helen Snelson
Chair, HA Secondary Committee



Historical Association
The voice for history

New year, new challenge – become a Chartered Teacher of History

Chartered Teacher of History (CTHist) status is designed to ensure that teachers who choose to remain within the classroom have their contributions and expertise recognised, and to provide an assurance for senior leaders that history staff are committed to their continued development. This accreditation confers a distinction on its holder in recognition of a high level of expertise in both historical knowledge and understanding and in age-appropriate pedagogy. The accreditation provides a recognised and valued award.

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- Celebrate the importance of history teaching
- Promote the development of leadership in history education

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Email: **cthist@history.org.uk**

- ✓ Four years of teaching experience including NQT year
- ✓ Pursue a challenging career while continuing to gain recognition for your work
- ✓ Committed to the development of educational excellence in your school and the wider professional community

HA Update

CPD, projects, resources and competitions

Welcome to your regular round-up from 59a.

It's been another interesting year and the vast majority of our CPD has remained online. This autumn we trialled a virtual forum. At the event, Alison Kitson reminded us all of the challenge facing history and all subjects in educating about the climate emergency. We look forward to holding another virtual forum in the spring. Look out for further details coming soon. You can check the dates of this and all our other Sspring 2022 CPD on the CPD calendar on pages 8 & 9.

In February, we look forward to bringing you a virtual partnership event with the British Library for A-level teachers, hooking into their current exhibition *Elizabeth and Mary: Royal Cousins, Rival Queens.* You'll benefit from a curator talk, plus input from the National Archives on some of the items they have loaned to the exhibition, fresh insights into teaching this period and a workshop session from the HA.

Another highlight of the spring 2022 CPD calendar is our new Amazing A-level webinar series from Heather Sherman. If you are new to A-level teaching, going to be teaching A-level or just want to up your game with your A-level classes, then why not take a look at this series? Each webinar can be booked separately but there are also discounts applied to bulk bookings. The first in the series, on bridging the gap between GCSE and A-level, is free to HA members and takes place at the start of term on 5 January. Don't forget to book your place/s.

We have been putting the final touches to our delayed People of 1381 Teacher Fellowship programme and we are delighted that the residential will finally (we hope) go ahead in January 2022. We look forward to bringing you news of the programme as it progresses. Meanwhile, our Local History Teacher Fellowship, led by Michael Riley, got underway in September with a residential in Lincoln. A resources workshop was held in December and we are really looking forward to seeing the planned resources take shape. Some of these will be published later in 2022.

As you may have read in the Secondary News section, we have also actively responded to the ITT Market Review, and the Diversity Steering Group have also been at work. You can now read our commitment to diversity statement in a new section of our website, along with the results of our 2021 secondary survey, which focused on aspects of diversity. You can read an article about the secondary survey from one of the authors, Professor Richard Harris, on pages 60-68. Part of the work of the steering group in 2021 was to convene network sessions on popular GCSE topics to facilitate the start of ongoing conversations between academic history, examination boards and teachers. We started these with sessions on the American West, Medicine and Elizabeth I. The steering group meets again early in 2022 and we hope to run further network sessions next year.

We have recently announced the winners of the 2021 Quills Award for children and young people's historical fiction. The award is made for books published in the previous 12 months. We have also just launched the Write Your Own Historical Fiction Competition for 2022 – the competition is open to students in Years 7–13. Why not bring some historical fiction into your classroom and get your students to bring the past to life? The competition closes in June 2022 and details can be found in the competitions section of the HA website.

We continue to add to our web resources. Our bank of filmed webinars continues to grow. As part of our commitment to new and early career teachers, we are continuing to add to our resources in our new beginning teacher section of the HA website. Recently published was a short film on building reflective practice from David Hibbert, and coming soon will be another instalment of What's the Wisdom on…? this time focused on extended writing. We are also adding to Student Zone. Look out in 2022 for new films on German history and a brand new unit on the Crusades.

This autumn we have been delighted to welcome six new bursary-funded schools to our Quality Mark programme. These schools are currently working towards the award and we look forward to bringing you news of their progress later this year. Bursaries have been kindly supplied by the Royal Historical Society and the Barrie Greaves legacy. You can find out more about the impact of undertaking a Quality Mark award by reading our QM impact report in the QM section of the HA website, based upon participants in our 2019 round of bursaries.

There are a small number of bursaries still available for the 2021/2 academic year. Applications close in March 2022 and details can be found in the QM section of the HA website.

HA Update

History Teacher Educators' Network (HTEN)

This HA Update has been written by the Co-Chairs and Secretary of the History Teacher Educators' Network, at the invitation of the Historical Association. While the two organisations share many of the same objectives and work closely together, with many members in common, HTEN is a separate body specifically concerned with the work of history teacher educators – as the authors go on to explain.



The History Teacher Education Network (HTEN) is the professional representative body for all educators who specialise in history teacher education development. It is underpinned by a common desire to make history education inspiring and to promote sophisticated understandings of the discipline of history by engaging with the most recent research and practice-based developments within the history community.

It is a membership network/association which represents those who work with and have responsibility for the professional education, development and training of beginning and serving history teachers, defined as those who are currently undertaking an Initial Teacher Education (ITE) course and those who are newly and recently qualified teachers (ECTs and RQTs). HTEN aims to provide a voice for the sector and offer support and guidance for those working with history teachers as teacher educators, mentors and coaches, signposting and connecting members to opportunities and resources.

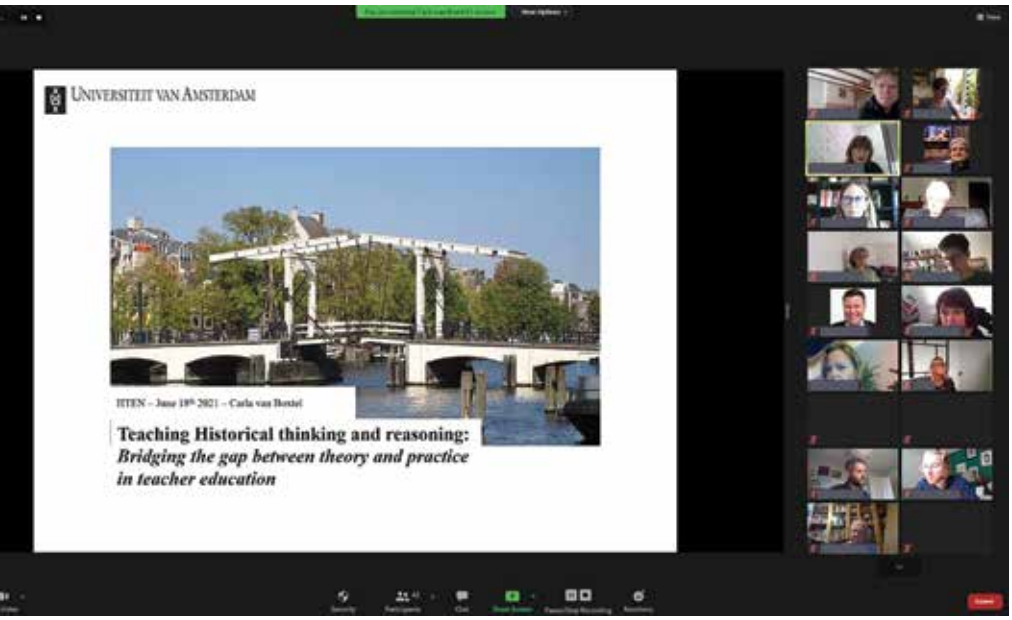
HTEN's origins and revival

Originally established in 1991, the HTEN committee, under the presidencies of Alaric Dickinson, Chris Husbands and Alan McCully, met three times a year with the intention of representing and supporting history ITE interests across the four UK nations at both primary and secondary level. From 1992, a series of annual two-day conferences were held across the UK, drawing attendance from history teacher educators, museum educators, history academics and international colleagues (through HTEN's connections with EuroClio). The conferences offered support to history teacher educators through presentations and workshops pertinent to ITE from historians and educationalists, providing opportunities for participants to present their research in progress (published as HTEN conference papers), and the obligatory history field trip. In addition, HTEN members made contributions to the Midlands History Forum and the HA Conference, and in 2013 represented the history teacher educator community in responses to the DfE consultation around the proposed changes to the National Curriculum for history. The contribution of the HTEN committees to the history teacher education sector during this time was significant, and we continue to benefit from their legacy.

The Covid-19 pandemic has provided fertile ground for the reinvigoration of HTEN. As the March 2020 lockdown presented ITE with the unprecedented challenge of training teachers without access to the classroom, a small group of university-based teacher educators began meeting online, discovering new ways for HTEN to connect teacher educators to provide mutual support. Most recently HTEN has also given a voice to the sector by responding on behalf of members to the initial teacher training (ITT) market review consultation. The value of the organisation has been demonstrated once again.

Organisation, membership and connections

HTEN seeks to complement as well as support and collaborate with organisations that have a shared interest in history education, such as the HA, the Schools History Project, EuroClio, the History Educators International Research Network



(HEIRNET), the Royal Historical Society and History UK. We recognise the importance of HTEN participation in events organised by these groups and that membership of them may overlap; and we welcome a diverse and vibrant history education community. We have a working committee consisting of 12 active members who have responsibility for different functions within HTEN, as well as representing both primary and secondary history educators, and all countries/regions of the UK. The current committee is provisional, and all currently held positions will be open for election at the HTEN AGM in the spring/summer of 2022.

Membership of HTEN is open to all those with responsibilities for history teacher education, whether within ITE or CPD; within university or school-based provision; as a history lead in a multi-academy trust or at local authority level; or within the heritage, museum and archive sector providing professional development for teachers. Our aim is to represent all educators supporting history teachers' professional learning, and we are, therefore, always glad to welcome new members. Membership is predominantly, but not exclusively, confined to those working in the UK. If you are reading this from outside the UK, please do not be deterred; you are also very welcome to join us!

Purpose

In the constantly evolving landscape of ITE, HTEN's purpose is to provide a voice and forum for our community of history educators. Our purpose is threefold:

i. To provide a community and voice for history teacher educators, creating connections with each other and with other interested groups; offering support and guidance for those working with history teachers and signposting and connecting members to opportunities and resources.
ii. To create opportunities for history teacher educators to be research informed, and provide scope for them to share and develop good practice for those working in history teacher education and professional development.
iii. To support the development of our members' research roles, using the wealth of experience in our community to support and mentor ITE leaders and those with early research interests to start researching.

Activities

HTEN's relaunch year has been busy and received with enthusiasm by the community. During 2021 we hosted three half-day online conferences, with presentations from Arthur Chapman on the theme of 'Knowing History in Schools' and Carla van Boxtel on her research into the teaching of historical thinking and reasoning. Additionally, Helen McCord, from the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education presented on how the Centre's work can support beginning teachers to teach controversial histories. Each conference also includes the opportunity to discuss the implications of this research and to share good practice in smaller breakout groups.

HTEN also hosted both the primary and secondary ITE 'drop-in' sessions at the 2021 Virtual HA conference. Primary colleagues have utilised HTEN's relaunch to strengthen connections between primary history educators and have held a number of additional meetings that have been focused on their phase-specific concerns and development needs.

More recently, the ITT Market Review required HTEN to act as a voice for history teacher educators. New ways of working enabled HTEN to hold an open meeting for members to discuss the proposals, as well as gathering views through a joint HTEN/HA survey. HTEN was then able to respond to the consultation on behalf of our community, highlighting our subject-specific perspective.

In time we will provide a space for specific support and development groups for history teacher educators under the HTEN banner. We also seek to publish conference papers and make our archive of conference papers from 1992 onwards available to members electronically.

The pandemic and advances in technology have demonstrated the value of these more regular and accessible opportunities to connect and our intention moving forward is to continue with a pattern of two annual half-day online conferences, whilst the third, which will include our AGM, will be an in-person event coinciding with the annual HA conference in May.

HTEN's next half-day conference is on Thursday 24 March, 9.30am-12.30pm, via Zoom. For more information about the conference, joining HTEN as a member and HTEN more generally please email htenuk@gmail.com

Victoria Crooks and Laura London,
Co-Chairs,
David Ingledew, Secretary,
History Teacher Education Network.

Secondary CPD coming up this term

Historical Association
The voice for history

We know that it's not easy for teachers to get out of school or for their budgets to afford a plentiful supply of CPD. We know how essential your CPD is to you and that is why we have worked to provide a wide range of online learning and webinar-based CPD to suit all budgets. It doesn't matter where you are or what your budget is; you and your colleagues can benefit from some of the best subject-specific CPD around. As an HA member you'll gain preferential rates to all our CPD and also benefit from a number of exclusive, free member sessions each year. In addition, corporate members also have the opportunity to benefit from access to one free recording per year.

January 2022

Date/time	Title	Series	Focus	Format
January	**The problem with having to write it all down part A**	History for all	Subject issues and pedagogy	On-demand webinar
January	**Building reflective practice***	Beginning teacher	Subject issues	On-demand webinar
January	**Untold stories of the Holocaust***	Untold stories of the Second World War	Subject knowledge	On-demand webinar
Wednesday 5 January	**The step up from GCSE to A-level***	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Monday 10 January	**An introduction to the HA Quality Mark***		Subject knowledge and pedagogy	Live webinar
Wednesday 12 January	**Using 'one day' to explore the actions that helped to lead to the Holocaust and actions of genocide***		Subject knowledge	Live webinar
Wednesday 19 January	**Super sequencing: planning effective schemes of learning/schemes of work****	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Wednesday 26 January	**The power of words****	Developing confident readers and writers in the history classroom and beyond	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Thursday 27 January	**Subject Leader Development Programme: Meeting 1 (January cohort)**	Subject Leader Development Programme	Subject leadership	Live online meeting

New series: Amazing A-level

In this new webinar series, we will explore what makes effective A-level teaching through a series of six interactive webinars. We will think about how to support students in the initial step up from GCSE, then move on to how to develop effective schemes of learning/work. In the third session we will explore and reflect on some teaching and learning activities that are effective in A-level teaching. In session four we will consider how to develop students' analysis and evaluation skills for working with primary sources and historiography, and in session five we will look at strategies to build independent learning skills while still ensuring our students are supported. The final session will think about how to develop the skills needed for our students to write as an A-level historians, and how to mark their work effectively.

February 2022

Date/time	Title	Series	Focus	Format
February	**Webinar on demand: Untold stories of the home front in World War II***	Untold stories of the Second World War	Subject knowledge	On-demand webinar
February	**Webinar on demand: The problem with having to write it all down part B**	History for all	Subject issues and pedagogy	On-demand webinar
February 2022 (Date TBC)	**Subject Leader Development Programme: Meeting 2 (January cohort)**	Subject Leader Development Programme	Subject leadership	Live online meeting
Wednesday 2 February	**What works? Teaching and learning activities for teaching A-level****	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject pedagogy	Live webinar
Thursday 3 February	**Partnership event with the British Library on Elizabeth and Mary: royal cousins, rival queens**		Subject knowledge and pedagogy	Live webinar
Monday 7 February	**Queer beyond London: local matters***		Subject knowledge	Live webinar
Wednesday 9 February	**The creative building blocks of writing****	Developing confident readers and writers in the history classroom and beyond	Subject knowledge and issues	Live webinar

March 2022

Date/time	Title	Series	Focus	Format
March	**Webinar on demand: Untold stories of women of World War II***	Untold Stories of the Second World War	Subject knowledge	On-demand webinar
March	**Webinar on demand: Supporting lower attainers as subject leader**	History for all	Subject issues and leader-ship	On-demand webinar
March (Date TBC)	**Subject Leader Development Programme: Meeting 3 (January cohort)**	Subject Leader Development Programme	Subject knowledge	Live online meeting
Wednesday 2 March	**Strong source work in A-level history****	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Tuesday 8 March	**An aspect of women's history with Fern Riddell* (title TBC)**		Subject knowledge	Live webinar
Thursday 10 March 4.30–7pm	**Virtual History Forum**		Subject issues and pedagogy	Live online meeting
Wednesday 16 March	**Building independent learning while ensuring support****	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Monday 21 March	**Making the most of your secondary membership***	HA membership	Information	Live webinar
Wednesday 23 March	**Overcoming the fear of the blank page****	Developing confident readers and writers in the history classroom and beyond	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar
Wednesday 30 March	**Writing like an A-level historian and providing feedback on this****	Amazing A-level: developing your teaching of level 3 learners	Subject issues and pedagogy	Live webinar

All live CPD events are 4–5pm unless otherwise stated.

All live events are recorded but must be booked in advance.

* CPD marked with an asterisk is free to HA members but live events must be booked in advance.

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Teaching Britain's 'civil rights' history:

activism and citizenship in context

Hannah Elias and Martin Spafford begin this article by explaining why they believe it is essential for young people to learn about the 'heterogeneous, rich and complex' history of the struggle for civil rights in Britain. Drawing on their diverse experiences of researching, writing and teaching history at school and university level, they put forward a number of key principles that they suggest might underpin the teaching of this history. Their article then provides an overview of the anti-racist struggle across the twentieth century, identifying powerful stories that could serve to illuminate the changing narrative over time, along with guidance and links to important collections of resources related to each of the periods and stories outlined.

Hannah Elias and Martin Spafford
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UK anti-racism – a human rights story

In December 1955, Claudia Jones, a Trinidad-born feminist, political activist, journalist, Black nationalist and community leader, arrived in Britain seeking political asylum after being harassed, arraigned, briefly imprisoned, and subsequently deported by the United States government. She worked closely with London's African-Caribbean community and was a vociferous advocate for human and civil rights.[1] In March 1958, she founded the *West Indian Gazette,* which argued for equal opportunities for Black people and Commonwealth migrants. She described the newspaper as 'a catalyst, quickening the awareness, socially and politically, of West Indians, Afro-Asians and their friends'.[2] The *Gazette* did important advocacy work, bearing witness and reporting on the violence experienced by migrant communities, while linking specific neighbourhood concerns in Notting Hill to the wider global world of anti-colonial protest and the Civil Rights movement.[3]

According to historian Bill Schwarz, Claudia Jones's work 'animate[d] the specifically West Indian culture of the emigrant on the home territory of Britain itself'.[4] This was an important political project in the face of visceral racial hatred. The same year that Claudia Jones arrived in Britain, Winston Churchill attempted to persuade the Conservative Party to adopt the slogan 'Keep England White'.[5] White racists instigated riots in Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958. In Notting Hill, hundreds piled into the streets to take part in the mêlée, shouting and damaging property caught in their wake. White children could be heard shouting: 'Come on, let's get the blacks!' Seventeen people were arrested for attacking and petrol bombing Black households.[6]

Claudia Jones responded to the race riots of 1958 by asserting the place of African-Caribbean culture in the imperial metropolis. Four months after the Notting Hill riot, she organised a carnival in St Pancras Town Hall, believing that 'a people's art is the genesis of their freedom'.[7] This was the first of what became the annual Notting Hill Carnival. The carnival was a showcase of Caribbean artistic and musical talent, which Jones hoped would act as a bridge between cultural differences and promote greater understanding of and respect for the Caribbean presence in Britain.[8] But more than a bridge between cultural divides, the 'carnival queen contest marked an explicit attempt to instil popular pride in being black'.[9]

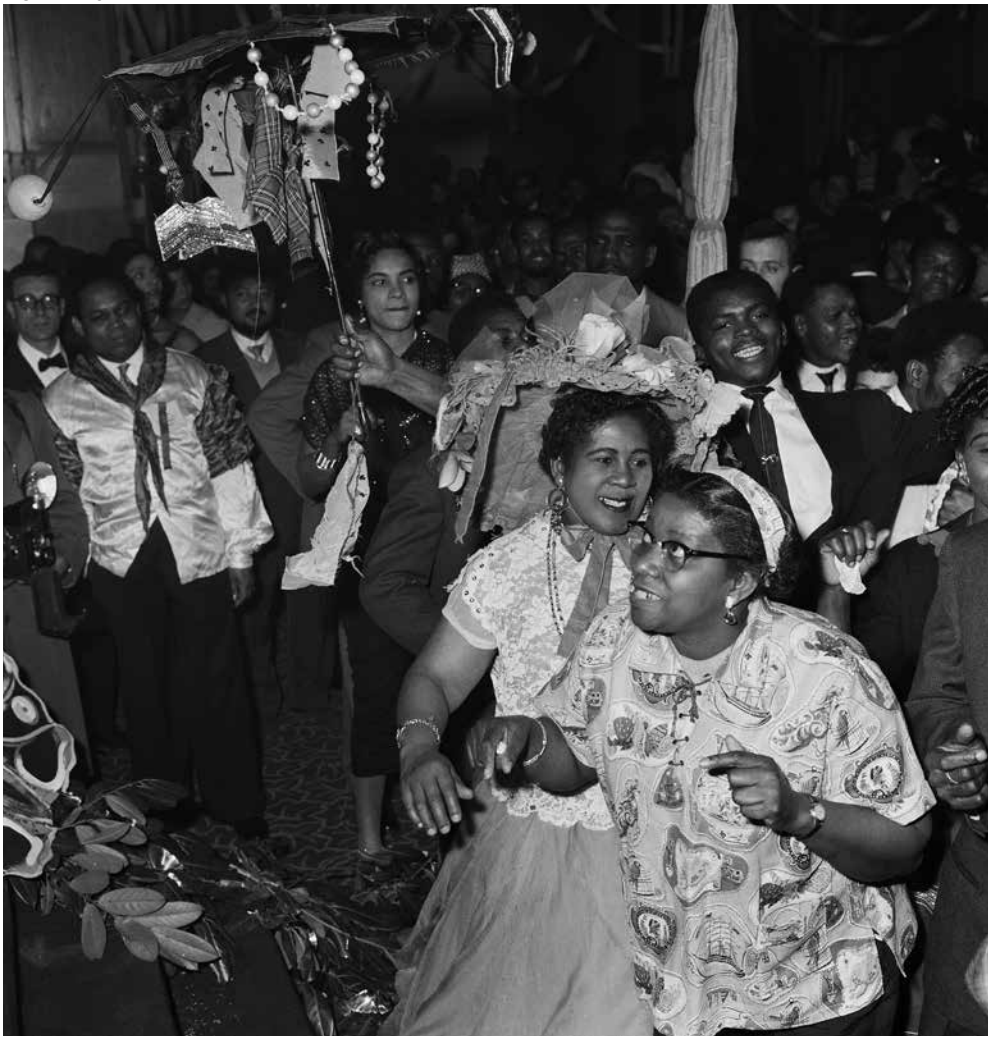
The Notting Hill Carnival is one of the most famous in Europe – but how many young people know about its anti-racist origins? Or about its founder's long career of advocacy and her notable contributions to British cultural and intellectual history? Or that the carnival was just one of a series of projects created by Jones to assert that West Indian culture and people belonged in Britain, and that migrants deserved to have their human rights respected?

In June 2012, Whitburn and Yemoh wrote in *Teaching History:*

> *There is a rich history of grassroots activism… within Britain's Black communities, akin to the history of the African-American civil rights movement, but it is usually the latter which is chosen by history departments for their schemes of work.*[10]

Nearly ten years later, how much has changed? According to the 2021 Historical Association survey of history teaching in secondary schools, while the percentage of schools among the respondents that reported teaching migration (72.8%) and the British Empire (82%) was fairly high, only 23% of the 316 respondents reported teaching a series of lessons on Black and Asian British history, with only just under 15% teaching histories of UK civil rights.[11]

Figure 1: The first ever 'Notting Hill Carnival' organised by Claudia Jones in St Pancras Town Hall



The story of the 'grassroots activism' of the anti-racist struggle in the UK is heterogeneous, rich and complex. It is many-faceted, full of strong narratives and fascinating personalities that will engage students. Its victories and defeats helped to bring about the racial justice and injustices of our time; its history has shaped many aspects of contemporary Britain – politically, culturally and socially. If our students are to understand fundamental issues of citizenship and human rights in the Britain of today and tomorrow, this history is essential. If all they know of this British history is silence, our students remain dangerously ill-informed. As Helen Carr and Susannah Lipscomb write in their prologue to *What is History, Now?*

> *The problem of silences in the archives is especially pressing if we recognise that history is not only constructed in the present – our understanding of it also constructs the sort of present we live in.*[12]

At the end of *Young Rebels,* a powerful film made by a younger generation of British Asians about their parents' struggles in the 1970s, two former Southall Youth Movement activists talk of the significance of their actions:[13]

> *We always said that the past informs the present and the present shapes the future … You cannot forget the history of your own community … So for the children in the next generation, we are part of them and they are part of us. They cannot and should not disconnect from our experiences.*
>
> Balraj Purewal

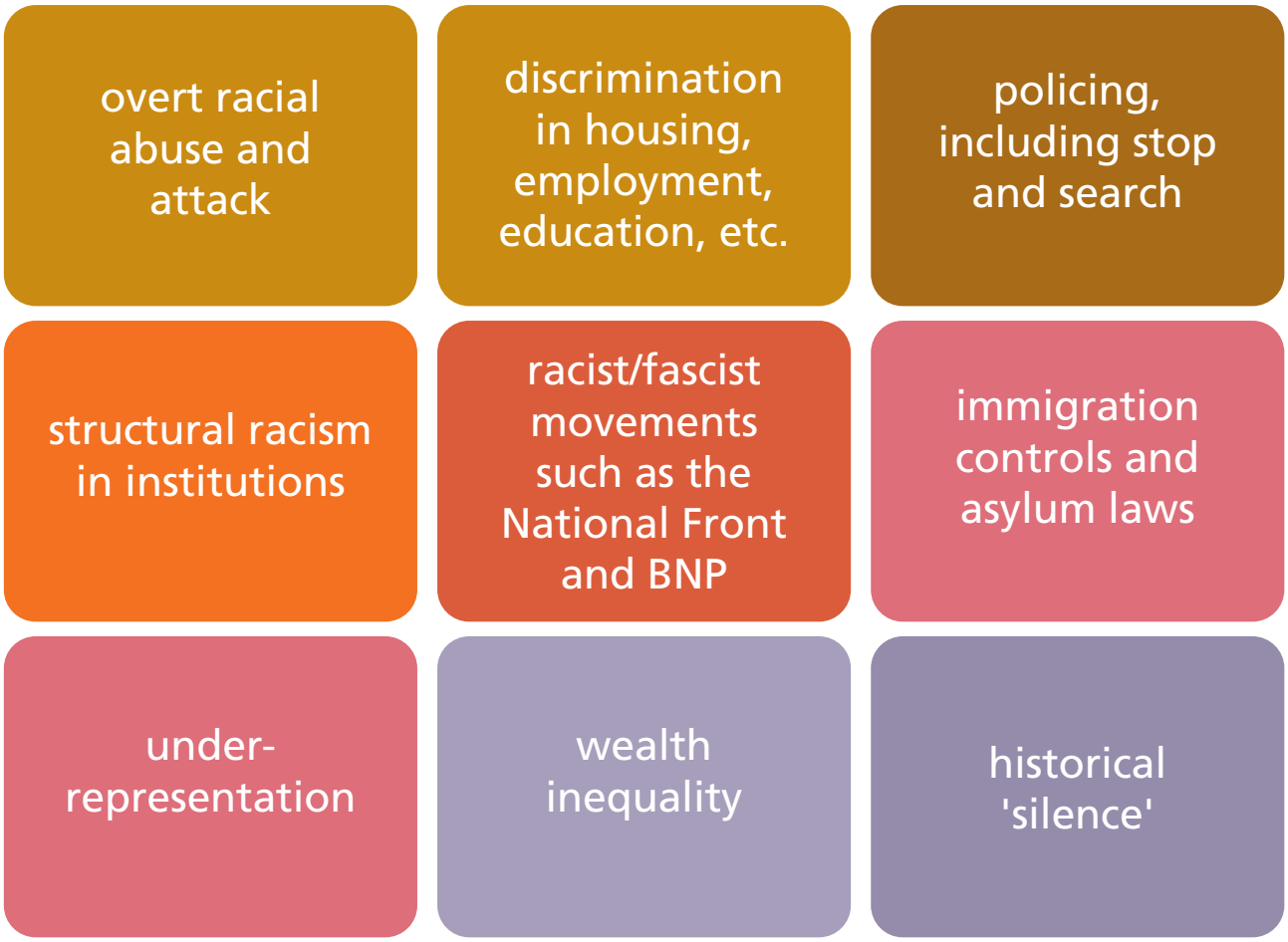
> *The Youth Movement gave us the voice that allows our children to walk free.*
>
> Shan Chaudhary

Why, then are personalities such as Claudia Jones or the Southall Youth Movement so absent from our curriculum? Why are Rosa, Martin and Malcolm far more familiar to many students than Paul (Stephenson), Darcus (Howe), Althea (Jones LeCointe), John (La Rose) or Jayaben (Desai)? According to Michel-Rolph Trouillot, who was referenced by Lyndon-Cohen in the Race edition of *Teaching History*,

> *The value of a historical product cannot be debated without taking into account both the context of its production and the context of its consumption.*[14]

In thinking about these contexts, we recognise that our curriculum choices are in large part determined by the options offered by exam boards and by the content of textbooks, which have been influenced by a relative scarcity of academic works describing these histories. This scarcity has itself, in turn, been affected by the structural exclusion from (or marginalisation within) British universities of the histories of colonised and racialised people. Recent changes offer promise: the Royal Historical Society's *2018 Race, Ethnicity and Equality in UK History* report has challenged university history departments to do better on matters of representation, both in the curriculum and in the ethnic diversity of history teaching staff.[15] Community historians have played an essential role in documenting, recording and preserving the history of Black and Asian experiences in the UK; it is because of their activism and scholarship that we are able learn more about the histories of British anti-racism

Figure 2: Various ways in which racism has manifested itself in Britain



and Black liberation movements today. It is important for students to understand that Black and Asian people have had significant agency in our shared past, and that this has regularly been omitted from dominant historical narratives.

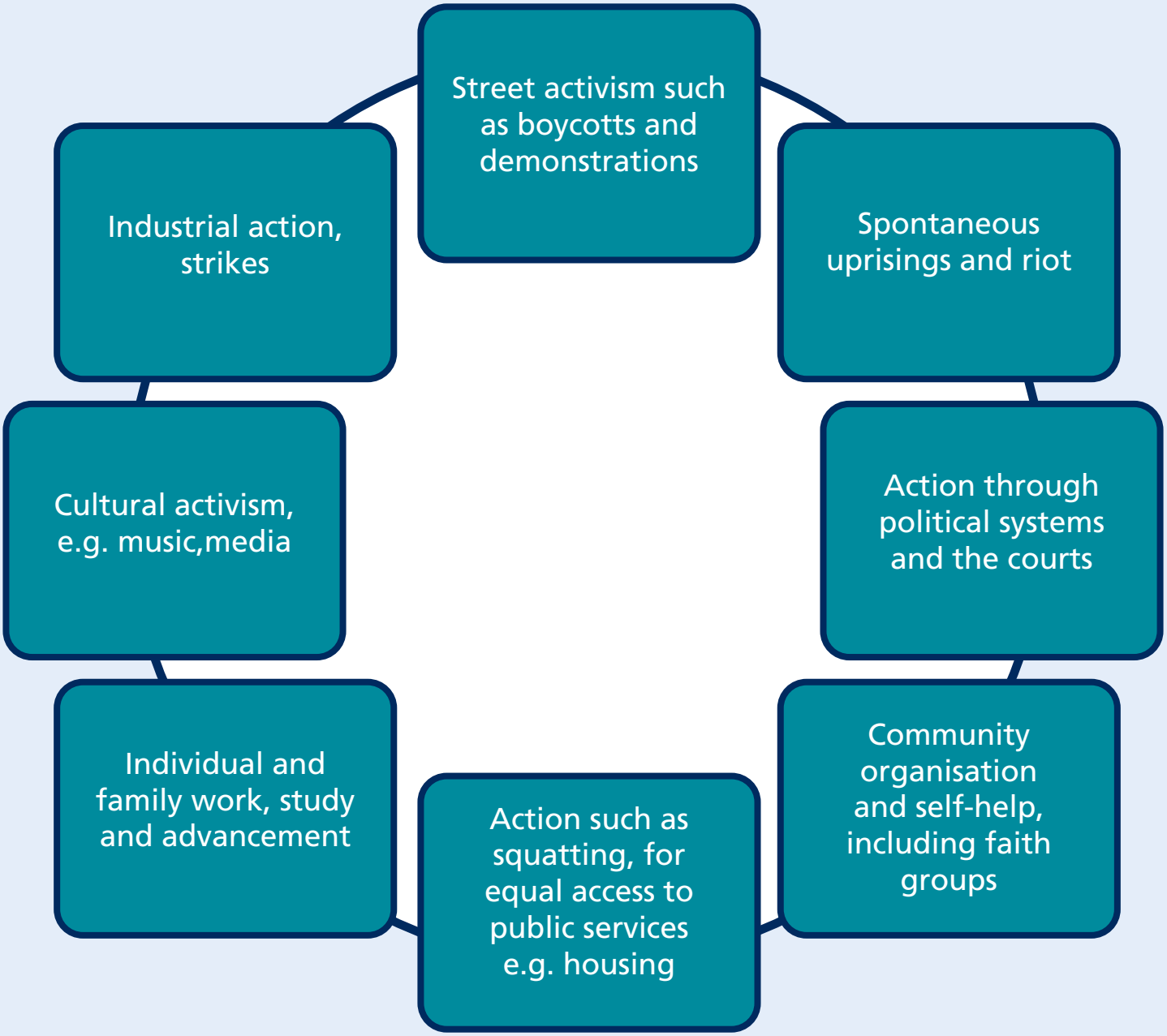
Our combined experience researching, writing and teaching at school and university level has led us to think deeply about why and how schools in the UK need to move the emphasis of civil rights and anti-racist history closer to home. Hannah is a Lecturer in Black British History at Goldsmiths, University of London, part of the team delivering the UK's first taught MA in Black British History. Formerly the head of 'inclusive history' initiatives at the Institute of Historical Research (IHR), she has also worked with Dr Sundeep Lidher and colleagues at the Runnymede Trust to create digital tools to help educators #TeachRaceMigrationEmpire. Martin's active involvement from the mid-1990s in the Black and Asian Studies Association – while a school history teacher – led him to participate in the design of the 2008 National Curriculum for history and, after retirement, to co-create and write for the GCSE unit on migration offered by the OCR examination board, to help with the *Our Migration Story* website and to explore inclusive and silenced histories.[16] As a volunteer for Journey to Justice he has worked to bring to the fore untold personal histories of anti-racist action in the UK. In this article we put forward a number of key principles that we suggest might underpin the teaching of Britain's civil rights history, followed by an overview of the struggle across the twentieth century, identifying powerful stories that could serve to illuminate the changing narrative over time. Finally, we offer guidance and links to important collections of resources related to each of the periods and stories outlined.

Key principles for teaching UK 'civil rights' history

1. Locate the 20th-century struggles for civil rights in the wider context (and consciousness) of the history of empire

Teaching the history of the Black freedom struggle in the United States in the mid-twentieth century cannot begin and end with the life of Martin Luther King; it requires contextualisation from the longer histories of enslavement, segregation and the 'Jim Crow' laws that shaped the USA's past and have tragic legacies in the present. Similarly, when approaching the history of UK anti-racism movements in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, it is necessary to place these movements in the wider context of the history of the British Empire, anti-colonial struggles, processes of decolonisation, and British histories of white supremacy. For much of the past three centuries, 'Britain' stretched far beyond the islands that make up the contemporary United Kingdom: Britain's global colonial system included the Caribbean, Africa, South Asia, regions in the South China Sea, Oceania and North America. In 1948, the British Nationality Act legally recognised all Commonwealth subjects as British citizens and gave them the right to work and settle in the UK. While Britain had long been home to diverse migrant populations, many thousands of Commonwealth citizens moved to settle in England, Scotland and Wales in the mid-twentieth century. Migrants from diverse parts of the British Empire had rights to British citizenship, but they encountered distinct forms of structural racism in the UK, particularly in housing, employment and education. The British anti-racist movement was not singular but consisted of many forms of action responding

Figure 3: Examples of various forms of anti-racist action (since the 1960s)



to specific and often local circumstances. Sometimes groups organised themselves within diasporic communities from the Caribbean, Asia or Africa, and sometimes anti-racist coalitions were formed through disparate groups with shared, or interconnected, histories of colonisation. Many of the Black and Asian activists were steeped in the anti-imperialist writings of Franz Fanon, Walter Rodney, C.L.R. James and Paul Gilroy (as well as Angela Davis and Malcolm X from the USA).

A. Sivanandan said of postcolonial migration, 'We are here because you were there.'[17] Students will need to know something of the history of the British Empire and the fact that colonised people had been told that they were British citizens, something reinforced by the 1948 Act. The 'Windrush generation' arrived with British passports, but they and their descendants had to fight for their Britishness to be accepted. Anti-racist action in the UK by the descendants of colonised, racialised people always took place in the context and consciousness of the legacies of empire, and still does. Calls in 2020 by Black Lives Matter activists to ensure the teaching of empire in schools, and strikes by Pimlico students objecting to the Union Jack flying at their school, demonstrate the power of that memory.[18] Central to this struggle has been assertion of the right to *belong* as fully equal British citizens.

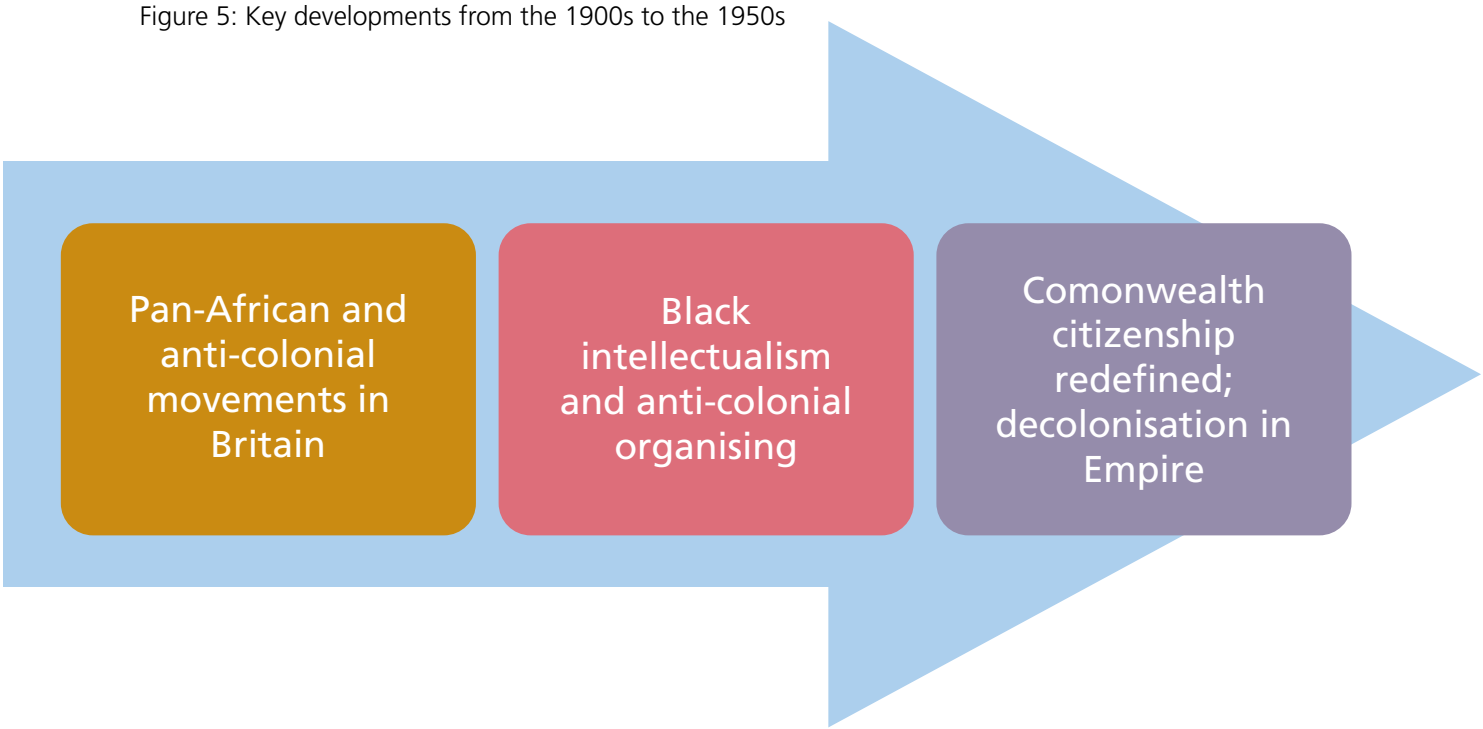
2. Acknowledge the long history of Black British and British Asian activism

Black British and British Asian involvement in political action has a long history. Examples include the nineteenth-century Black 'radicals' such as Robert Wedderburn, William Davidson and William Cuffay who saw abolitionism and the rights of the wider working class as inseparable; Lascar merchant seamen in post-war port communities who asserted their right to work; the Pan-African and anti-colonial movements in the early twentieth century; and the inter-war League of Coloured Peoples that was active opposing the 'colour bar' around the UK.

Figure 4: Examples of possible enquiries

How important was anti-colonialism to the anti-racist movement in Britain?
Why did Darcus Howe decide to organise the Mangrove march?
What have been the key turning points in the struggle against racism in the UK, and why?
Progress towards racial equality since 1945: real change for the better or hopes destroyed?
Was it a strength or weakness that action against racism took so many different forms?
To what extent were the activists of the 1970s and 1980s 'the voice that allows our children to walk free' (Shan Chaudhary)?

Figure 5: Key developments from the 1900s to the 1950s



3. Highlight the influence of the recent history of fascism

Another history that sets UK anti-racism apart from the US story is the memory of European fascism. Many saw the National Front and the British National Party – both deeply antisemitic as well as anti-immigrant – as descendants of the Blackshirts and the Nazis. The two interpretations – of anti-racism as an anti-colonial struggle on the one hand, and as an anti-fascist struggle on the other, did not always sit comfortably with each other but did energise and bring people together in the struggle against the many forms of racism experienced in Britain (summarised in Figure 3).[19]

4. Recognise that the British anti-racist movement took many forms

The struggle for belonging in the UK has never been a single story, nor a single movement. It has responded to varied manifestations of racism by taking varied forms, as illustrated in Figure 2. It has embraced, certainly, the visible, newsworthy stories of street activism, strikes, campaigns and battles through the courts. It has also included supplementary schools, faith and community groups, writers and artists, parents' pressure for their children's education and the individual hard work and the entrepreneurship, often family based, that has transformed our high streets. Some of these were consciously part of an anti-racist movement while others, without such an explicit objective, still had the effect of challenging racist attitudes and structures.

5. Recognise that it was not a simple story of progress

We may have been tempted in classrooms to portray the struggle for civil rights in the US simplistically as a successful 'march towards freedom' whereas, as the Black Lives Matter movement reminds us, the extent to which there has been progress towards racial equality is unresolved. In the UK, while there have been advances allowing more recent generations to 'walk free' to some extent, the *Windrush* scandal and tightening controls on immigration and asylum demonstrate that the story – especially since 1962 – has often been of rights being stripped away.

Figure 6: Topics and sources for teaching about the period from the 1900s to the 1940s

	Key topics	Useful sources
Pan-Africanism in Britain	1900: First Pan-African Congress held in London. Key participants include Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois, Samuel Coleridge Taylor, Anna J. Cooper. Activists from USA, Caribbean, Europe and Africa in attendance. Case study: Amy Ashwood Garvey and the Florence Mills Social Parlour in London as a hub for African and Caribbean liberation movement organisers and intellectuals. 1945: Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, including future leaders of independent African states.	www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/transcontinental-activism-in-inter-war-britain Adebajo, A. (ed.), (2021) *The Pan-African Pantheon: prophets, poets and philosophers,* Manchester: Manchester University Press Adi, H. (2019) *Pan-Africanism: a history* London: Bloomsbury.
Black intellectualism and anti-colonial resistance in Britain	WASU – West African Student Union League of Coloured Peoples: Dr Harold Moody, Una Marson Black intellectuals and literature: Eric Williams, C.L.R. James Anti-colonial organising: George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah Parliamentary politics: Fenner Brockway MP	Marc Matera (2015) *Black London: the imperial metropolis and decolonisation in the twentieth century* (University of California Press. Gopal, P. (2019) *Insurgent Empire: anticolonial resistance and British dissent,* London: Verso. *The Keys* primary source www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-keys-january-to-march-1935-issue George Padmore Institute resources: www.georgepadmoreinstitute.org/
Commonwealth citizenship redefined	1947: Partition of India and Pakistan 1948: British Nationality Act 1948: *Windrush* arrival	British Library Windrush Collections: www.bl.uk/windrush Lord Kitchener – 'London is the place for me': www.youtube.com/watch?v=dGt21q1AjuI Black Cultural Archives resources: https://blackculturalarchives.org/sounds-of-the-rush

Possible approaches and resources for teaching the history of UK anti-racism

In designing a unit of study, a strong enquiry could focus on selected events in the 1950s to 1980s while requiring knowledge of some contextual background from earlier in the century. Figure 4 provides some examples of the kinds of enquiry question that might be used to structure a scheme of work.

To help teachers get to grips with the story we provide, in Part 1 below, a summary of that earlier context. Students will need a clear, if brief, sense that the boycotts, protests, uprisings and court battles of the 1970s and 80s grew from an earlier history. In Part 2 we then look at many examples of the activism of the post-war period, with links to resources that can help teachers choose which to use in the classroom.

Part 1: Early twentieth-century contexts and interconnections

The first half of the twentieth century can perhaps be summarised in terms of three main developments, set out in Figure 5, and each outlined below. Figure 6 provides examples of specific events and case-studies, along with links to appropriate resources that could support teaching about each of these developments.

Figure 7: Key developments from the 1950s to the 2020s

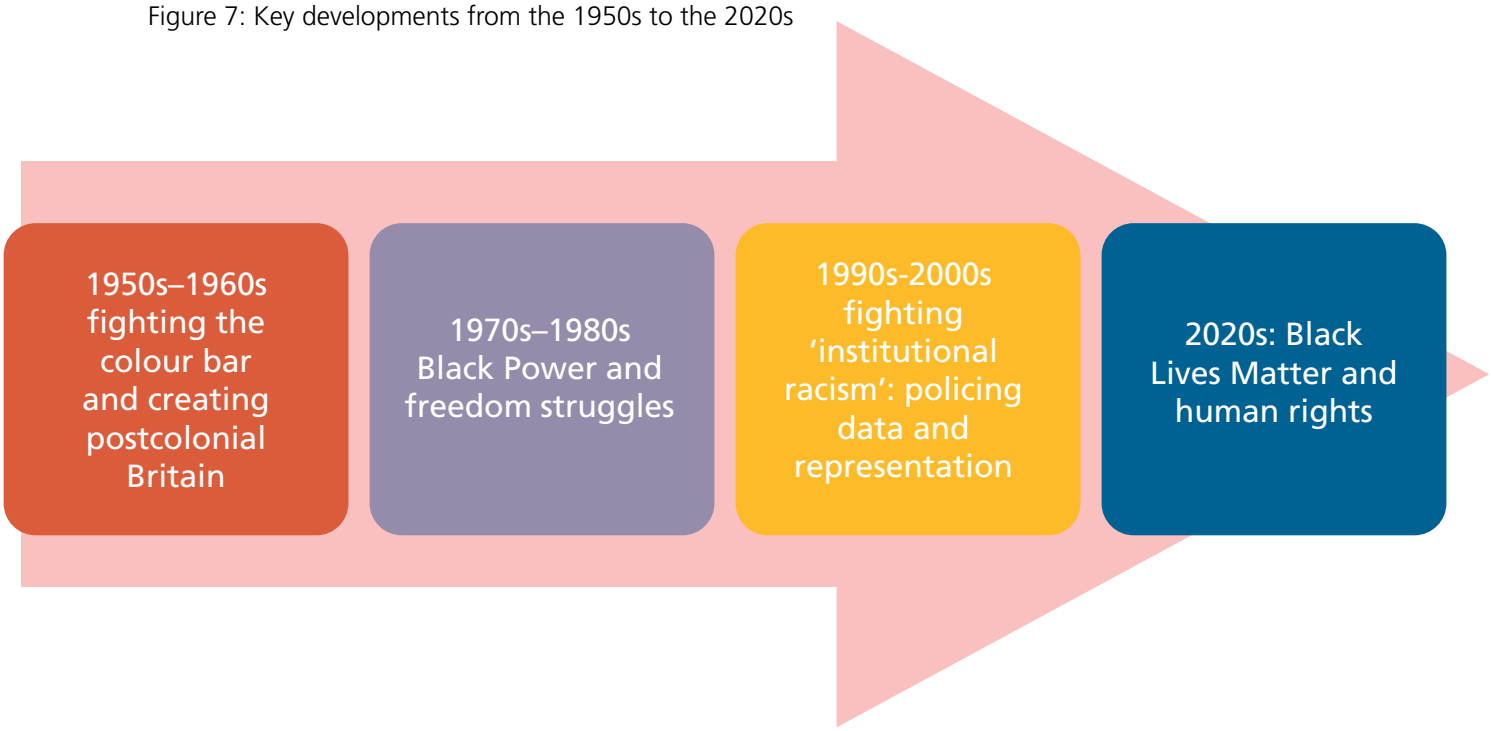


Figure 8: Useful websites for materials related to the 1950s and 1960s

Sources of individual stories related to the struggle against the colour bar in the 1950s	Sources related to the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act (the Kenyan Asians Act) which effectively redefined British citizenship
Journey to Justice – Bristol resources (see especially 'Bristol Bus Boycott'): https://jtojhumanrights.org.uk/local-stories/bristol/ Black History Month resource – 'Omitted from history: Asquith Xavier': www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/bhm-firsts/omitted-from-history-asquith-xavier/	British Pathé – British Asians in Kenya: www.britishpathe.com/video/VLVA67MVDU4880Y22G7D2WHM8KI1C-KENYA-UK-ASIANS-FLOCK-TO-UK-FROM-KENYA/query/UK Runnymede Trust – about the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968, with oral interview: www.runnymedetrust.org/histories/race-equality/38/commonwealth-immigration-act-1968.html

a) Pan-Africanism in Britain

Pan-Africanism is a movement that encouraged solidarity among people of African descent worldwide, and the belief that it is important to celebrate a common history and unity among African peoples, both in Africa and in the global diaspora.[20] Pan-Africanism has had a variety of forms, but it is largely concerned with the social, economic, cultural and political emancipation of African peoples. It emerged in the 1770s to challenge transatlantic systems of enslavement and widespread European racism.[21] In the twentieth century, Pan-African writers, thinkers and activists challenged European colonisation, drew attention to the persistent legacies of slavery, and called for reparations to Africa and African peoples for slavery and colonialism. They also challenged the racist treatment of African-descended peoples in Europe and in white settler colonial nations (including the US, Caribbean, South Africa).

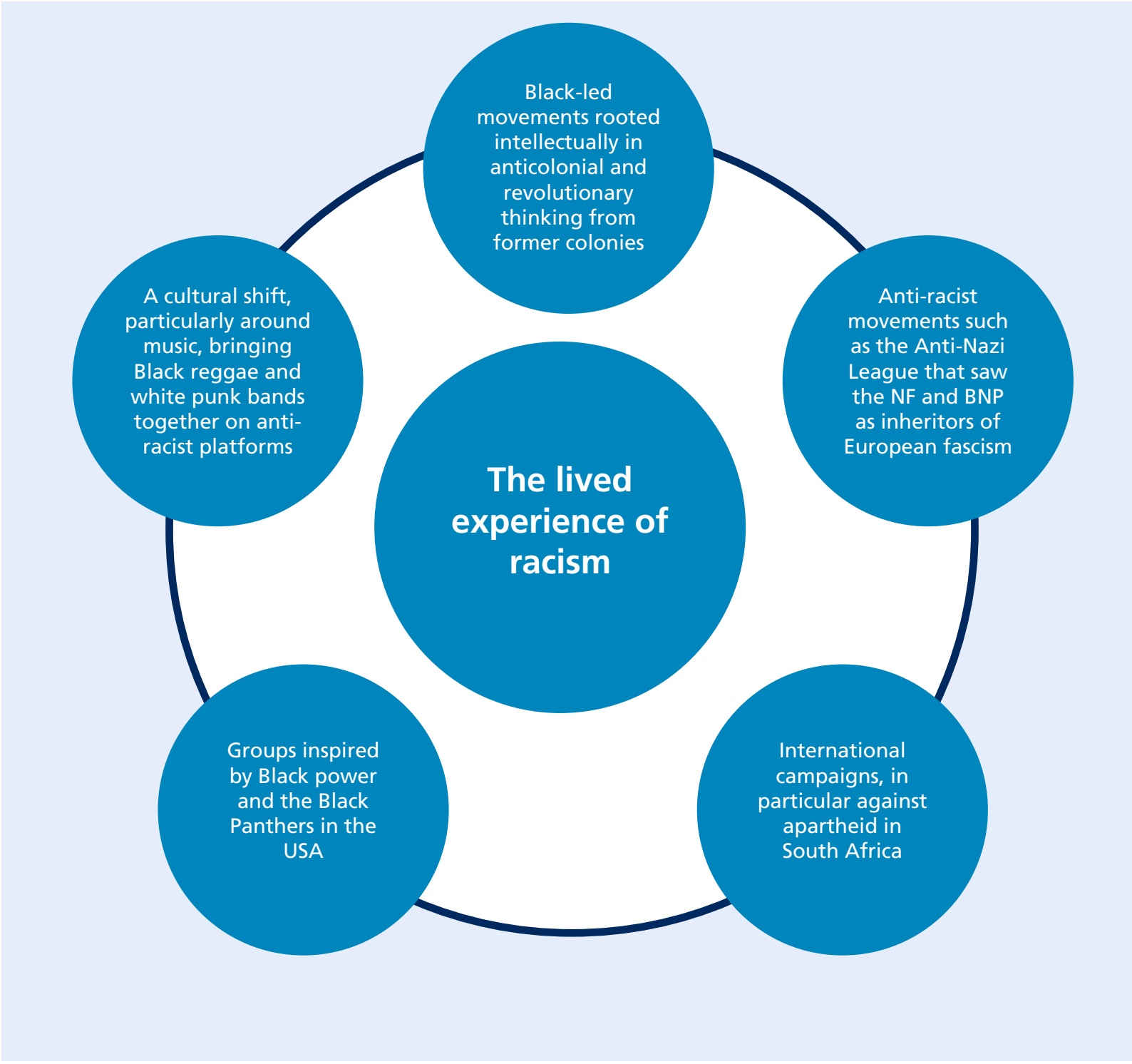
The UK had an important place in the Pan-African movement: the first Pan-African Congress – a gathering of intellectuals and influential organisers – took place in London in 1900, with further gatherings hosted in the 1920s. Manchester was home to the Pan-African Congress of 1945, a major gathering of future African leaders fighting for independence on the African continent.

At the first Pan-African Congress, scholar-activist W.E.B. Du Bois predicted: 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line.'[22]

b) Black intellectualism and anti-colonial resistance in Britain

In the interwar years, London became a hub of resistance to empire. According to historian Marc Matera, 'it served as a meeting point of intellectuals, artists, revolutionaries and movements for colonial freedom.'[23] People from diverse colonial settings exchanged ideas and created plans for a transformed global order, in private settings, clubs, political organisations, universities, and bars.

Figure 9: A summary of forms of action in the 1970s and 1980s energised by various forces coming together



In 1931, the Statute of Westminster codified self-governing independence for white settler colonies in Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. The legislation effectively created a colour bar on the right to self-determination, denying colonies in the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia political autonomy. The fight for self-government and self-determination became a major feature of anti-colonial activism before the Second World War.

c) Commonwealth citizenship redefined

The British Nationality Act of 1948 created new categories and definitions of 'citizenship.' Under the act, the nationality of British subjects in the colonies and in Britain was officially recognised under the category 'Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies.'[24] The act created a uniform definition for British subjecthood that applied across metropolitan Britain, as well as the Empire and Commonwealth. This measure afforded equal access to the rights of citizenship for people of all ethnicities and faiths. After the Second World War, a number of western European countries experienced labour shortages and actively encouraged the migration of workers to meet labour demands and facilitate economic reconstruction.[25]

Under the terms of the act: all citizens of Empire could apply for and receive a British passport, and were allowed freedom of movement, reinforcing a long-held tradition of entry to the UK for all subjects of the British Empire and citizens of Commonwealth countries.[26]

Figure 10: Online resources related to key stories from the 1970s and 1980s

Theme	Case studies	Recommended source
Confronting racist attacks and the National Front; anti-fascism	1976–79 Southall and the Asian Youth Movement	'Young Rebels – the story of the Southall Youth Movement' – https://vimeo.com/95551885[27]
	1977 Battle of Lewisham	'Uprising' (Steve McQueen) – BBC TV series
	1978 The murder of Altab Ali, and Bangladeshi youth movements	https://beyondbanglatown.org.uk/globe/politics-racism-resistance/
	1978 Rock Against Racism	'White Riot – documenting Rock Against Racism' – www.youtube.com/watch?v=7w0LOlgHj_E
	1981 New Cross fire and the National Black People's Day of Action (see Figure 11)	'Uprising' (Steve McQueen) – BBC TV series
Policing	1970 Mangrove 9	'Small Axe' (Steve McQueen) – BBC TV series. 'Mangrove 9 Protest' www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/mangrove-nine-protest/
	1980 St Paul's uprising, Bristol	'Uprising' (Steve McQueen) – BBC TV series
	1981 Uprisings in Brixton, London and Toxteth, Liverpool – the Scarman Report	'Darcus Howe and Britain's Black Power Movement' www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk
	1981 Bradford 12	'Resisting racism: the Bradford 12 Defence Campaign' www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk
	1982–83 Newham 8	'The Newham 8, police racism and community action' https://jtojhumanrights.org.uk/local-stories/london/newham/[28]
Industrial	1974 Imperial Typewriters, Leicester	'How a Leicester struggle helped change Britain' https://strikeatimperial.net/ 'The Imperial Typewriter Strike' https://jtojhumanrights.org.uk/local-stories/leicester/
	1976 Grunwick, West London	'On the picket line: Jayaben Desai from East Africa to Grunwick' www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/from-east-africa-to-grunwick-jayaben-desai
Immigration	1981 Anwar Ditta campaign	'Families divided: the campaign for Anwar Ditta and her children', www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk
Family	Resisting racist attacks	'Nasreen Saddique – Anne Frank with a telephone' https://jtojhumanrights.org.uk/local-stories/london/newham/[29]
	Building family business	Corner Shop Stories www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/corner-shop-stories[30] https://beyondbanglatown.org.uk/
	Supplementary schools	'Small Axe' (Steve McQueen) – BBC TV series.

Figure 11: The National Black People's Day of Action in 1981

Thousands marched to Downing Street, to protest against the Metropolitan Police's handling of the investigation of the New Cross Fire in which 13 Black people died.



On 8 June 1948, when 500 Caribbean residents disembarked at the Tilbury Dock in Essex, they came to Britain with full citizenship rights, and the expectation of full participation in British society. Kennetta Hammond Perry has called their arrival, and the arrival of subsequent migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia, a significant act of claim-making to take up the equal rights promised by their citizenship on arrival in the 'Mother Country' of Great Britain.

However, the architects of these changes to citizenship law – both the Labour government and the British state – intended for this legislation to benefit Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders and thereby to continue, rather than dismantle, imperial hierarchies. They saw migrants from Europe and white settler nations as more 'desirable' than migrants from the Caribbean or Asia, and the Colonial Office and Migrant Services Division often tried to suppress increasing migration.[31]

Part 2: Anti-racist dissent in the UK from the 1950s to the present

In focusing on events from the 1950s onwards, we have broken the period into four main phases as summarised in Figure 7. Again we seek to provide an outline of the main developments within each period and examples of resources that could support teachers interested in focusing on them in more detail.

a) 1950s – 1960s: Fighting the colour bar and creating postcolonial Britain

Until the passing of the Race Relations Acts, racial discrimination in areas such as employment, housing and education was still legal. Bristol's Black community, led by activists including Paul Stephenson, Roy Hackett, Guy Bailey and Owen Henry, organised a 1963 boycott of the city's buses that succeeded in forcing the bus company to reverse its decision not to employ Black drivers. In 1966 Asquith Xavier ('an ordinary man who did extraordinary things', in the words of his granddaughter) protested successfully against Euston Station's decision to refuse him a job because of his skin colour.[32] Either would form an excellent case study, as would the story of Claudia Jones and the start of the Notting Hill Carnival and the *West Indian Gazette*, summarised at the start of this article. Figure 8 provides a list of websites with materials related to such individual stories.

Between 1948 and 1962, thousands of migrants from the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia moved to the UK, entering the country as British citizens with the right to live and work. Major political parties became increasingly concerned with reducing and discouraging migration. In 1962, a major shift took place: Commonwealth migrants newly arrived in Britain were no longer defined as British citizens. They were now 'immigrants', and new legislation created categories of 'acceptable' and desirable migrants. Migrants from white settler countries were deliberately given more favourable terms of access than countries with non-white majority populations. The 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act can

Figure 12: Examples of anti-racist action that have focused on migrant communities with origins *outside* the Commonwealth

Anti-deportation campaigns and solidarity with asylum seekers from the Middle East and central Africa. See the 1996 'Your Shout' video by Year 7 students campaigning to stop the deportation of their Angolan classmate: 'The Friends of Natasha' https://jtojhumanrights.org.uk/local-stories/london/newham/
Unions such as United Voices of the World defending the rights of low paid domestic, catering and care workers from Latin America and East Asia – www.uvwunion.org.uk/en/
Support for EU migrant workers in the wake of Brexit

be a particularly useful case study: also known as the Kenyan Asians Act, the legislation was passed to close a loophole that allowed Kenyan Asians to migrate to Britain, a racially motivated manoeuvre that caused chaos for thousands of families. The further erosion of citizenship rights in the 1971 and 1981 Acts set the stage for the Windrush scandal.

In 2010, the Home Office deliberately destroyed landing cards that documented when and where Caribbean migrants arrived in the UK.[33] Information about the precise date of arrival was essential for demonstrating whether a person was living in the country legally. The Home Office, under the auspices of its 'hostile environment' policy in 2012, has illegally deported British citizens who have not been able to supply documentation of the precise date of their arrival. Victims of this illegal deportation are still awaiting compensation.[34]

b) 1970s – 1980s: Black Power and freedom struggles

The story of the 1970s and 1980s is particularly the story of the 'second generation', the children of the 'Windrush Generation', many born in the UK, who faced direct, violent racism in the aftermath of Enoch Powell's 1968 speech and the rise of the National Front as well as racism experienced in institutions and at the hands of the police. People organised, fought back and, in bringing anti-racism onto the streets, challenged the idea of what it meant to be British. It was a period of great social change, not least in attitudes to race and racism, and what it meant to be 'Black'. Figure 9 illustrates how the different forms of anti-racist action in the 1970s and 80s were energised by various forces coming together. Figure 10 presents a selection of the more accessible and engaging resources that are now freely available for many of the stories in this period. We recommend choosing a selection of examples that reflect the diversity of forms of action.

c) 1990s – 2000s Fighting Institutional racism: policing, data and representation

The 1998 report into the policing of the murder of Stephen Lawrence established the concept of institutional or structural racism. The United Families & Friends Campaign addressed deaths in police custody. The police killing of Mark Duggan led to the 2011 riots, starting in Tottenham as a protest against policing but spreading across the country to become wider expressions of working-class disaffection, white and Black. This was also a period in which there was a focus on the under-representation of people of colour in positions of influence. As Figure 12 illustrates, much anti-racist action has also focused on migrant communities with origins *outside* the Commonwealth.

British anti-racism action has also included the work of organisations like the Runnymede Trust and Institute of Race Relations, which have gathered data and created evidentiary reports to document the extent and nature of systemic racism in British institutions and society.

d) 2020 onwards – Black Lives Matter and human rights in the 2020s and beyond

Like the transatlantic and transnational protest movements for Black liberation in the twentieth century, Black Lives Matter has entwined the global with the local in the fight for race equality. The murder of George Floyd by Minnesota police in 2020 sparked global protests and outcry; but local BLM demonstrations also included specific calls for reform in the UK: to address structural racism in policing, in opposition to expanding surveillance, and to teach Black histories, as well as histories of race, migration and empire, in British schools.

Concluding thoughts and recommendations

The broad narrative and many individual stories of US Civil Rights history are well known, but we hope this article has provided a useful guide and possible starting point for teachers who want to bring the UK's own 'civil rights' history into the classroom. The fight for Black liberation took a different shape in the UK because of Britain's distinct history of colonialism and migration. Activists fighting for race equality in the US, UK, Europe and Africa often collaborated, shared ideas with each other, and supported one another's causes, and so a 'global' or comparative perspective on this important history can be a helpful one. But it is also important to situate and centre the long struggle for racial equality in Britain within this country's national story

for school-aged learners. Black history, after all, is British history; obscuring the histories of race, migration and empire from our teaching gives students an incomplete and partial understanding of the key ideas, movements and forces that have shaped modern Britain. Exploring this history can also touch students' own senses of identity and belonging, and provide essential context to allow critical thinking about what British citizenship means, and has meant over time.

Now that all three examination boards in England offer GCSE units on migration, all the textbooks for those courses contain useful material on the UK anti-racist struggle, and we recommend teachers to have their own copies of them to hand to help with planning. The Black Cultural Archives have an extensive collection of magazines, newspaper, broadsheets, posters and records connected to Black community organising and Black education movements in Britain. Figure 13 provides a list of further reading suggestions, all of which are highly recommended.

Figure 13: Recommendations for further reading

Adebajo, A. (ed.), (2021) *The Pan-African Pantheon: prophets, poets and philosophers*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Adi, H. (2019) *Pan-Africanism: a history*, London: Bloomsbury.

Dabydeen, D., Gilomore, J. and Jones, C. (eds.) (2007) *Oxford Companion to Black British History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About* Race, London: Bloomsbury.

Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: a history of black people in* Britain, London: Pluto Press.

Gopal, P. (2019) *Insurgent Empire: anticolonial resistance and British dissent*, London: Verso.

Kelley, R.D.G. and Tuck, S. (eds.) (2015) *The Other Special Relationship: race, rights and riots in Britain and the United State*s, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Perry, K.H. (2015) *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, citizenship and the politics of race*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Matera, M. (2015) *Black London: the imperial metropolis and decolonisation in the twentieth century,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Patel, I.S. (2021) *We're Here Because You Were There: immigration and the end of empire*, London: Verso.

Waters, R. (2019) *Thinking Black: Britain 1964–1985*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Digital resources

Our Migration Story (Runnymede Trust):

www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/by-era/1900–2000

Teaching British Histories of Race, Migration and Empire (Institute of Historical Research) www.history.ac.uk/library/collections/teaching-british-histories-race-migration-and-empire

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2 Claudia Jones, 'The Caribbean Community in Britain, in *Freedomways* (Summer 1964), pp. 341–357.
3 Bill Schwarz (2003) 'Claudia Jones and the West Indian Gazette: reflections on the emergence of post-colonial Britain' in *Twentieth Century British History* 14 (3), pp. 264–285.
4 *Ibid.,* p. 269.
5 Simon Peplow (2019) *Race and Riots in Thatcher's Britain*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 19.
6 *Ibid.,* p. 20.
7 Sherwood, M. (1999) *Claudia Jones: a life in exile*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, p. 156.
8 Wahab, *op.cit.*
9 Schwarz, *op.cit.* 'Claudia Jones and the West Indian Gazette', p. 279.
10 Whitburn, R. and Yemoh, S. (2012) '"My people struggled too": hidden histories and heroism – a school-designed, post-14 course on multi-cultural Britain since 1945' in *Teaching History, 147, Curriculum Architecture Edition,* pp. 16–25.
11 Burn, K. and Harris, R. *Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in England 2021*, https://www.history.org.uk/secondary/categories/409/news/4014/historical-association-secondary-survey-2021
12 Carr, H. and Lipscomb, S. (2021) *What is History, Now? How the past and present speak to each other*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, p. 13.
13 *Young Rebels – the story of the Southall Youth Movement* (2014 video by digital:works and the Asian Health Agency).
14 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: power and the production of history,* Beacon Press, 1995. Trouillot was cited by Lyndon-Cohen, D. (2021) 'Decolonise, don't diversify: enabling a paradigm shift in the Key Stage 3 history curriculum' in *Teaching History 183, Race Edition,* pp. 50–57.
15 https://royalhistsoc.org/racereport/
16 Spafford, M., Lyndon, D., Adi, H. and Sherwood, M. (2016) *OCR GCSE History Explaining the Modern World: migration, empire and the historic environment*, London: Hodder. The website *Our Migration Story* presents the 'often untold stories of the generations of migrants who came to and shaped the British Isles'. www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/
17 For an example of the significance of this aphorism see, for example, Srilangarajah, V. (2018) 'We are here because you were with us: remembering A. Sivanandan (1923–2018)' in *Ceasefire*, 4 February. https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/us-remembering-a-sivanandan-1923-2018/
18 See, for example, the petitions debated in the House of Commons on 28 June 2021, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2021-06-28/debates/21062855000001/BlackHistoryAndCulturalDiversityInTheCurriculum. For a report on the student protest at Pimlico Academy, see https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-56604467
19 Finlay, J. (2021) 'Competing modes of anti-racism in Britain since the 1960s', a podcast in the seminar series *Antisemitism and Racism – Comparisons and Context* hosted by the Birkbeck Institute for the Study of Antisemitism, which argued that: 'There have been two distinct modes of anti-racism in Britain since the 1960s ... One, led predominantly by Jewish activists, understood racism primarily as antisemitism, viewed the neo-fascist far right as its main target, and saw the Holocaust as its primary historical locus. The other, led mostly by Black and Asian activists, understood racism as the structural oppression of people of colour by the British state and its agencies, and located the origins of racist ideologies in the histories of slavery and colonialism.' https://bisa.bbk.ac.uk/event/competing-modes-of-anti-racism-in-britain-since-the-1960s/
20 Hakim Adi, (2018) *Pan-Africanism: a history*, London: Bloomsbury, 2018, p. 1.
21 Adebajo, A. (Ed.) (2021) *The Pan-African Pantheon: prophets, poets and philosophers*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, Chapter 1.
22 *Ibid.,* p. 22.
23 Matera, M. (2015) *Black London: the imperial metropolis and decolonization in the twentieth century*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, p. 2.
24 Perry, K.H. (2016), *London is the Place for Me: Black Britons, citizenship and the politics of race*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 54.
25 *Ibid.,* p. 66.
26 *Ibid.,* p. 58.
27 A film made by young people in Southall investigating their parents' involvement in the Asian Youth Movement.
28 This includes a powerful interview with Goga Khan, one of the Newham 8.
29 Nasreen, from the age of 12, kept a diary of the nightly racist attacks on her family: here the adult Nasreen is interviewed telling her story.
30 This National Trust/Layers of London project traces and maps the story of the Asian corner shops.
31 *Ibid*., p. 69.
32 Camealia Xavier-Chihota, speaking at the unveiling of his plaque in Chatham, September 2020. www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-54272188
33 Gentleman, A. (2018) 'Home Office destroyed Windrush landing cards says ex-staffer' in *The Guardian*, 17 April 2018, www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/17/home-office-destroyed-windrush-landing-cards-says-ex-staffer
34 Williams, W. (2020) Windrush Lessons Learned Review, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/874022/6.5577_HO_Windrush_Lessons_Learned_Review_WEB_v2.pdf

Illuminating the possibilities of the past:

the role of representation in A-level curriculum planning

Claire Holliss reports here on the ways in which she has responded over time to the call to 'do justice' to the histories of those long neglected within the school curriculum. Reflection on the need to ensure that the discipline of history remained central to any reform prompted her to think of work on widening the curriculum less as a project focused on important but essentially *external* goals, such as social justice, and more as an exercise in being faithful to the discipline of history and responding to new scholarship in better representing the complexity of the past. Drawing on examples from various A-level modules – dealing with the Tudors and the British Empire and a coursework unit spanning the twentieth century – she explains how she came to conceptualise her end goal as 'representative' rather than 'diverse' history and illustrates the different ways in which she has sought to achieve it.

Claire Holliss
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There are a large number of things to think about as an incoming head of department and in 2018 I was nervously worrying about everything, from what on earth I would say in the first department meeting, to how I was going to be able to track the paperwork for over a hundred pieces of coursework. But beyond these practicalities were longer-running questions that I was mulling over, concerning what was generally referred to as 'diversity', and what I would come to describe as 'representation' in the history curriculum. The result was a blog-post written that year, which I would subsequently adapt for the 'Curricularium' in 2020, in which I set out some ideas that have continued to preoccupy me ever since.[1]

In this I was not alone. My own ideas had been profoundly shaped by an encounter with Mohamud and Whitburn's seminal work *Justice to History* during my PGCE.[2] I was also operating during something of a renaissance for history teachers thinking about representation in their curriculums. The work that other teachers have produced on this subject has been a continual influence on my ideas, as will become evident by the regularity with which I refer to it throughout this article.

One important theme within this discourse is the profound and important question of how our curricular choices shape our students' experience and their perceptions of history as a subject.[3] While this theme is obviously relevant to my focus here, my main aim in this article is to explain how focusing on representation within the curriculum improved the quality of the historical education we were providing within our department. Indeed, the work we have undertaken over the past three years has convinced me that consideration of representation is a curricular necessity. Not only has it allowed us to represent both individual periods and the 'world of the past' more faithfully to our students; it has also helped to sharpen, complicate and clarify the way we approach historical questions and how our students subsequently engage with them.

Representation and a 'sense of period'

History teachers have long wrestled with the problem of how to inculcate a clear and historically faithful 'sense of period' in our students.[4] This conversation has necessarily become deeply intertwined with discussions about representation in the curriculum, which is a key factor in ensuring that the sense of a particular period which our students are constructing is as complete and faithful as possible. We have found that paying attention to representation not only allows students to think more clearly about particular periods; it also enables them to address historical questions relevant to each period much more effectively.

The first way in which representation is significant for giving students a better sense of period is by addressing presence. History teachers writing on this subject, such as Cusworth, Snelson and Lingard, Boyd and Priggs have all made the case that failing to represent particular groups – groups that have long been neglected in the curriculum – leaves students with only a partial sense of period.[5] The central point here is that allowing

Figure 1: Table detailing the adjustments made to my teaching of (a) the events of 1857 in India and (b) views of the empire in the post-war period[6]

Initial enquiry	Adapted enquiry	Further adaptation
What was the impact of the Indian Mutiny? • Problem of interpretation, the events of 1857 and the fact that they have been described as a 'mutiny', a 'rebellion' and a 'war of independence'. • Dan Snow's account of the events of 1857 in the BBC documentary on the East India Company. • Brief activity using causes mentioned in the textbook, including grievances over pay and conditions in the Bengal Army, the issue of the Enfield rifles and broadly defined economic discontent over the loss of land. • Return to the problem of interpretation at the start of the lesson. **The remainder of the lesson and the subsequent one focused on (primarily British) reactions to the events of 1857.**	**Why was 1857 a turning point for India?** • Problem of interpretation, the events of 1857 and the fact that they have been described as a 'mutiny', a 'rebellion' and a 'war of independence'. • Two stories – The Rani of Jhansi and Mangal Pandey. • Activity focusing on the grievances of Indian elites caused by the seizure of their land via the doctrine of lapse, the increasing arrogance of East India Company officials following the policy of paramountcy, grievances within the army and economic exploitation. • Dan Snow's account of the events of 1857 in the BBC documentary on the East India Company. • Activity consolidating knowledge of the events of 1857. • Return to the problem of interpretation at the start of the lesson. **This is then followed by a lesson on reactions to the events of 1857 that allows students to continue to think about the enquiry question.**	**Why did Indian responses to British rule develop into nationalism by 1914?** Here many of the elements of the adapted enquiry will be retained but placed in the context of a longer story of the development of nationalism in India.
How popular was the empire in the interwar period? • Government promotion of empire, including the Empire Marketing Board and the 1924 Wembley Exhibition. • Cultural promotion of empire: the foundation of the BBC; the role of education and popular literature, music and advertising and the promotion of 'Empire Day' events. • Mention of variations in levels of interest according to class background. **Linked assessment: extract-based question on 'British awareness of and interest in the empire between 1918 and 1947'.**	**How widely held were imperialist views?** • Government promotion of empire, including the Empire Marketing Board and the 1924 Wembley Exhibition. • Cultural promotion of empire: the foundation of the BBC; the role of education and popular literature, music, advertising and the promotion of 'Empire Day' events. • Use of George Orwell's *Shooting an Elephant* to explore how imperial officials and cultural commentators could critique the empire while still maintaining the assumptions of superiority that underpinned it. • Case studies on Sharpurji Saklatvala, Sylvia Pankhurst and the League Against Imperialism, to explore anti-imperialism. **Linked assessment: extract-based question on 'British awareness of and interest in the empire between 1918 and 1947'.**	**How far was the empire destabilised by the First World War?** Here many of the elements of the adapted enquiry will be retained but linked more closely into a story focusing on the impact of the First World War on the international shape of the empire and how it was approached in British politics and society.

Figure 2: Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi[7]



Portrait of Lakshmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, in cavalry uniform. Lakshmi Bai married the Maharaja of Jhansi, who died shortly thereafter without an heir to his kingdom. Prior to his death, the maharaja had arranged for the adoption of a cousin as his heir, following established tradition. Lord Dalhousie, the British governor-general, refused to recognise the adopted heir and the rani as regent. Instead, he invoked the 'Doctrine of Lapse', a policy whereby the East India Company would annexe states where no recognised heir was present, and used the doctrine to seize Jhansi in 1853. Lakshmi Bai then joined the rebellion and regained control of Jhansi in 1857, conducting a daring escape after the fort of Jhansi was besieged by the British in 1858 and leading rebel forces in battle. She was killed in combat in the same year and has since come to be regarded in India as a national heroine.

students a glimpse of the presence of these groups, and insight into the range of activities and ways of living in which they engaged, is crucial to reflecting and accurately representing the diverse reality of the period as a whole.

Of course, seeking to represent the diversity inherent within any period raises the perennial problem of curriculum time. When contemplating the richness of a particular historical period, how does a teacher go about identifying which elements of it they are going to represent in the time they have available? When wrestling with this question I have considered two broad effects that I want my work on representation in a particular period to have. The first result that I am trying to achieve through my selection of the elements to represent, is to allow our students to give fuller, more sophisticated responses to the existing questions being posed in our curriculum. The second effect that I hope my decisions will have, is to enrich our students' sense of the possibilities of the period, especially those which would otherwise remain obscure to them.

Routine representation

The response I have developed to my first concern is something that I have described as 'routine representation'. Essentially, this involves adjusting what I have already planned to teach with representation in mind. While this approach raises the spectre of 'tokenism,' we have found that starting with an idea of the elements of the period that we want students to encounter and the problems we want them to consider, ensures that the choices made about who or what to represent remain meaningful.[8]

This approach has been most consistently used in the British Empire unit we teach to the students taking our modern history A-level course. In my first year of teaching this unit, the gaps in my subject knowledge meant that I had to rely heavily on the assigned textbook and associated examination materials. It was, therefore, not long before I became concerned about the completeness of the picture my students were building from these resources, especially given some of the struggles they were experiencing in responding to particular questions.

Two examples of how representation was crucial in resolving these problems are given in Figure 1. The first involves a case where I tried to add interest to a slightly uninspired lesson that briefly covered the causes of the Indian Great Rebellion of 1857, by introducing the debate over how it should be described. Problems quickly arose as my students were relying upon the discussion of the causes in the textbook, which included some vague references to wider-ranging economic issues, but otherwise focused almost entirely upon problems within the army. This limited review of the event's causes, unsurprisingly, left my students completely ill-equipped to consider the justifications for alternative ways of characterising the event, other than as a 'mutiny' – the term ascribed to it by the British. A similar problem emerged with my Year 13 class later in the year, where once again the materials we were working with – in this case on British public opinion in the interwar years – meant that the students were unable to discuss, except in the vaguest of terms, any limitations to the argument that there was widespread interest in and support for the empire.

Why was this relevant to the issue of representation? It was only by addressing the gaps in what I was representing to the students that I found the solution to the problems they were having with reasoning about the period. In the case of my lessons on the events of 1857, I decided – for the following year – to begin with the stories of the Rani of Jhansi (outlined in Figure 2) and Mangal Pandey. These stories helped to enrich my students' sense of period by representing a wider range of people resisting the rule of the East India Company, and in so doing allowed me to introduce a wider range of motivations, including longer-running causes of

Figure 3: The League Against Imperialism[9]



The League Against Imperialism was founded by Willi Münzenberg and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and held its first conference in 1927 in Brussels. The conference was attended by representatives from the British Labour and Communist Parties, who joined a huge array of socialist and anti-imperialist delegates from across the world with the aim of co-ordinating resistance to imperialism. The British section of the League was led by politicians such as George Lansbury, Shapurji Saklatvala and Reginald Bridgeman and worked over the subsequent decade to spread anti-colonial ideas.

discontent such as paramountcy and the doctrine of lapse. With the knowledge of this diverse range of groups and their grievances, suddenly my students could meaningfully engage with the question of whether this was a 'mutiny', a 'rebellion' or a 'war of independence'. The same was true of the enquiry I was teaching on British attitudes in the interwar period. Once again, I widened the range of stories I was telling my students by including the ambivalence of George Orwell and drawing upon the work of Priyamvada Gopal, to address active anti-imperialism in the period (as outlined in Figure 3).[10] This not only gave the students a more faithful representation of the range of attitudes adopted by people in the period, but also helped them to think more clearly about questions related to the extent of imperialism among the British public.

These are examples of relatively small changes made to the course, but cumulatively they have given my students a better sense of the wide range of experiences of – and attitudes towards – British imperialism. This wider perspective has inevitably sharpened their thinking and also my own. Including these under-represented stories has led me to reassess my approach to the course as a whole, and to conduct my second (and certainly not my last) review of the scheme of work this year, the results of which can be seen in the third column of Figure 1. The bigger stories into which I have now integrated my previous curriculum changes demonstrate another property of even the smallest examples of representation: their ability to cast light on broader themes that might otherwise have remained obscure.

Deep representation

As has been outlined above, many of my attempts to incorporate better 'routine representation' often ended up with me reconsidering the kinds of questions I was posing to my students in the first place. This process moves beyond 'routine' approaches into a commitment to achieving 'deep representation' by entirely reconsidering my teaching of a period. Such re-evaluation has been a feature of the work of other history teachers, grappling with these questions, such as Olivey and Apps.[11] This approach is inevitably more complicated, as the process of reframing the way in which a particular topic or period is approached within the curriculum makes the question of what to represent potentially much more wide-ranging. In my case, the principles I try to draw upon when making these decisions relate to the question of 'What is illuminated?' Am I telling students stories about the period that will help them to grasp something essential about it and its possibilities?

To illustrate how this question now drives my curricular thinking, I will discuss an example of an enquiry designed for my Year 13 group studying the Tudors, as detailed in Figure 4. My work on this enquiry was partly initiated by similar concerns to those discussed above, about my students' ability to engage critically with certain interpretations; however, in this case my prior knowledge of the topic led me immediately to rethink how it was being framed.

The particular part of the course specification that I was navigating focused on the 'marriage question' and how it affected Elizabeth's relationship with her advisors and her parliaments. Reading through the material we needed to cover, I became aware that it was likely to leave students with the impression of Elizabeth as an isolated and unusual figure as a female ruler. It also tended to present her gender as an uncomplicated obstacle, primarily linked to questions of marriage and the succession. In this instance I was aware that this impression, while not entirely false, would leave my students in the dark about some important aspects of the period.

The question therefore, that I had to ask myself was 'What am I seeking to illuminate, and how does it link to representation?' The first thing I wanted to make clear to my students was that Elizabeth was the inheritor of a tradition that had recently been embodied by her elder sister Mary, and that she also ruled at a time when women exercised power across Europe. The other elements of representation were less concrete. I wanted to make it clear that gender in the sixteenth century was constructed in ways that would often seem unfamiliar to my students and also to indicate that the study of gender represents a rich vein of enquiry undertaken by historians working on the period.

How would this affect my students' understanding? In the first instance, it would correct any misapprehensions about female rule being vanishingly rare in the period, and counter any overblown sense of Elizabeth's uniqueness. Additionally, taking an enquiry that was previously focused entirely on the 'marriage question' and instead making it about gender and the person of 'the prince', would enable students to better understand the question of marriage as merely one dimension of the effects of gender on Elizabeth's rule. But even more importantly, this change also represented an opportunity to enrich students' sense of the period by making them aware of the rich variety of ways in which gender was thought about and experienced, and the gulf between this past world and the one with which they were familiar. Representing Elizabeth's contemporaries, and drawing on the scholarship of Lisa Hilton to provide rich examples of early modern beliefs about gender would shine a light on aspects of the period that could otherwise have remained entirely obscure to my students.[12]

Teaching, as I do, in a sixth-form college means that my scope for deep representation is limited by the requirements of exam specifications, although it is amazing what can be made possible by creative re-framing. There is still scope for important work guided by the question, 'What is represented and what does it illuminate?' In the example discussed above, I was driven by a concern that my students were not being told an important story about the period in question, which stemmed from a failure to represent key individuals, ways of thinking and relevant disciplinary traditions outside the political and economic focuses that are still dominant in exam specifications.

Of course, the tradition of female rule embodied by Elizabeth's sister and other European contemporaries was not the only important story (nor even the only important story about gender) that I could have told my students about the period. Yet keeping a critical eye on representation at least allowed the choices I had to make to be more informed ones. In this instance, I also had the idea that this might be the first time in their historical education that gender had been problematised for my students. This raises a further consideration to bear in mind when selecting which under-represented stories to bring into the light: in the context of the curriculum as a whole, which essential elements of each period are being illuminated? Beyond this, what hints of wider possibilities are we also allowing to hover at the edges of our students' peripheral vision?

Representation and 'the world of the past'

If representation can assist students in constructing a more complete 'sense' of a particular period and in thinking clearly about some of the historical questions relevant to it, what are the implications for their understanding of 'history' more broadly? In this case, I think it is helpful to consider two distinct elements: first, students' sense of 'the world of the past' beyond the boundaries of particular periods; and second, their sense of history as a 'discipline'.

When thinking about history as 'the world of the past', two examples of recent work by history teachers are especially interesting. The first is the way in which the fuller representation of women in particular periods has been shown, in Boyd's work, to address anachronistic judgments about the possibilities for women in the past as a whole.[13] The second are the questions discussed in Benger's work about how to address the 'deficit model' that many students apply to the past.[14] To my mind, these two problems are often intertwined, as it is the 'condescension of posterity' at work in our classrooms that drives many of these anachronistic judgements.[15] Beyond discussions related specifically to school history, another influence on my approach has been the rich debate within the field of queer history over the tension between the need for a 'usable past' and the importance of meeting the people of the past on their own terms.[16]

What role does representation play in addressing these misconceptions and how does it allow us to navigate these tensions? In the most obvious sense, ensuring that the richness and complexity of the periods studied is represented as fully as possible throughout a curriculum will open students' eyes to the sheer human variety of the world of the past, and will therefore challenge students' assumptions about what was possible within it. Additionally, representation can be used more actively to allow students to explore the ways in which aspects of the world that they may take for granted as eternal, are in fact the temporary products of historical contingency. It can also be used to challenge anachronistic narratives, like those of continual 'progress' over time that may structure and therefore distort students' ideas about the past.

In my department, we are currently exploring how representation might do some of this work for us through the construction of a new unit of study intended to support students in writing their coursework. The focus that we eventually developed, which is illustrated in Figure 5, grew out of an initial concern about our students' period knowledge of the twentieth century.[17] Our previous coursework unit on the Civil Rights movement in the USA had seemed to reinforce a curricular silence about the wide range of movements happening in the same period in the UK. Other critical influences on our thinking, however, were two considerations that related more directly to how we wanted our students to understand the 'world of the past'. The first was the opportunity to interrogate narratives of 'progress' and to explore how far improvement was a defining characteristic of the twentieth century in the UK. We thought that studying how the experience of 'rights' and 'freedoms' varied across several groups and the uncertain process by which they were gained might also raise questions about these themes in history more generally.

The second consideration that drove our planning in relation to our students' understanding of 'the world of the past' was that of making histories that our students may have only encountered incidentally and obliquely throughout their prior education into the focus of their studies. Thus a story (that of the twentieth century) with which the students may believe themselves to be familiar will be retold to them from a different perspective, alerting them to the possibility that similar retellings might be possible in relation to other histories that they have encountered. Telling these stories will

Figure 4: An outline of the scheme of work for my teaching of Elizabeth and gender, explaining what each lesson was intended to illuminate[18]

Context:

Year 13 group studying AQA breadth study on the Tudors 1485–1603. One of the key components of this course is understanding and analysing historical interpretations

Did Elizabeth I govern as a 'Renaissance Prince'?	What is being illuminated?
Outlining the historical debate Introduction of traditional scholarship on Elizabeth's gender being a huge challenge for her to navigate, followed by a presentation of Hilton's challenge to this interpretation.	Current scholarship on Elizabeth and her gender. The exploration of gender and how it was experienced in particular periods as a focus for historians working in the field.
The context of Elizabeth's rule Exploration of the role that gender played in Elizabeth's life – particular focus on the 'marriage question' and how she navigated it.	The political history of Elizabeth and the 'marriage question' and how she navigated it.
The European context – the tradition of female rule Lesson focusing on Elizabeth's European context and on the history of female rule in Europe. Also address Elizabeth's distinctiveness as queen regnant.	The presence of female rulers in the period, and their role in shaping British and European history. The idea that being female was not such a huge obstacle for a ruler as might be imagined. The idea that Elizabeth might not be as distinctive as students might suppose.
Ideas of gender and sexuality in 16th-century Britain Use resource on Early Modern ideas of gender and sexuality. How did Early Modern people see sex, gender and sexuality? How far would these ideas have applied to Elizabeth?	The distinctive ways in which Early Modern people thought about gender. How this differed across society and why Elizabeth's status as a 'prince' might make her experience different. The fact that gender was thought about in very different ways in this period to how it is thought about now. The fact that 'gender' is something that changes across space and time.
Was Elizabeth seen as a 'prince'? Return to the interpretations. Use content covered to make a judgment on the interpretations of how gender affected Elizabeth's rule.	

also allow us to engage critically with the themes that emerge from them: themes related to the historical contingency of the concepts of 'gender', 'race' and 'sexuality'; to legislative change as the start rather than the end of a story; and to social and cultural change as the heart of the story rather than just an addition to a political narrative.

As is the case in approaching specific periods with representation in mind, attempting to achieve some notion of 'completeness' in our students' sense of 'the world of the past' is an impossible task. What *is* possible is to ensure that we are introducing our students to a wide range of stories and historical questions across the curriculum, thereby representing more faithfully the variety and complexity of the world of the past and the different kinds of questions that can be asked about it. Through the allusions and brief glimpses of this wider world that we offer, we can also make it clear to our students what remains for them to explore.

Representation and the nature of the discipline

The second aspect of students' sense of 'history' that can be affected by representation is their idea of it as a 'discipline'. This might include their ideas about who is engaged in historical work, what kinds of questions preoccupy them, what kinds of evidence they interrogate and what kinds of methods they use to guide their enquiries. The importance of widening students' sense of 'who' a historian is has been outlined in work published by Nascimento and by Hibbert and Patel.[19] The latter have also considered the ways in which focusing on the work of a diverse range of historians

will enhance students' understanding of historians' working methods and the resources they use – a theme that has been built upon by others seeking to better represent the current state of the discipline in their curriculums.[20]

Much of this work to broaden students' vision of the discipline can happen as a natural result of planning for representation within the curriculum, since integrating neglected stories frequently relies upon using current scholarship, thereby widening our students' sense of who historians are and the kinds of things they research. This can also involve engaging with questions that relate closely to the disciplinary concerns of under-represented fields, such as social, cultural and queer history. In planning our new coursework unit, however, I worked much more deliberately and consciously in planning for representation of the discipline.

The element of evidential analysis included in our coursework specification gave me the opportunity to plan for the use of different types of evidence, such as the documents related to queer history contained within the Hall-Carpenter archive held by the LSE.[21] This evidence represents 'ephemeral' documents of the kind that students might not previously have encountered, but the significance of this evidence also derives from its origins and what they tell us about the nature of different varieties of historical enquiry.[22] The community origins of the archive from which these materials are drawn and the instability of its existence will allow students to engage with broader disciplinary questions. Its inclusion can demonstrate that the work involved in the collection and preservation of historical sources is not just something undertaken by 'official' government or academic institutions, but that it is also carried out within communities. Additionally, using evidence from this archive can allow students to explore questions about the evidence base for under-represented histories and how 'silences' in the archives might come about.[23]

Conclusion

Over the course of the three years in which I have been prioritising representation, it has become as fundamental a part of any curriculum review that I undertake as consideration of second-order concepts or sequencing. This is because I have increasingly come to see it as the key to achieving two of the most vital aims of an historical education: that of giving our students a more faithful representation of the world within each individual period or the world of the past as a whole; and that of giving students the ability to wrestle with meaningful historical questions that bear some relationship to those that shape debate within the wider discipline.

If representation is seen as central to the teaching of history, then further questions must be raised. A recurrent theme that readers may have observed in the examples above is the problem posed by exam specifications and published materials. While the comparative flexibility of the Key Stage 3 curriculum can, and has, allowed history teachers considerable scope for ambitious work on representation, even the most creative departments will inevitably find their work circumscribed during the post-14 phase. This has been borne out in the responses to the recent surveys on diversity within the curriculum in schools in England conducted by the Historical Association, with teachers reporting serious concerns about the scope for representation in the current GCSE and A-level courses offered by the exam boards.[24] Until this changes (and there are promising signs that it may do so), the progress of students' historical education in this respect may falter as they move through the years of secondary schooling.

Why is this important? Beyond even the fundamental consideration of our responsibilities to our students, in ensuring that the study of history is something they feel they can take part in and giving them the best historical education that we can while they do so, I think that the question of representation also touches upon a more abstract but still important duty we owe to the discipline and those we study. The world of the past is vast, rich and strange, and the questions we might ask about it are almost innumerable. It is therefore vital that none of our students finish their time with us thinking that they have exhausted its possibilities.

I am grateful to the students and the members of my department at Reigate College for their enthusiasm for the work we have been doing with our curriculum. I am also thankful to all the members of the history-teaching community who have engaged with the question of representation. The ability to discuss this topic with so many other brilliant practitioners has been invaluable in refining my ideas.

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Figure 5: The world of the period and the world of the past in the curriculum plan for our new Non-Examined Assessment or coursework unit

Note: This is designed to introduce the period of study to our students, who will then select one of the available questions and conduct an independent research project resulting in an extended essay in response.

The world of the past
The importance of legislative change vs broader social changes.

The world of the period
The creation of 'identity markers' used today and of the notion of a 'sexual identity' in the 19th/20th century (and the ways in which these ideas were contested).

Coursework question 2
To what extent was the position of the LGBTQ+ community in Britain improved by changes in the law between 1885 and 2013?

Considering the varying influences of legislative changes, the role of activist groups and movements, changing public attitudes and the development of a sense of identity/community.

Considering how far a 'community' was formed in this period and the differing experiences of those within it.

The world of the past
How 'public' spaces are conceived of and policed.

Coursework question 1
To what extent were the actions of women's rights groups the most important factor in improving the position of women in the UK between 1867 and 1969?

Contrasting the varying influences of women's activism, legislative changes, public attitudes and the influence of key events.

Considering differing experiences among different groups of women, addressing extent of change and continuity across the period.

How far were the positions of women, the LGBTQ+ community and black people in Britain transformed during the late 19th and 20th centuries?

Coursework question 3
To what extent did legislative changes have the biggest effect on the position of the Black British community between 1919 and 2011?

Considering the varying influences of changing public attitudes, activism, changes in the law and the policing/legal system.

Considering the differing experiences across the community, addressing extent of change and continuity across this period.

The world of the period
How far the 20th century was really characterised by 'progress'.

The world of the past
Querying broader narratives of history as a story of 'progress'.

The world of the past
Why and how members of different groups experience social, political and legal change differently.

The world of the period
The impact of categories of 'race', 'national identity', 'ethnicity' etc. in the 20th century and how these were navigated.

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New units will be added over the coming year, including modern China, the Crusades, and modern Britain.

What have historians been arguing about...

...expanding the reach of the American Revolution

Thomas Rodgers

The Founding Fathers of the United States of America are never far from current political and cultural discussions. Whether prompted by the phenomenal success of *Hamilton: the musical* (2015), or the shocking scenes of riotous attack on the US Capitol in January 2021, the revolutionary intentions and legacy of such figures as George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson are debated in both academic, and more popular, historical literature. Traditionally, scholars of the revolution have diverged in their approach, focusing either on the ideas and actions of elites, the leaders of the revolution, or on the broader structures of class and race. More recently, scholars have sought to move beyond this relatively binary choice, to contextualise the events of the revolution in different ways and to explore ever more seriously the ways in which the revolutionary state emerged from processes of violence and racial exclusion.

As befits the founding moment of the nation, and the many legacies, narratives, and myths begotten by the revolutionary moment, the American Revolution has inspired some of the classic works of American historiography. Leading Progressive-era historians such as Charles Beard and Carl Becker challenged simplistic heroic narratives with analyses of economic interests and class tensions. Although this work was later subjected to sustained criticism, the emphasis on economic inequality and on the power dynamics of social class has continued to inspire historians. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the work of Bernard Bailyn exemplified a new, and for a long time dominant, interpretation of the revolution.[1] Bailyn, along with many of his graduate students, delved into the remarkable textual record of the rapidly-developing public sphere, notably the pamphlets and newspapers, to trace the sources of the political thought that inspired revolutionary resistance.[2]

The historiography of the American Revolution subsequently divided, broadly, into political and social approaches, which appeared to address different experiences of revolution, and struggled to speak to one other. Patriot leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, wrote, spoke, and argued within the framework of their understanding of law, and inspired by Enlightenment philosophy. These elite concerns and modes of discourse were not necessarily of much concern to the mass population

The Boston Massacre, 1770. Engraving by Paul Revere.



of the Thirteen Colonies, however. Social historians sought to understand the motivations and significance of the many different communities, such as artisans, farmers, or sailors, in creating and sustaining the revolutionary process on the ground. Pioneering studies expanded the reach of revolutionary history, to explore the effects of the revolution on women, enslaved African Americans, and Native Americans. This growing scale and scope of historical enquiry made cohesive synthesis ever more challenging. The traditional cast of revolutionary figures, and the traditional fields of activity, the town halls and taverns of New England, Philadelphia, and Virginia, were simply too narrow a focus.

A public audience for the traditional narrative nevertheless remained; after all, there was the bicentennial of the founding of the nation to celebrate in 1976, and ongoing debates over the interpretation of the Constitution led to a burgeoning field of Founders' studies. A range of works interrogated the nuances of the public and private lives of these key figures; this work was stimulated, in part, by the remarkable source base made increasingly available in the form of the edited

collections of their papers. Although not primarily focused on the events of the revolution, some of these biographical approaches have provided transformative insight into the structures and rhythms of life lived in the dynamics of a republican society.[3]

Both these two strands of historical enquiry, differing in focus and methodology, continued to deepen historical understanding of the revolution, but historians in both strands continued, on the whole, to explore the American Revolution as an event that occurred within the traditional geographical boundaries of the thirteen British North American colonies: the nascent United States of America.

Recent debates have challenged these traditions in two ways. First, new approaches have explored the revolution as both an inclusionary and exclusionary process. Second, historians have extended their geographical understanding of early American history, both into the Atlantic world and across the continent of North America. Robert Parkinson's *The Common Cause* (2016) provides a majestic interpretation of the Revolutionary War as a process that forged a specific Patriot identity, and one that justified violence and exclusion against those perceived to be enemies of the revolution, or of the interests of American citizens. New histories exploring the nature of state building, in particular the strength of the American state, have further contributed to this trend of providing an integrative framework for understanding the relationship between people and government.

This essay began with reference to *Hamilton: the musical*, which asks the question, 'Who tells your story?' The American Revolution remains integral to understanding the United States of the present day, and its evolving historiography story continues to reflect and to shape our understanding of this complex and contested moment.

Thomas Rodgers is Senior Lecturer in American Studies at the University of Portsmouth.

Designing enquiries to help students think about interpretations of the American Revolution

The historiography of the revolution has long been concerned with the question of who the revolution was for. Initially, this was a question of social class: was it for the political and mercantile elite, seeking to avoid imperial taxation, or was it an opportunity for ordinary artisans and farmers to shape their own lives and fortunes? This question continues to be debated, however, for the wide range of people who suffered as a consequence of the revolution: Native Americans, African Americans, Loyalists. For women, the revolution provided some opportunities, but had regressive consequences in terms of limiting their participation in the public sphere. This debate could be explored by asking: *'Whose revolution was the American Revolution?' Why have historians given such different answers to this question?*

The revolution provides an enduring foundation for the aspirations of American society, encapsulated in Jefferson's immortal line that 'all Men are created equal'. The Declaration of Independence has been used time and again to appeal for equality and for the realisation of the promises of revolution. When studying later periods of US history, we might explore the ways in which the revolution was interpreted and used in political discourse, with an enquiry question such as: *Why did the American Revolution [or the Declaration of Independence] still matter in [time period]?*

The Editors

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Ben Franklin's World (benfranklinsworld.com): an excellent podcast series about early American history

The British Library gallery on the American revolution: www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/features/americanrevolution/The%20American%20Revolution%20historiography.pdf

Founders Online: Home (archives.gov): the most significant edited collections of papers are freely accessible online.

'Vast Early America: three simple words for a complex reality' – Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture (wm.edu): a recent blog on the interest in exploring American history from a broader range of perspectives.

‘That’s next to my Gran’s house’:

building local history into the curriculum

Neil Bates and Robert Bowry have chosen to tackle the issue of curriculum coherence by including local history, both as starting point for new students joining the school in Year 7 and as a golden thread running throughout their Key Stage 3 curriculum. In this article they explain the rationale for their plans, focusing not only on the powerful ways in which local history can stimulate and support student engagement, but also on the ways in which carefully devised local history enquiries can establish a provisional understanding of key substantive and disciplinary concepts to which students will return on a regular basis. While few schools may be as fortunate as Harrow Way Community School in their proximity to a World Heritage Site, Bates and Bowry offer invaluable advice to history departments everywhere about how to make effective use of student consultation in their planning and how to counter young people’s assumptions that ‘history never happens here’.

Neil Bates and Robert Bowry
Neil Bates is Lead Practitioner for history and Robert Bowry teaches history at Harrow Way Community School (11–16 comprehensive) in Andover, Hampshire.

From the classrooms of the history department at Harrow Way School in Andover it is almost possible to see the roof of the Aldi superstore on Weyhill Road. Many of our students shop there or cycle past it on their way to McDonald’s. Under what is now the Aldi car park, archaeologists discovered an Saxon/medieval execution site, containing the skeletons of 124 people. Our school itself sits on the Harrow Way, a Bronze Age trackway crossing the south of England. We literally have history under our feet and we want our students to be aware of this fact.

Back in July 2014 we had a conversation with the then Ofsted lead for history, Michael Maddison. He told a story of watching a teacher in Manchester discussing the mills and factories of the industrial revolution without once mentioning to students that the remnants of this great period of transformation were visible from their classroom. This story resonated with us as a department and partly fuelled our determination to weave local historical studies into our curriculum. Maddison expanded on this idea at the Grassroots History Conference at Sussex University in 2020.[1] In discussing how a curriculum can be woven together by a ‘golden thread’, he speculated about the way in which local history could serve such a function. In the same way as many departments have focused on the use of historical scholarship as a unifying focus to which their students regularly return, so local history may serve as a recurring theme which the students revisit throughout their curriculum journey.

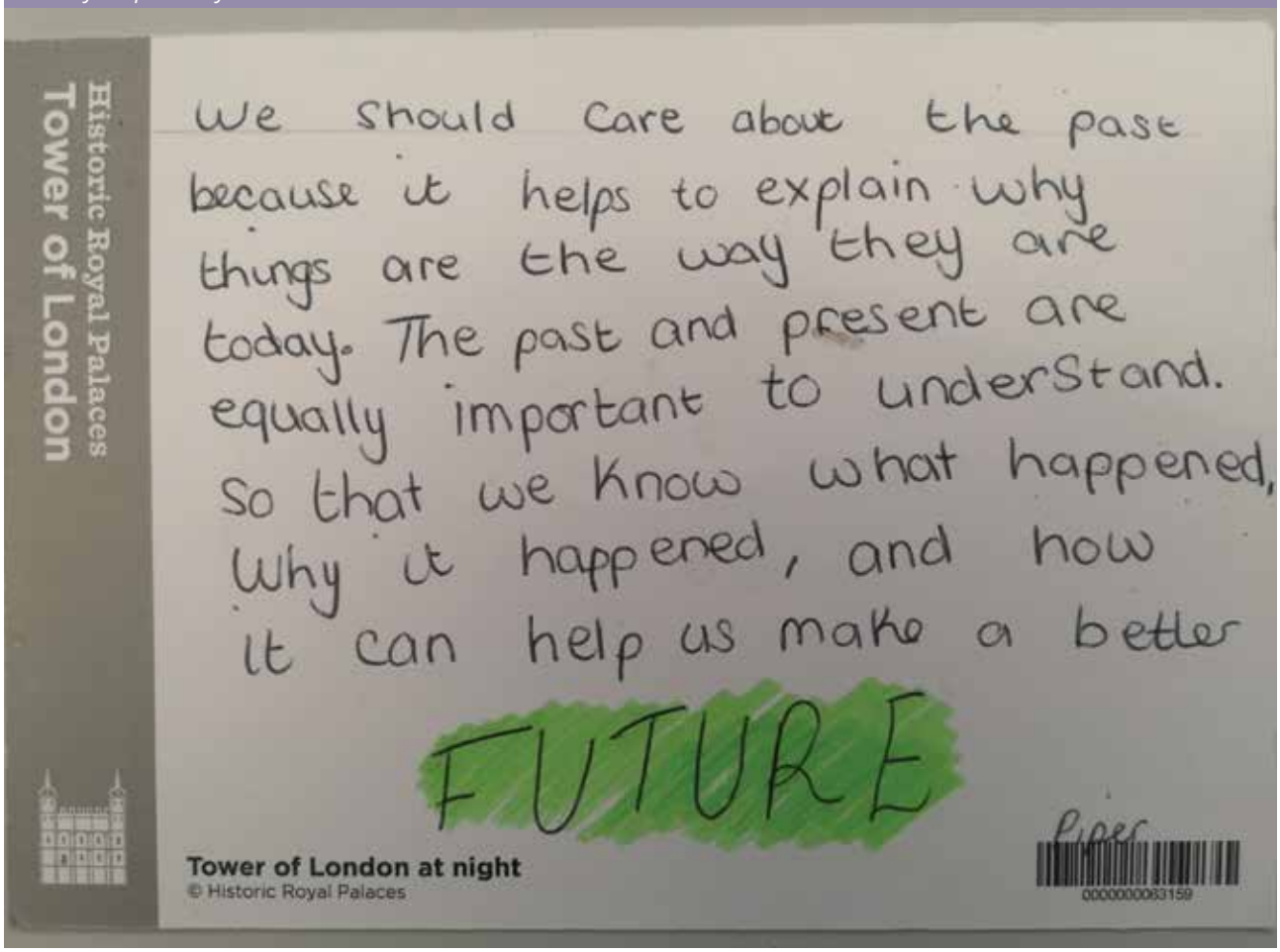
Many of our students refuse to believe that the ‘nowhere town of Andover’ has ever been historically significant. As Burn and Todd remarked, citing Harcourt’s account of the attitudes of his students in New Zealand, ‘Young people tend to assume that history has always happened somewhere else.’[2] In response to this assumption about the insignificance of the place where they live, we have started to consider how we can change our students’ perceptions of their own town and of the roles played by people from Andover in both national and international events.

Our ambitions are supported by the knowledge that our students’ negative assumptions sit alongside an innate human desire to be connected to a place – a desire discussed by Claire Kennan in a recent Historical Association lecture. Developing interest in and a knowledge of local history can foster an increased sense of place attachment, which may lead to greater civic engagement.[3] As Kennan also noted, local history can allow students to glimpse the wider national narratives, observing how they played out and exploring their implications through a local lens.

When incorporating local history within the curriculum, it is important to have a clear purpose behind the choices that we make. Geoff Timmins offers valuable insights here in his book *Exploring Local History: a practical guide for teachers in primary and secondary schools*, explaining that student understanding will be enhanced by local history provided that consideration is given both to historical

Figure 1: An example of a Year 7 student's response to a homework task asking students to explain why it is important to study local history

This was written by a looked-after child, who had been adamant in September that they 'hated history in primary school'.



themes and to forging connections to the wider world.[4] Our aim at Harrow Way has been to build into our curriculum a series of enquiries that follow Timmins's advice. Our town has seen its fair share of history: from Bronze Age farmers through to the Anarchy of the twelfth century, to the Civil War and beyond. We feel strongly that our students should know what happened locally and be able to connect those local events and developments to the wider ambitions of our curriculum.

Curriculum, golden threads and schemata

The very immediacy of local history – the fact that the events being studied happened where the students now live – can create a powerful sense of connection. Recognising that history – events deemed worthy of study by others – happened right on their doorstep can have a powerful impact on young people's understanding of the value and significance of history as a subject of study, as demonstrated by the responses to a homework task (Figure 1) that we set for Year 7 at the end of our local history scheme of work. Students can also start to see that while many of the events that they study did indeed happen very far away, those events still had an impact on the local area. A prime example of this in Andover can be seen in relation to the Second World War. RAF Andover was an air-force base, now located under an industrial estate. Until our reference to this history, most of our students, who have grown up with this area of Andover as an industrial estate, had never known that it played a role in Operation Overlord, as a base from which air support was flown for the D-Day landings. Once they became aware of this fact, students began to develop an understanding that local impacts or local involvement can be found – even in humble Andover – for many events that happened elsewhere.

The idea of relevance is something that was touched upon by Ofsted in a 2015 survey report *Key Stage 3: the wasted years*? which examined the quality of the curriculum provided by schools for students in the early years of secondary education. The inspectorate noted, in particular, that students based their decisions about whether to continue with particular subjects to GCSE on their experience of Key Stage 3, in most cases selecting subjects based on the extent to which they had enjoyed their learning so far.[5]

Obviously students will find 'enjoyment' in a lesson for multiple reasons, which are then reflected in their engagement. Indeed, analysis of wide-ranging studies of student engagement by Fredericks and her colleagues has led to widespread acceptance of the view that there are three dimensions to student engagement: cognitive, behavioural and affective.[6] Recognising these different dimensions can help us, as teachers, to identify the nature of students' engagement and to consider the kinds of approach that might help to strengthen it. Cognitive engagement refers

Figure 2: An extract from our medium-term departmental plan

Sequence	The overarching aim of this short unit is to introduce our new students to the concept of enquiry and begin to develop their sense of chronology. The knowledge links back to areas covered in Key Stages 1/2 but also helps to provide a shared, stable base on which to build students' historical knowledge, given that the Year 7 cohort have come to us from a wide variety of primary settings, with different prior knowledge and different starting points.

to the way in which students approach the learning tasks that they have been set – the extent to which they seek meaning in what they are doing and their willingness to invest the effort necessary to understand new or complex ideas as well as to regulate their learning. Do the students have the resilience to tackle the tasks and challenges we are setting them? Behavioural engagement is concerned with participation: the actual act of students involving themselves in the learning episode, undertaking the work set (within the lesson or for homework). The third dimension is concerned with students' positive and negative emotional engagement. This obviously extends beyond students' affective response to the work itself, encompassing their reactions to their teachers and their peers as well as their feelings about school, but students' emotional connection to the work they are doing also matters. Affective engagement is how a student feels in the lesson (proud, excited, happy, sad, etc.).

Our experience is that the affective dimension of engagement as well as the cognitive dimension can be strengthened when students 'buy into' what their teachers are delivering within a particular lesson, topic or scheme of work. A sense of connection and even of pride can lead to active and committed participation in the learning (behavioural engagement) and we have found that local history is a way of making students care about the past and 'buy into' our wider schemes of learning. Focusing on local history means that our students come to see the echoes of the past in the built environment that they now occupy. It also allows us to tap into the pre-existing local knowledge that some of our students possess – through their experiences of living in the town, through family accounts of the past and through their learning at primary school – again reinforcing their confidence and sense of competence.

As we noted above, Maddison's advice on curriculum planning stressed the need for clear and well thought-through sequencing. It is important that students' knowledge is built systematically, with each new topic building on what has gone before. A local history focus enables us both to build on what students have studied previously and to provide a recurring theme – the golden thread of a single local story, with strong connections to the wider picture. Taking care to build on students' existing schemata and consciously developing new ones allows them to tackle difficult historical concepts and to contextualise them in ways that make sense to them. An inclusive classroom is one that enables all students – including Year 7 who come to us with a range of different experiences, abilities and prior knowledge (see Figure 2) – to make meaningful progress. Acknowledging what many have studied within primary school at Key Stages 1 and 2, while drawing on what they know of their local environment, allows everyone to use the knowledge of their home town that they already possess. As Helen Snelson reminds us, 'history is a study of people, people occupy physical space' and those spaces come to constitute a form of 'shared heritage'.[7] The local shops with which our students are already familiar acquire new layers of meaning as they learn that this is where the Normans executed criminals; or that the roads by which they reach them were trodden by Roman legionnaires. These direct connections move history from the realm of the abstract into something far more tangible.

In summary, a key priority in planning our curriculum was to consider how we could develop disciplinary and substantive knowledge in our Year 7 students that would prepare them more readily for the rigours of their on-going historical journey. At the same time, we were seeking to ensure consistency across the department through a shared approach to lesson planning, even down to the particular stories we told about our local area. We wanted to remove the lottery which meant that what students learned was determined by the teacher who taught them, and to ensure that all students received the same rich diet. This meant that we had to think very carefully, from day one, about the big stories we chose to tell and the disciplinary knowledge we wanted to embed within them.

Figure 2, which is taken from our medium-term planning document, shows the rationale for one element of the sequencing in our Year 7 curriculum. We decided that it was sensible to begin with a strong element of local history, establishing very clearly for the students not just that history happens in specific, physical locations, but that they too inhabit such places. At the same time, we were looking to begin our new students' historical journeys by embedding in their thinking some key disciplinary concepts to which they would return throughout their time with us.

Establishing a chronological framework

Our school, Harrow Way, takes its name from an ancient Bronze Age trackway that ran west from Dover in Kent to Seaton in Dorset. It is a trackway that was used by the builders of Stonehenge, by Roman legionnaires and by medieval pilgrims. What better way to begin introducing Year 7 to local history than by exploring the very thing from which their new school draws its name. To this end our first Year 7 enquiry is entitled 'What mattered to the people

Figure 3: Example of profiles for the lesson dealing with travellers on the Harrow Way

Neolithic farmer
Language: Old Brythonic



The new temples of the living and the dead are finally complete. The great stone pillars have been dragged into place and set up to map the rising of the summer sun. I will make the journey to Woodhenge and make offerings to the gods for a good harvest next year and for our hunters to be successful. The gods of the sun and moon will hear me and grant us success. I will also visit the great temple of the dead on Salisbury Plain. Here I will remember my ancestors who have now passed beyond life.

Roundhead soldier
Language: English



The country is divided. Our Andover MP, William Waller, has declared for Parliament against that fool of a king, Charles I. The King flouts the rule of Parliament, claiming the Divine Right of Kings. He's a traitor! He's married to a filthy Catholic and seeks to bankrupt us with unjust taxation. The people of Andover have suffered enough, what with the collapse of the wool trade and the loss of our grazing lands through enclosure. Well, I will stand with Waller. We march with the Parliamentarian army to meet the Cavaliers at Cheriton near Winchester. Parliament will remove this unjust king and this year of our Lord, 1644, will see Catholic popery purged by our Puritan steel.

who walked the Harrow Way?' We saw here an opportunity to introduce students to the historical concepts of change and continuity while beginning to build a chronological framework; an initial schema upon which subsequent chronological understanding would be built. By examining the changing concerns and priorities of the people who travelled this ancient trackway from the Neolithic period to the early twentieth century, students can identify similarities and differences across time periods and consider how the matters of concern to those earlier travellers align with their own daily concerns.

Our first Year 7 enquiry begins by asking students to link three images: an aerial shot of their school, a map showing the ancient trackway, and the monument at Stonehenge. Our aim here is to place the school site in the context of this ancient trackway and instantly connect our students to a famous World Heritage Site. The next step is for students to start exploring what mattered to travellers across different time periods on the Harrow Way. Here we also want to introduce some substantive or first-order concepts, such as religion, economics, politics and language. We are mindful of Fordham's recommendation that 'these words need to be encountered multiple times throughout a curriculum,

Figure 4: An illustration created by Mark Gridley for the Cotswold Archaeology site report into the Weyhill Road Aldi dig



with each encounter adding another layer of meaning to the word.'[8]

This phase of the enquiry involves students using profiles of different travellers and completing a comparison grid to show whether and in what ways their priorities, concerns and language changed over time. As Figure 3 illustrates, students learn that a Neolithic farmer was concerned about praying at the newly completed temple on Salisbury Plain in the hope of a good harvest. In comparison, a Roundhead soldier serving under Andover MP William Waller was concerned about fighting the battle of Cheriton and defeating Charles I. Both of them, however, also have clearly defined religious beliefs. Thus, by looking at only two separate people who may well have walked past their school site, students can see how what mattered to people changed and evolved over time; recognising certain common themes, such as the enduring significance of religion, while also noting some of the changes in the nature of that religious belief. When our students go on to study the Reformation later that academic year or to examine the role of the church in their Year 10 Crime and Punishment course, we can refer back to these initial lessons. Similarly, by exposing students to the fact that the inhabitants of their local area spoke a variety of languages in the past (Brythonic, old German, Latin, Norse, French), we enable them to glimpse something of the diversity and richness of the past. Once again, this is something to which we can refer back when we go on to consider migration in Year 8, with a particular focus on the Irish famine; or in Year 9, looking at the impact of the arrival of the *Windrush*; or in Year 10, examining the problems of policing an ethnically diverse East End.

The disciplinary concept of change and continuity experienced through this enquiry will also be revisited and reinforced throughout students' curriculum journey. We will go on to examine, for example, the changing powers of medieval monarchs; progress and regress in the industrial revolution; and to ask 'When was the worst time to live in Berlin?' But our introductory enquiry gives our students a firm base from which to proceed. They have encountered chronological frameworks, and certain fundamental first and second order concepts, as well as some of the 'big stories' to which we will return throughout the course. All of this within the context of the road that every one of them walks each morning.

Exploiting new discoveries in consultation with students

Sometimes incorporating local history into the curriculum is a matter of going out and searching for that one site, that street name or gravestone in the local churchyard around which you can craft your enquiry. Sometimes, local history lands in your lap. In our 'nowhere town' we have been fortunate to experience the latter, to the great enhancement

Figure 5: Our Year 9 'student voice' team undertaking a dry run of the enquiry, enabling them to provide feedback to the department during the planning phase



of our curriculum. In 2016, a watching brief by Cotswold Archaeology for the construction of the new Aldi superstore revealed a number of human remains. As their site report explains, 'The remains of some 124 individuals, mostly male and adult, were revealed with much disarticulated bone. Many had clearly been buried with their hands tied behind their backs or had been interred face-down, and some had been decapitated.'[9]

This was clearly too good an opportunity for us to miss, but in choosing to incorporate the discovery within our curriculum, we needed to be mindful of two key considerations. First, what work was already being done in our feeder schools? Second, what key substantive and disciplinary knowledge would we best be able to tackle here? In particular, what ideas could we plan for our students to encounter, knowing that we would return to them later in our curriculum plans?

In developing our curriculum over time, we have developed a commitment to student consultation, originally inspired by work presented by Anna Pendry at the annual Schools History Project (SHP) conference in 2010.[10] Our 'student voice' team consisted of a small core of invited students from Year 9 who would meet with us to share in the design process for new historical enquiries. The general idea was that once we had agreed upon a new enquiry as a department, we would carry out a 'dry run' teaching the enquiry to this group, who would then provide feedback. As well as engaging in the actual lessons, we also invited the students to complete an 'observation' pro-forma. To support this process, we provided them with some basic training in Rosenshine's principles of instruction and they designed a lesson observation form that would be easy to use without detracting from their main task of actually participating in the history lesson.[11]

Through this feedback mechanism we quickly ascertained that building a 'History Mystery' around the Weyhill site was pointless, as many of our feeder primary schools already did such work. This insight was a powerful validation of 'student voice', demonstrating how helpful it could be to departments seeking to understand the knowledge that students bring with them from primary school, and allowing them to adjust their curriculum plans accordingly.

Our final decision was gifted to us by the fact that Cotswold Archaeology commissioned Mark Gridley to create the superb artistic interpretation of the site presented in Figure 4. In the end it was Mark Gridley's beautiful artwork that pushed us into a focus on the construction of historical interpretations, prompting us to ask the big question 'How successfully did Mark Gridley reconstruct an Saxon/medieval execution site?' This decision was further informed by our Year 8 student voice team who used their experience in one of the lessons (see Figures 5 and 6) to suggest that the artwork would provide an excellent hook and focal point for the overall enquiry.

We had ascertained from our student voice work that most of our Year 7 were arriving with some existing knowledge of the site. Many had met with archaeologists and even seen some of the finds from the site (not human bones!). This meant that we could build upon their existing schema related to the local area, attaching new knowledge to it. Having contacted Cotswold Archaeology, we were able to focus on making sense of the sources that examination of the site had revealed. This allowed us to create an enquiry in which students used the evidence from the archaeological record not only to understand the thought processes behind Mark Gridley's artwork, but also to question things he had included

that were not represented in the source material and thus to ask why these things had been depicted. In some cases, the evidence clearly provides a rationale for the scene portrayed. For example, the painting clearly shows two prisoners with their hands tied behind their backs and the archaeological record clearly reports that that 'skeleton 1325' was identified as being a 'Mature Adult, Male. Posture: Supine. Extended. Hands behind back.'[12] However, there are also four ravens in the art work, a detail for which the students would discover there is no evidence in the archaeological record. This discrepancy allowed our students not only to think critically about the different elements included in an artist's interpretation, but also to raise questions that could be put to the team at Cotswold Archaeology. We could introduce the expert's voice into the classroom, through archaeologist Karen Walker's email explanation that she wanted the ravens included because they form such an integral part of Anglo-Saxon spiritual and cultural beliefs. This direct link to the archaeological expert was very important to us. Ian Dawson, former Director of SHP, as well as the host of (and creator of most of the materials on) the Thinking History website, has previously reflected with us on the fact that 'All students who do PE can tell you what a footballer does. How many can tell you what an historian or archaeologist really does?'[13] In this respect our approach echoed that of David Hibbert and Zaiba Patel in bringing the voices of academic historians into the classroom and giving 'students exposure to the practical decisions made by historians' as an effective way to 'move students beyond simplistic ideas regarding historical accounts'.[14] Once students have experienced the thought processes and evidential choices made by historians or, indeed, artists working in the historical sphere, they are in a much better position to tackle those gnarly GCSE questions that require them to identify the differences between historical interpretations and to suggest why they might differ.

Using local history to revisit substantive and disciplinary concepts over time

As stated earlier, when planning our curriculum, we wanted to think carefully about where the substantive and disciplinary knowledge encountered in the Saxon/medieval execution enquiry would be revisited. Quite neatly, it was actually the golden thread of local history running through our curriculum that allowed us to revisit the notion of constructing interpretations from sources used as evidence. In Year 8, our students examine the question of why Andover hit the headlines in 1845 – using a range of historical sources to construct their own interpretation of the reasons behind the Andover Workhouse scandal.[15] Disciplinary knowledge developed in the early part of Year 7 is clearly revisited and applied in a new historical (but also local) context. In terms of substantive knowledge, both these local studies are referred back to in Year 10 as part of our GCSE Crime and Punishment unit. It is easier for a Year 10 student to understand change and continuity after the Norman invasion if they have some knowledge from Year 7 of how the Saxons and Normans each dealt with crime. Similarly, workhouse life in Whitechapel which features in Edexcel Paper 1 is more accessible thanks to our work on local history in Year 8.[16]

It might be worth also considering here the importance of a thorough plan for retrieval practice – securing the essential knowledge that we want students to be able to access in later years. We have attempted to identify throughout our Key Stage 3 curriculum the 'golden nuggets' of knowledge that students need to have mastered before they embark on their GCSE course. Opportunities to practise retrieving these nuggets occur on a lesson-by-lesson basis as part of the school-wide approach to 'Do-Now Activities', allocating a section of every lesson to the retrieval of substantive and disciplinary concepts. As Canning reminds us,

> *we know that providing a recap for our students is much less effective than getting them actively engaged in trying to remember that knowledge for themselves. It is the process of active retrieval – of deliberately trying to recall specific information – that helps to strengthen the neural pathways that will make that knowledge accessible again on future occasions.*[17]

What Canning also argues, and what is especially pertinent to curriculum design, is that it is not enough to simply go through the motions of retrieval, as part of some tick-box activity to satisfy the senior leadership team. Instead, we need to think very carefully about exactly what knowledge students need in order to both activate and automate as part of the development of their schemata. By identifying specific knowledge (substantive and disciplinary) that students will later require, and attaching it to the study of a local site with which students are already familiar, we are strengthening students' schematic knowledge and enhancing the prospects of its effective retrieval.

Collaboration with experts

The work undertaken with Cotswold Archaeology bears further consideration; particularly at a time when archaeology courses in British universities are seemingly under threat. By using the expertise of the local archaeology company we are seeking to embody the advice given by Zoe Lynes in *Teaching History 169* that 'conversations with experts can bring the past alive, revealing fascinating insights and intriguing stories'.[18]

The support we have gained though our on-going link with Cotswold Archaeology has proved so valuable that we would urge other history teachers to reach out to similar local experts. Beyond enabling students to see how experts actually work to reconstruct a picture of the past (whether historians, or archaeologists or artistic interpreters), such an approach provides the sense of drama and well placed story-telling on which history depends. How better to provide this than by inviting the people whose job it is to work with the very stuff of the past to visit the school and talk to students, or at least to communicate directly with them through video or email link. Simply by including their voices in our enquiries, we can begin to build a sense that history has a relevance to the real world.

Working with archaeologists is obviously another way of bringing scholarship into the curriculum. Just as Foster and Goudie illustrated the value of showing students how historians (such as Stephen Baxter) grapple with evidence,

Figure 6: Examples of work produced by our Year 9 student voice team during the dry run, using the artist's interpretation created by Mark Gridley (shown in Figure 4)

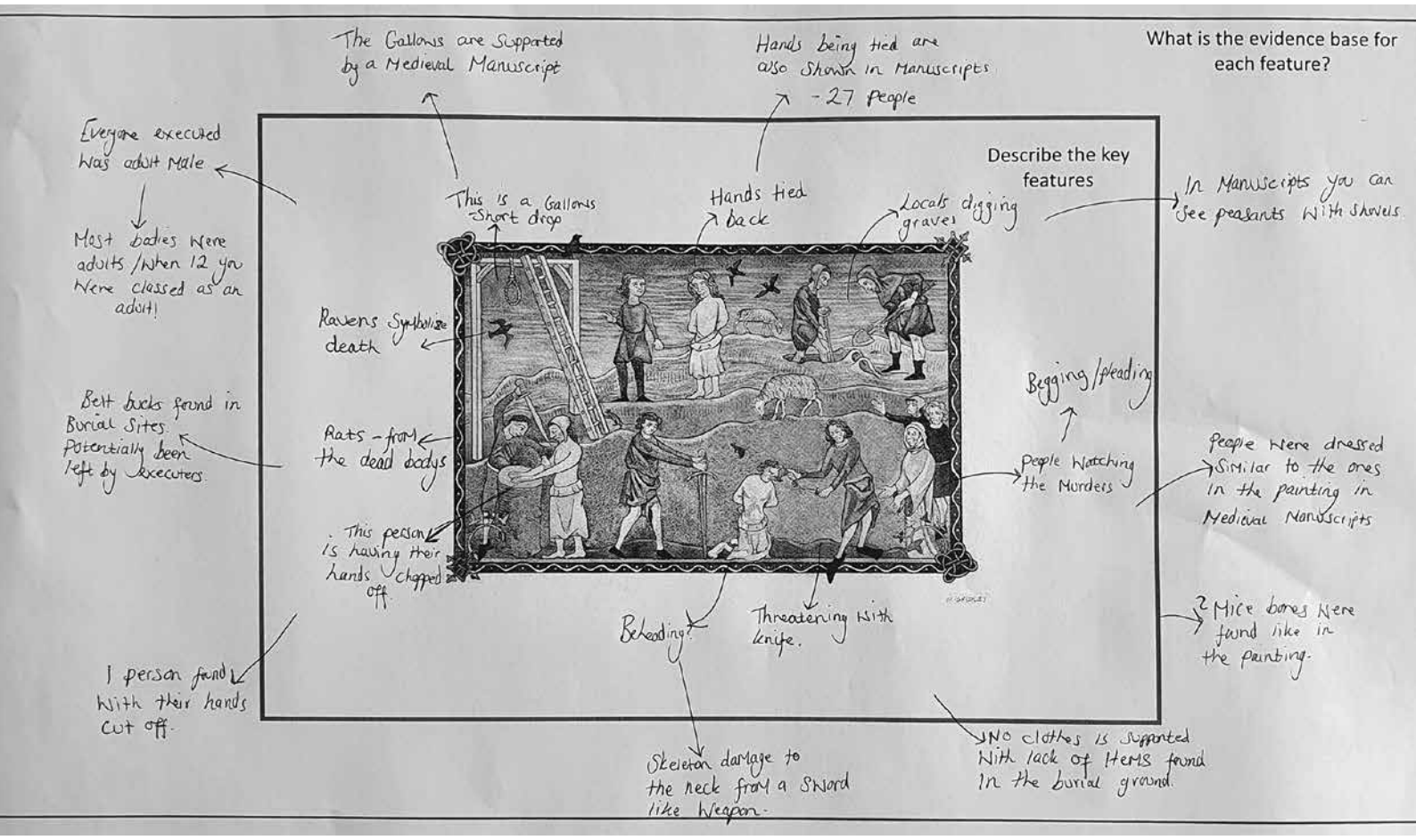




Figure 7: 'Meanwhile in Andover…' An extract from our list of curriculum links to local history

Lesson in curriculum	Event in Andover	Links to scholarship and further reading
Was Britain an isolated Island? Sutton Hoo ship burial-around 610 AD so a little prior to Andover being founded. **(Autumn term 1, Year 7)** **Weyhill skeletons – Did the artist do his homework?**	Andover began as a Saxon village. Andover first appears in history in 950 AD when the king built a royal hunting lodge there. Then in the year 962, another king called a meeting of the Saxon 'parliament', the Witan, at his lodge in Andover. Saxon Andover had its own church and it was here that a Viking called Olaf Tryggvason was confirmed as a Christian. He later became king of Norway and helped to convert his country to Christianity. Saxon/medieval execution site at Weyhill Road. 124 bodies plus a mix of 97 disarticulated skeletal remains found at Weyhill Road.	www.khanacademy.org/humanities/medieval-world/early-medieval-art/early-medieval-objects/a/the-sutton-hoo-ship-burial Marc Morris (2021), *The Anglo-Saxons: a history of the beginnings of England*, pp. 66–71. K.E. Walker *et al.* (2020), *A Medieval Punishment Cemetery at Weyhill Road, Andover Hampshire*, pp. 185–189, gives court rolls for Andover for the period 1387–88. https://archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/andovers-outcast-dead-exploring-an-anglo-norman-execution-cemetery.htm
When was the most peaceful time to live in Norman England? (Autumn term 2, Year 7) **Also Year 10: Changes to criminal justice system after 1066**	At the time of the Domesday Book (1086), Andover had 107 male inhabitants and probably had a total population of about 500. It was quite a large settlement by the standards of the time. (Most villages had only 100 to 150 people.) Andover also had six watermills that ground grain into flour to make bread for the villagers. The town was valued in the Domesday Book at £3. In contrast Basing (now Basingstoke) was valued at £1.50.	www.historyextra.com/period/norman/what-the-normans-did-for-us/ https://opendomesday.org/place/SU3645/andover/ K.E. Walker *et al.* (2020), *A Medieval Punishment Cemetery at Weyhill Road, Andover Hampshire*, pp. 185–189, gives court rolls for Andover for the period 1387–88.

applying particular methodologies to arrive at their interpretations, so drawing on the work of archaeologists can directly show how history is a construct, built upon the relics from the past.[19] Such an approach can also reveal how those constructions can be contested. Even Year 7 students, when presented with archaeological finds, will quickly develop their own theories and often be quite happy to challenge the interpretations their friends have made from their reading of the same evidence.

Featuring within our lessons the voices of the team who completed the dig made the whole enquiry feel more real. They explained the sense of excitement at how what was originally expected to be a fairly mundane 'watching brief' turned into one of the biggest finds of their careers. The team also explained how they sought to cross-reference finds from the archaeological record with existing written sources – another invaluable insight into the construction of an historical interpretation.

It is easy, if we are not careful, for that little bit in the National Curriculum about a pre-1066 study to slip under the radar.[20] By enhancing the local history aspect of our curriculum, making links with a local archaeology company can help to sharpen our focus on both these vital elements of the National Curriculum. Indeed, working with a local archaeological team may give rise – as it did for us – to a wide variety of potential new enquiries. Through our collaboration with Cotswold Archaeology we have added a new enquiry on Saxon England and been made aware of medieval court records which we have used to add local colour to our GCSE Crime and Punishment course.

Linking the local to the national and the global

While we have sought to show a couple of fully-worked examples of local enquiries, explaining how they link to the wider curriculum, it is important to recognise that not every aspect of local history will end up as a two- or three-lesson enquiry with an extended task at the end. Local history might instead be woven through the curriculum by simply building an awareness across the department of how local events link to the wider world events being studied. At Harrow Way we also made a commitment to researching the local dimensions of national events. Influenced by the 'Meanwhile elsewhere...' crowd-sourced resources, stimulated by Richard Kennett and Will Bailey-Watson, we developed a 'Meanwhile in Andover' guide (illustrated in Figure 7) for every member of the department to ensure that short discussions on local history could be used to illuminate lessons from Year 7 right through to Year 11. As Kennett and Bailey-Watson clearly argue, it is a vital objective of curriculum design that 'pupils build a substantial body of knowledge, expanding their horizons *beyond* the narrow confines of a particular topic'.[21] Teachers have a choice: they can zoom out to the wider world or they can zoom in to the local area. A good curriculum should have the capacity to do both.

Local history can be easy to ignore in the context of limited time allocated to history and the content demands of public examinations. But we think it is vital in making our students not only better historians but also better citizens of the town to which they belong. We hope they will appreciate the many feet that have trodden the ancient trackway on which our school sits, pause to look at the old workhouse on Junction Road, understand why Toll Gate Road got its name or how the red brick railway bridge on Charlton Road might have played its part in the industrial revolution. There are no 'nowhere towns'. History happens everywhere and just as the personal story of an individual can illuminate particular periods of the past, so too can the stories of the places beneath our feet.

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Bringing school into the classroom:

teaching about twentieth-century social change through the history of education

The Secondary Education and Social Change (SESC) research project team at the University of Cambridge collaborated with four secondary school history teachers to produce resource packs for teaching Key Stage 3 pupils about post-war British social history through the history of secondary education. In this article, Chris Jeppesen explains the focus of the project and the design of the resource packs. He makes a case for teaching post-war British social history and shows the value of education as a lens through which to do so. Hannah Cusworth and Molly Navey, two of the teachers involved, offer their evaluation of the collaborative experience and the design and impact of the resources.

Chris Jeppesen, Molly Navey and Hannah Cusworth

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As teachers know far better than most, secondary schools are not segregated from wider social inequalities or cultural currents. They both reflect and influence these trends. Nor has it ever been any different: schools have always been crucibles of social change.[1] Before the Second World War few children in the UK went to secondary school at all. Although it varied depending on where you lived, only around 20% of 11-year-olds proceeded to secondary school. The rest stayed in elementary school until they were 14 and then went straight to work. The Education Act 1944 (the Butler Act), which introduced free, compulsory, mass secondary education in England and Wales, changed this entirely.[2]

Today, almost everyone makes the transition from primary to secondary school and stays in education and training at least to 18; half of the population stays on in higher education after 18. What difference does all this education make, to the individual and to the society in which we live? And how might the transformation in educational provision and opportunity after 1945 be used to introduce Key Stage 3 pupils to the study of twentieth-century British history?

These questions are the focus of the ongoing research project *Secondary Education and Social Change in the UK since 1945* (SESC), which is based in the University of Cambridge Faculty of History (Figure 1).[3] Over the past year, the SESC team has been working with four secondary school teachers and the Historical Association to turn our research into four high-quality, academically rigorous resource packs for Key Stage 3 pupils. These are summarised in Figure 2. After navigating the various challenges and delays of the past eighteen months, we are ready to launch the packs through the Historical Association's website. They will be freely available to download and can be adapted to meet individual needs. In this article we explain a little more about SESC's research and the Resource Pack project.

Secondary education and social change in the UK since 1945

The SESC research team (Figure 1) are producing a 'bottom up' history of post-war secondary education in the UK from 1945 until the 1990s. At the heart of our research is an ambition to understand better how the experience of mass secondary education was shaped by, and contributed to, wider social transformations in the decades after the Second World War.

Figure 1: The Secondary Education and Social Change (SESC) project

The SESC team
Professor Peter Mandler
Dr Laura Carter
Dr Chris Jeppesen
Dr Annie Thwaite



The SESC project
a 'bottom up' history of post-war secondary education in the UK

1945-1990s

All regions of the UK

England
Scotland
Wales
Northern Ireland



All school types

State schools
- Grammar
- Secondary modern
- Comprehensive *etc.*

Independent schools

Since 1945, the national education system has undergone almost continual restructuring by successive governments. This political narrative, built around accounts of structural reform, such as the transition from grammars and secondary modern schools to comprehensives, and party-political confrontation, dominates many histories of British education.[4] Yet, despite its presence in the life trajectories of almost all those born after the mid-1930s, secondary-level education has remained surprisingly peripheral to many studies of social change in post-war Britain. As a result, we still know relatively little about what parents and pupils wanted, and gained, from secondary education after 1945, and with what consequences for wider society.

The second half of the twentieth century was a period of extraordinary, rapid change. Because it was universal for the first time, secondary schooling acted as a mirror to post-war Britain. It reflected the country's changing income distribution, its changing ideas about social class, its changing opportunities, its changing norms and expectations around gender, race, and religion. In these decades, half the population moved out of manual and industrial work, into skilled and service-sector occupations. The age of marriage dropped to 20 and then rose to 30, reflecting new ideas about gender norms, growing up, and careers. Britain became a multiracial, multicultural society as the ethnic-minority population rose from a mere 1 or 2% to 15%. Religious observance went from a majority to a minority concern. Television ownership reached almost 100% of households! SESC's research focuses on the voices and experiences of pupils, parents, and teachers in order to root these intersecting strands of social change in the world of school. We are interested in what secondary education meant to different groups at different times. We ask how educational experiences and outcomes varied depending on where one lived in the country and explore the ways in which local particularities connected to national debates. We want to know more about how class, race, and gender shaped

Figure 2: Outline of the four resource packs created by teacher-consultants with the SESC project

Education and race – Hannah Cusworth, The Charter School, East Dulwich

What do secondary schools reveal about changing attitudes towards race in England since 1945?

- Focuses on how schooling can be used as a lens to consider societal attitudes towards race in Britain after 1945.
- Offers a chronological survey from the 1940s to the 1980s, which brings to the fore an assessment of change and continuity over time.
- Includes a variety of sources that allow students to engage with the voices and experiences of people of colour.

With videos by Paul Warmington (University of Warwick) and Satya Gunput (Birkbeck, University of London) on the histories of race, racism, and education.

School, gender, and sexuality – Molly Navey, Priory School, Lewes, East Sussex

How does school life seem to have been shaped by changing attitudes to gender and sexuality 1945–2015?

- Introduces students to the interlinked histories of gender and sexuality and how changing attitudes affected pupils' experiences of school.
- Uses a rich array of primary source material to concentrate students' thinking on how historians form their interpretations of the past and the methodological issues they may face in this process.
- Emphasises evidential thinking to help students explore different trends in academic research and social activism.

With videos by Natalie Thomlinson and Amy Gower (University of Reading) on the histories of school, gender, and sexuality.

In what ways do schools reflect change in the United Kingdom since 1945?

Everyday school life – Jonny Sellin, Bottisham Village College, Cambridgeshire

How has everyday life changed in British secondary schools?

- Asks how everyday experiences of secondary school might provide insights into Britain's wider social history after 1945.
- Each lesson focuses on a different theme from everyday life to introduce students to multiple perspectives on the same question.
- Uses a diverse range of sources – from heated exchanges about uniform in the pages of school magazines to nutritionally suspect lunch menus – to develop students' evidential thinking.

With video on the history of the everyday by Claire Langhamer (Director of the Institute of Historical Research).

Social class, social mobility, and education – Andrew Stacey-Chapman, Northallerton School and Sixth Form College, North Yorkshire

How far has mass education been responsible for changes in class and social mobility since 1945?

- By asking students to consider the relationship between social mobility and mass secondary education, this pack offers a new historical perspective on ongoing debates.
- Using a range of quantitative and qualitative sources, the lessons guide students through key educational debates to assess change and continuity over time.
- Develops skills of critical analysis by allowing students to engage directly with the work of historians working on these themes.

With video on the history of class and education by David Cowan (University of Cambridge).

Figure 3: The SESC team with the teacher-consultants

Left to right: Laura Carter, Annie Thwaite, Andrew Stacey-Chapman, Peter Mandler, Molly Navey, Hannah Cusworth, Jonny Sellin, Chris Jeppesen



experiences of school and informed future attitudes; and what led to changes in prevailing attitudes and approaches. Answering these questions necessitates examining change within schools, but equally, looking beyond the school gate to explore, in Hester Barron's eloquent framing, 'what happens if we refuse to let the history of the classroom be constrained by the walls of the school.'[5]

This presents a methodological challenge, however: how can we make sense of such diversity of individual experience to draw wider conclusions? Like many social and cultural historians, we are interested in the relationship between collective social identities, forged through core categories of class, gender, age, and ethnicity, and individual subjectivity (people's conception of themselves). Two research questions emerge from this focus to sit at the heart of the project's agenda:

- How does educational experience affect the course of an individual's whole life – initially as a pupil, and later when entering the labour market, when making decisions as a parent about their children's education, and finally when recounting life narratives in old age?
- How did parents' and pupils' experiences of secondary education relate to their social identities?

Crucially, we want to know how this changed across the period and differed between generations. Our approach is heavily influenced by recent methodological developments in the field of post-1945 British social history. Driven by a desire to historicise the everyday lives of 'ordinary people', historians have pioneered new approaches to illuminate the complex social worlds of individuals and communities.[6] This has required unearthing an eclectic range of sources to access 'vernacular accounts' of social change (rather than more frequently heard expert or political explanations). Materials such as participant interviews from 1950s and 1960s social science research, Mass Observation diaries, day-to-day ephemera (magazines, posters, flyers, fanzines, tv programmes, clothes etc.), and oral history testimonies have allowed historians to develop a more textured appreciation of the ways in which the 'big processes' outlined above became grounded in everyday experience.[7]

During our research, we have drawn on a breadth of primary source material. From longitudinal birth cohort data to school magazines, and from parent activist campaign materials to LEA records, we have tried to capture the diversity of educational experience across the UK and to chart how this changed over the period. These materials appear throughout the resource packs, which we hope will give pupils the opportunity to explore the rich diversity of social historians' source base; and, by working on this material develop as 'fledgling historians' themselves.[8]

Rationale behind the school resource packs

The principle of collaboration is central to SESC's structure and rationale. On a day-to-day level, our research requires us to work together as a team. More significantly, collaboration is embedded in the project's ethos. From inception, we envisaged SESC as a project that would bring together perspectives from different disciplines (history, sociology, education) and engage with teachers working at different levels of the education system (higher and secondary). The project is founded on the belief that by working collaboratively we can widen the scope of our research and engage more diverse audiences.

Within the current climate of Higher Education, the latter goal has instrumental, as well as intellectual, implications. In recent years, academic funding bodies have placed growing emphasis on public engagement and impact initiatives to disseminate academic research more widely.[9] To be eligible for highly competitive funding opportunities, university-based researchers must demonstrate at the outset how they intend to work with partners outside higher education to create opportunities for mutual learning and exchange. For university-based historians, partners might be policy-makers, think-tanks, museums, cultural organisations, charities, or schools.

Impact (as defined by funding bodies) sits alongside and *may* crossover with another recent strategic imperative for universities: widening participation (WP) and outreach. The focus here is on building a more socially-diverse applicant base and a fairer system of admissions. Although this ambition has been strongly pushed by successive governments, its co-ordination, funding, and execution tends to be internal and varies between institutions.

When designing the resource packs, we have kept both WP and impact in mind.[10] The project is funded by two internal University of Cambridge funds, one run by the University of Cambridge Admissions Office, focussed on WP, and the other by the university's Arts and Humanities Impact Fund. Sociological research shows that disparities in academic opportunities and outcomes at Key Stage 3 have longer-term implications in terms of university admissions.[11] History teachers have long recognised the challenge posed, as well as the opportunities offered, by the National Curriculum entitlement for Key Stage 3 pupils to learn about historical interpretations.[12] Moreover, the quality of the Key Stage 3 curriculum is now under greater scrutiny, driven in part by the new Ofsted Education Inspection Framework. At a time, however, when schools' resources are being cut and pressure on teachers' time is rising, there is a risk that pupils in schools with the fewest resources, often located in areas with complex social needs, lose out and, in consequence, entrenched disparities are perpetuated. Such disparities have only become more marked during the Covid-19 pandemic. University-based historians can, and should, do more to help here by providing structured access to up-to-date academic research and primary resources.[13]

University history faculties are well aware of unevenness in undergraduate applications in terms of social class background and ethnicity. A recent study by the Royal Historical Society (RHS) highlighted the systemic barriers that contribute to the under-representation of students from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) backgrounds on many undergraduate history degrees, a disparity that is even more marked at postgraduate and faculty level. One of the key problems identified in the RHS report, and which is regularly raised by teachers, is the absence of Black British history options from Key Stage 3 right through to degree level.[14] The resource packs not only incorporate a focus on Black British experiences in education after 1945 (Figure 2). They also introduce pupils to the use of race, gender, and class as analytical tools with which to think critically about historical change and the popular narratives associated with the post-war period. As the Black Lives Matter protests and associated curriculum debates of the past eighteen months have shown, the way we 'do history' has a profound effect on how students situate their lives in relation to each other and the past.[15]

The decision to concentrate our impact activities on working with secondary school teachers to produce learning resources springs not only from SESC's research focus, but also from the team's long-standing interest in the relationship between secondary and higher education. As president of the Royal Historical Society (2012–16), Peter Mandler contributed extensively during consultations over reforms to the National History Curriculum. He continues to work closely with secondary schools as president of the Historical Association. Chris Jeppesen taught history and politics in secondary schools before his PhD, while Laura Carter worked as a Schools Liaison Officer for a Cambridge college before starting her doctoral research. Like Annie Thwaite, all three have undertaken widening participation and outreach work with schools as part of their university roles. Despite the valuable opportunities this offers to engage directly with school-age students, there are limits to what can be achieved by developing links with individual schools. We thought that our research would have greater impact on a larger number of students if we used it to develop a series of high-quality curriculum resources that use schools and education as a lens to help students explore post-war British social and cultural history.

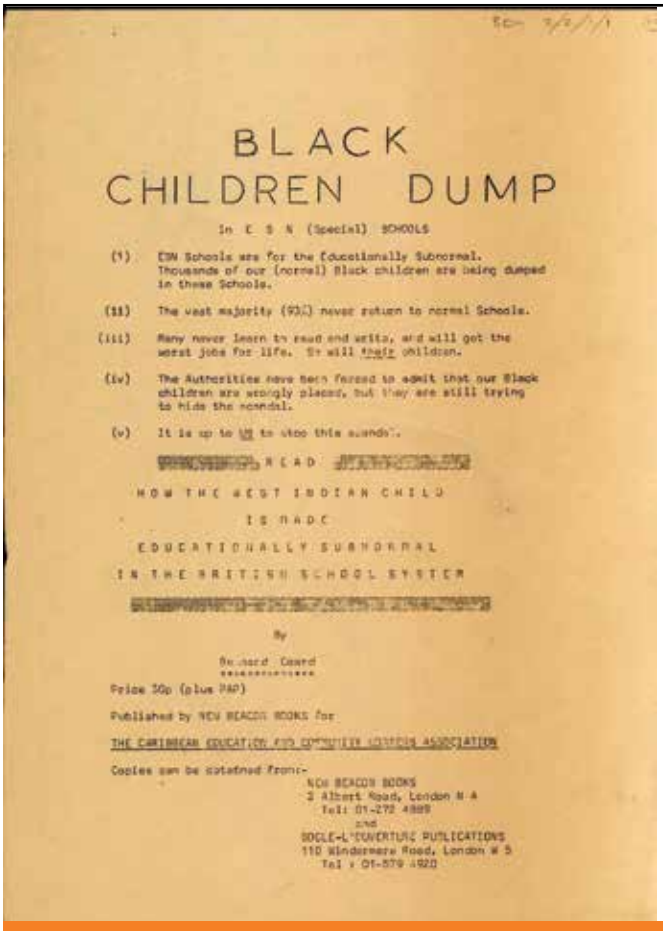
For some time, we have shared the concerns of a number of secondary-school teachers (articulated in print and private conversation) over a general lack of post-war British social and cultural history on many school curricula – both at Key Stage 3 and in exam syllabuses.[16] Where students do study post-1945 British history at A-level, their knowledge tends to be grounded in the political changes of the period. While this means undergraduates studying British history arrive at university with rich empirical knowledge, many are less confident when asked to engage with categories of analysis such as class, race, and gender. When students are familiar with these conceptual tools, their understanding tends to come from A-level sociology, rather than A-level history.

The ongoing focus on political – or top-down, event-led – history in many popular GCSE and A-level exam syllabuses is out of step with recent methodological moves in university history faculties, and especially among historians of modern Britain. Over the past twenty years or so, there has been a concerted effort among university historians to break out of the disciplinary distinctions between the political, the social, and the cultural, to understand better how these categories are mutually constitutive. We want our students to think about how the everyday worlds of those ordinary people mentioned above, shaped their understanding of, and participation in, processes of change and continuity. The resource packs are intended to introduce school-age pupils to these themes and ideas in a rigorous, but accessible and engaging way.

The Secondary Education and Social Change resource packs

We quickly realised that accomplishing this ambition would not be straightforward. The best such collaborations, however,

Figure 4: Selected slides from the resource pack on Education and Race, created by Hannah Cusworth



BLACK
CHILDREN DUMP

In E S N (Special) SCHOOLS

(i) ESN Schools are for the Educationally Subnormal. Thousands of our [normal] Black children are being dumped in these Schools.

(ii) The vast majority (95%) never return to normal Schools.

(iii) Many never learn to read and write, and will get the worst jobs for life. So will their children.

(iv) The Authorities have been forced to admit that our Black children are wrongly placed, but they are still trying to hide the scandal.

(v) It is up to US to stop this scandal.

READ

HOW THE WEST INDIAN CHILD
IS MADE
EDUCATIONALLY SUBNORMAL
IN THE BRITISH SCHOOL SYSTEM

By

Bernard Coard

Price 30p (plus P&P)

Published by NEW BEACON BOOKS for

THE CARIBBEAN EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY WORKERS ASSOCIATION

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76 Stroud Green Road, London N 4
Tel: 01-272 4889
and
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110 Windermere Road, London N 5
Tel : 01-809 4920

What does the source say?

Challenge: What could it reveal about attitudes towards race?

Source: Flyer advertising Bernard Coard's book *How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System*, by The Caribbean Education and Community Workers Association, 1971

Image courtesy of George Padmore Institute

Secondary Education and Social Change in the UK since 1945, (University of Cambridge) https://sesc.hist.cam.ac.uk/

Lesson 4: Realisation?

What does this source suggest multicultural education is?

[page 180]

TABLE 1

Attitudes to Multi-Cultural Education*

... respondents were asked whether or not they thought that schools containing many children whose parents came from other countries and cultures should adopt special policies. Such policies included:

	% Agreeing
Providing special classes in English if required;	77
Teaching all children about the history and culture of these countries;	74
Allowing those for whom it is important to wear traditional dress;	43
Teaching children (from different backgrounds) about the history and culture of their parents' countries or origin;	40
Providing separate religious instruction if their parents request it; and	32
Allowing these children to study their mother tongue in school hours	16

This table is from the Swann Report (1984).

It reports findings from the British Social Attitudes Survey (1984), which asked around 4,000 people their attitudes on a variety of issues. The sample was designed to be representative of British society as a whole.

Use the 'special policies' to discuss what the Swann Report committee thought 'multicultural education' is.

Secondary Education and Social Change in the UK since 1945, (University of Cambridge) https://sesc.hist.cam.ac.uk/

Lesson 6: Multiculturalism?

Figure 5: Extracts from the work of two Year 9 students at the end of Molly's enquiry

These previous ideas about gender and sexuality radically changed in the 1960s. For example, while girls had been pushed into single-sex schools, the radical cultural upheaval of the 1960s brought with it an abundance of co-educational schools open to those from all backgrounds. However, there was still a long way to go… We can use visual sources, such as floorplans used for school buildings in the '60s to demonstrate that despite schools rapidly becoming more co-educational, classrooms were still divided by gender. The source reveals that boys and girls were still… pressured into taking subjects that corresponded with their assigned gender role in society.

The creation of secondary modern schools allowed for all children to attend secondary school until the age of 14.

This change allowed girls to attend secondary education in larger numbers than before, as boys had dominated grammar schools' 11+ exams and the norms of the time forbade girls from learning trades like woodwork or plumbing at technical schools. However, secondary modern pupils did not take GCE exams ('O-levels'), reducing the chance for girls to enter well-paid jobs. There was also a so-called 'hidden curriculum' as can be evidenced by textbooks: physics textbooks would usually show pictures of boys, for instance, while home economics textbooks would show girls.

have the potential to deliver richly innovative results. These are regularly attested in the pages of *Teaching History*. This project owes an intellectual debt to three ground-breaking collaborations between university-based researchers and secondary-level teachers which demonstrated the possibilities of combining vivid primary source materials with insights from historians explaining their research process: Our Migration Story, Women's Suffrage: history and citizenship resources for schools, and David Hibbert and Zaiba Patel's collaboration with Oxford-based historian Yasmin Khan.[17]

We began the process of recruiting our teacher-consultants through a series of illuminating conversations with local teachers, the Historical Association, and PGCE coordinators. All recommended direct collaboration with current secondary school teachers, whose pedagogical expertise could turn our archival research and historiographical knowledge into usable classroom resources. Andrew Stacey-Chapman, Hannah Cusworth, Jonny Sellin and Molly Navey joined the project in August 2020 and worked on the resource packs through the Covid-19 disruptions of the following year (Figure 3). Our planned in-person progress workshops had to be moved online, and we became increasingly reliant on the generosity of numerous archivists, who provided us with digital access to material. Nonetheless, the end results are testament to our teachers' creativity, patience, and professional skill.

The four resource packs, summarised in Figure 2, are oriented around an overarching enquiry question: *In what ways do schools reflect change in the United Kingdom since 1945?* Each takes a different conceptual theme as its focus, which is unpacked through an enquiry-specific research question.[18] In organising the packs around the themes of gender and sexuality, social class and social mobility, race, and everyday life we are asking Key Stage 3 pupils to engage with concepts and ideas more common in undergraduate classrooms. Our teacher-consultants suggested, however, that the end of Key Stage 3 offers an opportunity to introduce pupils to new disciplinary approaches and skills, and that we should not underestimate pupils' capacity to rise to this challenge.[19] All were keen to develop resources which would illuminate the relationship between local and national histories. Bringing their own schools and local areas into the foreground can engage pupils and help them relate to the history, but also allow teachers to use these familiar settings as gateways into more prominent historical narratives.[20]

All our teacher-consultants saw potential in using SESC's primary source collections to introduce pupils to an expansive cast of historical actors who are rarely encountered in politically-focused topics, and who reflected the diversity of British society after 1945.[21] They also highlighted the value of developing the resource packs in a way that gave pupils insight into how 'historians' conduct historical research and the chance to develop these techniques for themselves. To this end, each pack contains at least one video of a university-based historian talking about their research interests and describing how they would approach two of the sources included in the pack. These are then used to frame associated learning activities.

While the packs were first envisaged as a four-part jigsaw and can be taught as such, we appreciate that schools are unlikely to have space in the Year 9 curriculum to teach more than one. With this in mind, each has been designed as a stand-alone enquiry, exploring the relationship between education and one aspect of social change. Even so, there is a consistency of ambition and philosophy across all four. Each is based on extensive primary source material, emphasises core disciplinary skills and concepts, and follows a broadly similar framework. The packs contain a series of seven PowerPoint slides (each covering one lesson), a collection of primary source material and teaching resources, and a comprehensive set of teacher's notes to help outline the

underlying rationale. The relevant sections of the historian videos are embedded in the PowerPoints and can be viewed in full by following the links in the teacher's notes. We hope that the resources might also prove useful for secondary pupils post-14, and the primary resource base should also be of interest to post-16 students. It is important to add that we anticipate that teachers will adapt the packs as necessary to meet individual circumstance and would very much like to hear about how this is done.

Creating the resource packs: one teacher's approach

Hannah offers her insights into the planning of her resource pack and its rationale.

Hannah Cusworth

What was your rationale in creating your particular resource pack?

My pack focused on race and ethnicity. Although SESC is about post-war education, I felt it was really important to begin my pack before the Second World War, so as not to play into the idea that Britain was all white before the arrival of the *Windrush* in 1948. From this foundation, I shaped the rest of my pack to help teachers and pupils to explore post-war histories of race through the lens of secondary education. I thought that the familiar starting point (secondary education) would help to ground pupils and give them a way into these complex histories. The pack includes a wide range of sources, including oral history interviews, material from parents' campaigns, photographs, and pupils' writing (Figure 4). While there was definitely change over the course of the period, that change was not linear. It was tough to balance the accessibility of the enquiry with the nuances of the evidence, and to grapple with shifting, complex ideas such as race.

My undergraduate thesis was about post-war Black British history and so I was relatively familiar with some aspects of the topic. I had looked at primary source material from the Black Parents Movement, for example. I was completely ignorant of other important histories, however, particularly bussing, before starting the project. The enquiry supports pupils to develop core disciplinary skills by engaging with how, in the accompanying video, historians Paul Warmington and Satya Gunput form historical interpretations using some of the primary source material included in the pack. It is such a rich, complex topic, full of heart-breaking stories and triumphant campaigns. I think there is real power in teaching these histories to today's pupils.

Evaluation of the project collaboration

Two of our teacher-consultants offer their feedback here on the experience of collaborating with the SESC team on this project.

Molly Navey

How did you find the collaborative element of this project?

As history teachers, we are always striving to include genuine historical questions in the classroom and there could be no better way than working with the historians themselves! Through workshops with the SESC team, I was able to learn a great deal about their research and their vast range of primary source material. This really enriched my knowledge, and that of my pupils, as I began to incorporate the primary sources into the Gender and Sexuality Key Stage 3 resource pack. The collaboration has been effective in ensuring that my pupils explore how academics form their interpretations of history, especially connecting this to the real evidence used by the SESC team and other researchers of this area. It was also a great opportunity to study post-1945 British history with pupils. This is often under-explored in secondary education.

Hannah Cusworth

How did you find the collaborative element of this project?

Collaborating with other teachers and historians was a really interesting experience. It gave me an insight into how professional historians work, especially on a funded research project such as SESC. As a teacher, I always tried to discuss with my pupils how historians worked and used sources but working on this project made me realise that I only had a relatively basic idea myself!

Often, when creating enquiries, I start with a finished piece of scholarship. With this project, after doing some preliminary reading, we based the enquiry on the sources and I found that really challenging. It definitely pushed me outside of my comfort zone as suddenly I was both researcher and teacher.

Trialling and evaluating the resource packs

Molly Navey had the opportunity to trial her resource pack with her Year 9 pupils in the summer term of 2021. Here, she offers some evaluation of this.

Molly Navey

You were able to trial the pack with your Year 9s, how did it go?

When piloting the enquiry, I was struck by pupils' ability to make clear links between the various claims made by academic historians and the primary sources they used as evidence to support these claims. Extracts from two pupils' work, in which they refer to particular sources and relate these to the claims they had studied, are shown in Figure 5. Returning to the argument of one historian each lesson supported pupils across the attainment range in analysing how attitudes to gender and sexuality changed and, consequently, the changing experience of school life.

I was also struck by pupils' attempts to make connections between their own experiences of secondary education and those of pupils from 1945 onwards, particularly in terms of changing attitudes to gender and sexuality over this time. It was great to hear so many pupils share their own parents' and grandparents' experience of education, having gone home and asked questions related to the lessons. This was many pupils' first experience of learning about post-1945 British social history outside the realms of the Cold War. Many left lessons with a clear sense that the social and civil rights movements they know about in the US and South Africa have direct parallels in the experience of young people in Britain at the same time.

Since piloting the scheme, I have re-evaluated the range of source material and the enquiry focus to ensure pupils have a clearer sense of the complexity and range of experiences in post-war Britain. For my own context, I have also now introduced local examples of schools and youth groups in the post-war period within East Sussex, which I will share with Year 9 pupils later this year. I hope that the finished Gender and Sexuality resource pack reflects this process of collaboration with historians, and offers those who choose to use it a chance to reflect further on this fascinating area of British history.

Concluding thoughts

It is difficult to express just how fortunate and privileged we, the SESC team, feel to have worked with this group of outstanding teachers. Even amidst the stresses and tribulations of the pandemic, Andrew, Hannah, Jonny and Molly were unwaveringly enthusiastic, intellectually engaged, and inspiringly imaginative in turning our inchoate hopes into tangible, high-quality classroom resources. Another lockdown put paid to our plan to pilot the packs in schools during spring 2021. Molly and Andrew did, however, trial their packs with their Year 9s with very positive results, as Molly analyses above. Following a panel at the Historical Association conference in May, we made pilot lessons publicly available. These again generated encouraging feedback. We hope that the final versions of the packs realise our ambition to provide an innovative and engaging introduction for Key Stage 3 pupils to the pleasure of studying post-1945 British history. They will be available through the Historical Association website from December. Please have a look and let us know how you get on.

The SESC project team can be contacted by email at: sesc@hist.cam.ac.uk
Find them on Twitter @Sesc_Cam

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Cunning Plan

… for building difference into GCSE curriculum design

Many history teachers have been busy making space in their curriculum plans for different sorts of histories. This process, as Priyamavda Gopal has argued (in response to claims that moves to decolonise the curriculum constitute an attempt to censor history by editing out those bits viewed as 'stains' on the nation's past') involves putting 'the offensive bits back in' – properly acknowledging the histories of race, empire and slavery.[1] The Historical Association's (HA) 2021 survey of history teaching in secondary schools revealed that, in England, some 83% of respondents' schools had recently made substantial changes to their Key Stage 3 curriculum in order to address issues of diversity.[2] In fact, the stories now acknowledged within the lower secondary school curriculum include not only those of Britain's empire and of Black and Asian British history, but also those of other, often marginalised groups: women, the poor and working classes, disabled people and those whom we now identify as LGBTQ+.

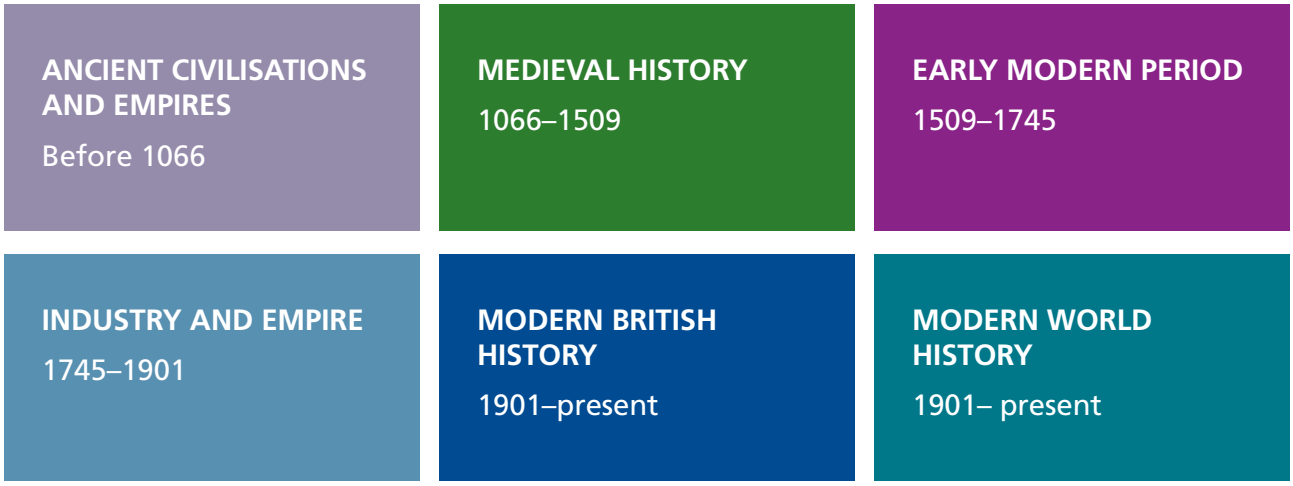
Although there has been less innovation at GCSE, the question of whose history is represented in what is taught is clearly now on department agendas. Almost one-third of respondents in England (32%) indicated that they were contemplating or had set in motion some changes at this level too.[3] Taking a view of the curriculum as the progression model, teachers are seeking ways to build on students' knowledge, capitalising on the way in which content taught in previous years could 'unlock' content that they would be studying later.[4] Obviously in the context of public examinations, teachers are constrained by each board's particular specification, which means that there is much less room for manoeuvre. Nonetheless, well-worn narratives can be rendered more complex and nuanced, challenging students' assumptions and building their confidence to engage in complication.[5] If students are confronted with problems within the specified periods and encouraged to think deeply about them, they can offer more complete answers when it comes to tackling exam questions.

As Hallie Rubenhold says, history is a 'dynamic and shape-shifting subject' and many young people, who have seen some seismic shifts in their short lives, are ready to be open and creative with their thinking.[6] Highlighting the way in which 'historical scholarship has continuously broadened the range and diversity of the people and forms of human behaviour' that it explores, the HA has joined with other umbrella bodies in UK history education (the Royal Historical Society, the Institute of Historical Research, and the Schools History Project) and with the Runnymede Trust, an independent think-tank concerned with race equality, in calling for the content of both GCSE and A-level specifications to be regularly reviewed and updated in the light of current scholarship.[7] Such changes are already happening. Edexcel, the only one of the three main exam boards in England that did not originally offer a study of migration as one of its thematic studies, has recently added such a unit to its GCSE specification.[8]

Recent issues of *Teaching History* have also included examples of departments making changes within their current examined units – such as those reported by Claire Holliss in this issue.[9] Yet the HA survey also reveals the obstacles that teachers face in undertaking such curriculum renewal: the lack of time cited as an important challenge by 53% of those who *had* made changes at Key Stage 3, and worries about insufficient subject knowledge cited by 49%.[10] An important tool in tacking the second of these problems is offered by RETEACH, a new free-to-use resource providing teachers with user-friendly guides written by subject experts.[11] RETEACH is supported by the Authors' Licensing and Collecting Society (ALCS), a non-profit writers' collective whose members receive fees from the Copyright Licensing Agency (CLA) for the use of their works in schools (when short sections are photocopied or scanned for student use). The income generated by the CLA licence plays an important role in supporting educational writers and allows them to create new resources for teachers and pupils. By offering RETEACH as a free resource as part of the CLA licence, ALCS seeks to support both writers and teachers as part of a sustainable and mutually beneficial model. The six main content categories (set out in Figure 1) have been chosen in consultation with the Historical Association.

Within each content area, a series of reading lists is presented in relation to selected topics, each intended to provide guidance on how to introduce fresh and often neglected perspectives into the curriculum. This direction towards specific texts helps to ensure that the knowledge and understanding that teachers are seeking to develop in young people are effectively connected to the ongoing scholarly endeavour.[12] For each topic, a short video is provided along with initial stimulus material intended to open up debate. Teaching teams can either diagnose their own needs and select

Figure 1: The six broad historical periods by which content is organised on the RETEACH site



elements from the resources offered to incorporate into their lessons or follow the suggested guidance on how to approach traditional topics from a new angle. The site also seeks to alert teachers to parallel developments elsewhere that might be of interest, following the inspiration of the 'Meanwhile elsewhere…' crowd-sourced resource.[13] All the content has been produced by subject experts with a commitment to providing more inclusive narratives and shedding light on overlooked perspectives. Going forward, a content board will allow proposals for new topics to be examined in this way, while Simon Beale and Andrew Sweet, co-founders of the History Teacher's Book Club, have plans to align the future selection of books with content on the RETEACH site.[14]

Figure 2 sets out some of the most frequently taught GCSE units, allowing departments to identify topics on the RETEACH site that that could be approached though a different lens to illuminate the unseen or to

Figure 2: Possible approaches to popular GCSE topics suggested by materials on the RETEACH site

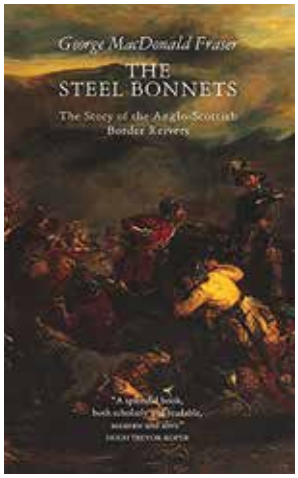
GCSE topic	Possible lens to illuminate unseen or neglected aspects
Nazi Germany	Homosexuality and disability Humanising Holocaust study through survivor testimony Teaching the Holocaust beyond the Auschwitz narrative Muslim rescuers of the Holocaust
Medicine	Arabic science and the House of Wisdom Women in early medicine
The Norman Conquest	Women in the Norman Conquest English resistance to the Norman Conquest
Elizabethan England	Elizabeth's rulership, gender and authority Border Reivers Black Tudors from the Tudor perspective Spies and spymasters Royal women of the Mughal Empire ('Meanwhile elsewhere…') A reinterpretation of the life of Mary Tudor Elizabeth and Mary Stuart: a complex rivalry
Crime and punishment	The Gunpowder Plot Witchcraft: a social and cultural case Gender bias in the police investigation of the Whitechapel murders The Whitechapel murders from the victims' perspectives
Migrants in Britain	Black people in Roman Britain The hidden history of BAME communities in Britain's past Irish perspectives on the Great Famine Racial tension in working-class Britain Modern migration and the refugee experience

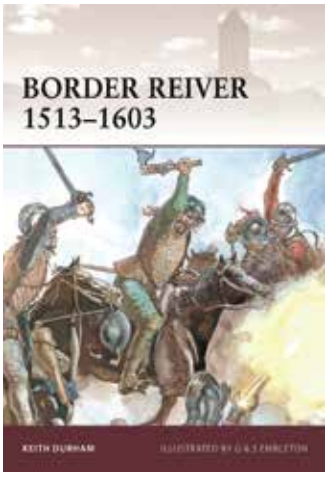
ensure better representation of the past. Sarah Wilde, a history teacher at Kingsway School in Manchester who has trialled some of the resources, highlights the way in which the site can be used to support both long- and short-term planning: providing an invaluable guide in identifying reading that might be shared out across the teachers in a department (or across different schools within an academy trust), also equipping teachers with relevant quotations that epitomise different interpretations, sharpening the focus of existing enquiries or providing powerful stimulus material. As she reflected in sharing her experience:

> *It's been on my to-do list for many years now to trawl through the back copies of* BBC History *magazine or the collection of* BBC Teach *clips to see where I can make better reference to important debates and controversies within the discipline. The reality is that, even with gained time and the greatest will in the world, this never happens. The beauty of RETEACH is that someone has effectively gone to the trouble of doing this for you.*

The following example illustrates how the RETEACH suggestions transformed my own teaching of Anglo-Scottish relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, using Key Stage 3 lessons to establish a much richer and more nuanced picture of cross-border rivalry. As Rosemary Rees suggests on the RETEACH site, our teaching of relations between England and Scotland (at Key Stages 3 and 4) had essentially focused on Bannockburn, Mary Queen of Scots, the Union of the Crowns, and the Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745.[15] Reading Rees's claim that 'between 1513 and 1603 the Anglo-Scottish borderlands witnessed a period of lawlessness more intense than any seen elsewhere in Europe' raised a series of questions for my students – at school within those borderlands – giving us an entirely new way into the period. What form did the lawlessness take? Why was it happening? Where exactly? Who was involved?

The Steel Bonnets, by George MacDonald Fraser, to which the RETEACH site directed us, became an invaluable guide, and it was clear we had been missing a powerful opportunity here.[16] The Scottish and English people who raided the entire border country without regard to their victims' nationality, from the thirteenth





to the seventeenth centuries, shared their last names with many of our students – a fact we first revealed through a commemorative tea-towel![17] Astounded by 'their' place in history, Key Stage 3 students tracked the geographical influence of the Border Reivers from Edinburgh to Lancashire, focusing particularly on the familiar towns and villages along Hadrian's Wall. We went on to examine the design and purpose of the fortified dwellings – the pele towers – dotted across the 'debatable land' and the importance of Carlisle Castle and the Warden of the Marches. We also investigated the etymology of words such as be-reived (bereaved) based on the rape, pillage and plunder that occurred, especially in the sixteenth century. Detailed study of one specific local example – that of arch-reiver and state prisoner, Kinmont Willie Armstrong, who escaped following a raid on Carlisle Castle in 1596, infuriating both Robert Cecil and Elizabeth herself – played a powerful role in developing students' mental image of the period. The world that we had built for students (to borrow Mike Hill's phrase) was one to which we could regularly refer as we later engaged with our GCSE exam specification's focus on the rebellion of the northern earls and the incarceration of Mary Queen of Scots, first in Carlisle and then in South Yorkshire and the Midlands, well away from the northern marches.[18]

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14 https://twitter.com/historybookgrp

15 Rosemary Rees, https://reteach.org.uk/subject/history/the-border-reivers

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What's the wisdom on…



history assessment?

The purpose of this guide

This short guide provides new history teachers with an overview of the 'story so far' of many years of practice-based professional thinking about a particular aspect of history teaching. It draws on tried and tested approaches arising from teachers with many years of experimenting, researching, practising, writing and debating their classroom experience. It therefore synthesises core messages from key *Teaching History* articles, blogs and other publications. The guide includes a range of practical planning suggestions suitable for any key stage and signposts the basic reading essentials for new professionals.

A cautionary tale

Between 1991 and 1995, secondary history teachers in England and Wales had something of a collective awakening about assessment. It followed a huge policy shift in history education: history's first National Curriculum, rolled out in 1991.

History's NC had three 'Attainment Targets', each with 10 levels. Each level was a 'statement of attainment' in disciplinary thinking or skill. Attainment Target 1 went on for ever. It had three strands – causation, change and similarity/difference – resulting in 30 separate statements of attainment. Attainment Target 2 was interpretations of history; Attainment Target 3 was sources. Substantive knowledge was prescribed in the programmes of study but not mentioned in the statements of attainment.

It soon all went horribly wrong. But analysis at the time was swift and sharp, so much so that a big policy shift occurred by 1995. So what did they realise had gone wrong?

History teachers had started using the statements as mark-schemes. For a task addressing Strand A in Attainment Target 1, teachers might tick off 'distinguish between different kinds of historical change' (Level 5) or 'show an understanding that change and progress are not the same' (Level 6). Meanwhile, over in causation, we moved from 'identify different types of cause' (Level 5) to 'recognise causes can vary in importance' (Level 6) to 'show how causes of an event are connected' (Level 7).

If you use such summative statements as mark-schemes for ordinary work, you start to create paths to desperate history. You start to reward absence of thinking and absence of knowledge. The statements could be gamed with a formula. All you had to do was memorise four 'types' of change and slap them onto the content whenever a suspected change hove into view. Make links between causes? Easy. Go link crazy. Hey presto, Level 7.

Even when taken seriously, such statements could not reflect a meaningful hierarchy of difficulty. Linking or prioritising causes can be tough or easy for 8-year-olds… or for post-doctoral students. Difficulty depends on the range, complexity and specificity of content, as well as the question asked.

The disconnect between knowledge and disciplinary thinking had other strange consequences. Some teachers just taught the content, and then reached for an 'assessment' based on the levels! This was weird in two ways. First, how could pupils discuss causality without any focused practice in it? Second, how could this give assurance that pupils were gaining adequate knowledge?

The assessment framework began to affect teaching in bizarre ways. Some history teachers put 'statement of attainment' ladders on walls or even made pupils memorise them.

All-change in 1995! Lessons learned?

By 1993, it was clear that something must be done. Even those teachers not yet realising the above dangers complained about the workload of recording against all those criteria. Similar problems in other subjects led to a call to slim down the whole NC.

Fast forward to the 1995 NC – a very different beast. No more multi-stranded attainment targets with numerous tiny statements about little bits of skill or thinking. No more separation of disciplinary thinking from the substantive content. Now, at each level, all facets of historical accomplishment were blended in a single Level Description, a longish paragraph which could only be used in a 'best fit' way, at the end of a key stage.

This last was crucial. The new Level Descriptions were not to be used on single pieces of work. At policy level, even the civil servants were clear: a final performance should *not* be confused with the means of its nurture! Never again would formative assessment ape summative statements! Never again would *learning* be confused with *performance!*

For ordinary, routine assessment, from week to week, teachers were now to use whatever worked best to check that pupils really were building knowledge and thinking historically. They could use vocabulary tests, timelines, reading tasks, essays, diagrams… whatever teacher judgement decreed. Teachers would assess what they had taught.

Lest anyone made the dreadful mistake of using the summative levels for assessing ordinary progress, official guidance went to great lengths to stress that Level Descriptions were not even for *end-of-year* assessments; they were for *end-of-key-stage*. Pupils could now get better at history in focused, history-sensitive ways, building wide knowledge and tackling a growing richness of historical problems.

For a while, fruitful experimentation flourished.

History repeats itself…. twice!

If you've taught for twenty years, you'll know that this tale was repeated …twice.

The first repeat began in the early 2000s. Experienced history teachers watched in horror as school leaders began to demand that Level Descriptions (often chopped into even tinier bits than the 1991 NC) be applied to individual pieces of work. In 2004, Ofsted's history lead criticised this practice. In the same year, Burnham and Brown (***TH 115***) launched their rallying cry of resistance:

> *Turning Level Descriptions into little stages presents history to pupils as colouring by numbers: 'If I include 4 good reasons, make links, use paragraphs and find two evidence examples, I'll be at Level 5.2X*!!'.*

But by 2010, to resist was to hold back the sea. By then, even Ofsted expected pupils to know which level they were on! Summative assessments were being used for a purpose for which they were not designed.

The second liberation occurred in 2014 when Level Descriptions were abolished. But collective memory was short. History repeated itself, yet again. Into many schools in England came another levelling system – another skill hierarchy – the GCSE mark-scheme, and even GCSE grades. No policy change led this. No one mandated it.

But school leaders wanted what they *thought* was precise prediction.

This was all the problems of 1991 plus new ones. GCSE markschemes do not even purport to be a progression model. They are not a journey towards improving historical thinking or knowledge, nor even towards success in GCSE itself.

For the third time in twenty-five years, rigorous history assessment was forced underground.

History teachers to the rescue

A much more positive story runs alongside this. During brief periods of liberation and darker days of wonky systems, many history teachers never stopped exploring useful assessment. They never stopped debating how to define a gold standard in history and check on progress towards it.

And for now, at least, some wider contexts of inspection, policy, assessment theory and research are more favourable to sensible assessment. Well beyond the history classroom, a head of steam has built *against* the use of generic skill hierarchies to capture progress and *against* frequent summative assessments to show it. We might summarise these as follows:

- ***Recent assessment theory,*** such as that of Daniel Koretz, shows how student progess is undermined by teaching to the test rather than to a subject's full domain.[1]
- ***Cognitive science*** emphasises how schemata in long-term memory fundamentally change how the brain perceives new material. We need multiple, connected reference points for speedy recognition of vocabulary and flexible thinking. Broad knowledge therefore matters. Funnelling assessment into the skill descriptors of final performance detracts from the build-up of background knowledge.
- ***Ofsted's 2019 framework*** reflects these shifts. The whole curriculum is what changes the pupil, so assess mastery of the curriculum. This is why Ofsted criticises the use of GCSE mark-schemes at Key Stage 3. The *curriculum* (as opposed to a skill hierarchy or final performance descriptor) is the progression model.[2]

The solutions that follow have not, however, arisen because of policy makers, nor because of Ofsted's change of heart, nor because of newly popularised research in cognitive science. The solutions predate these things. They have arisen from history teachers staring hard at what actually makes a difference for pupils, staring hard at history itself and refusing to accept practices that make nonsense data or terrible history.

And it will be down to history teachers to keep all this alive and renewed.

Key principles

1) Make the most of routine, informal assessment

Good formative assessment is ongoing, embedded and diagnostic. A major part of this is the informal assessment that forms a teacher's regular, ordinary feedback loop. Each time you listen to a pupil or read their work you are assessing what they have understood, what they have retained and how they can use it. Like all assessment, a measure of its usefulness is whether it helps you to improve your teaching and your curriculum.

Routine, informal assessment gives you instant feedback on your teaching. In their writing or speaking, a pupil might reveal a narrative confusion, fail to recall a suitable abstract term, use anachronism in a suggestion of causes or muddle the material conditions of two different settings.

This can influence your response on differing timescales:

- *You might fix it immediately* in your feedback, whether to whole class or individual, or in a re-worked lesson conclusion (see Worth ***TH 173***). This could be as simple as requiring pupils to practise a phrase or promptly clarifying the implications of an historical state of affairs.

- *You might re-plan the next lesson*. Perhaps you decide that the remedy is to revisit an earlier story or to supply more period detail in the next. Perhaps you decide to add in a visual source that will obviate a misconception or challenge narrow, single-track historical reasoning.
- *You might re-think part of your curriculum* (perhaps with colleagues). Were our medieval African examples rich enough in that lesson sequence to obviate this confusion about evidence? Should our stories about the cult of the saints come much earlier, in order to ensure that medieval reaction to disease is understood? Do we need longer to prepare them to read a particular text?

Such responsive assessment is a natural part of good history teaching because all historical learning is dialogic and relational. It is dialogic because you are always trying to understand and to respond to your own pupils' developing mental models of the past and of how historians work. It is relational because you are always finding optimal moments for sharing your own fascination with the past, your own continuing study of it and your own connection with its ever-changing interpretation.

2) Vary your formative assessment: diagnose from all angles!

Knowing and doing history are multi-faceted. But if we regularly put *together* insights from different kinds of tasks, rather than relying on any one of them to do too many jobs, we will have a better understanding of a pupil's growing knowledge, vocabulary and thinking.

Some of these will be responsive and adaptive (such as those in (1) above). Some will be tasks which we've planned to embed in a lesson sequence. Some will be larger tasks, such as extended writing for answering an enquiry question or a formal test.

Such assessment moments need also to vary their focus. Fordham (copying Aristotle) called this a 'mixed constitution', by which he meant that no one approach can spotlight all aspects of how well pupils are mastering the overall history curriculum and being changed by it.[3] For example, you might:

- Use speedy time-line tests to check pupils are secure in events just studied or where they fit into a chronology stretching across two years' work (use Carr and Counsell ***TH 157***).
- Set up a pupil discussion involving use of a term. Burnham and Brown (***TH 115***) set short oral tasks in which they could hear immediately who was still unsure of the term 'imperialism', who was operating with a limited idea of the term and who was ready to be challenged by questioning its boundaries.
- Start each lesson by checking pupils remember essentials from previous lessons. Drawing inspiration from the 'Previously on…' technique of many TV series, Canning (***TH 179***) shares an imaginative and practical way to do this.
- Do quick knowledge tests to check that certain frameworks, vocabulary or dates are secure. Donaghy (***TH 157***) repeated the same tests at intervals.
- Have pupils develop and demonstrate their knowledge *and* thinking from a sequence of lessons by answering the enquiry question that governed that sequence, in an essay or other extended task. For examples of this working in different types of disciplinary thinking, see other What's the Wisdom On features such as that on causation in ***TH 175*** or change/continuity in ***TH 179***.
- Use a focused visual assessment. In ***TH 130*** Stanford describes a drawing task which captured his pupils' understanding of Renaissance ideas.

Remember that any such task doubles its value by *also* acting as the 'retrieval practice' which strengthens memory. It is therefore never *just* an assessment; it is also part of planned learning.

3) Isolate it …

Each of the above involves either isolating things or integrating things. Assessment, like teaching, always involves deciding whether to isolate *components* or to integrate a *composite* of several components.

When Fordham developed the idea of the 'mixed constitution', this is what he meant. He drew inspiration from how music teachers assess progress in learning a musical instrument. This might range from playing scales, to aural tests which reveal theoretical knowledge and harmonic memory, to playing rehearsed pieces of various genres, to sight-reading with unseen music, to improvisation and composition. Too much of one, at the expense of the other, might distort the impression of progress.

History is just as complex. We need to check on underlying components and to look at the rich composites of open, interpretive tasks which require blends of recall and reasoning.

Isolating components might mean asking pupils to:

- Tackle simple recall questions, 'Who introduced…?' 'What do we call…?' When was…? A simple tot-up of marks can confirm who is and isn't secure.
- Answer multiple-choice questions designed to check for misconceptions (i.e. *not* just for straight recall). Stanford in ***TH 168*** illustrates smart multiple-choice questions such as: 'Would a medieval person think the following things?'
- Create or complete a timeline from memory, sequencing and/or dating events.
- Write just one paragraph to answer a tricky open question such as 'How powerful were medieval kings?' The pupils' range and comprehension of relevant historical knowledge will surface quite quickly, exposing gaps and faulty assumptions.

We can also shine a spotlight on just one feature through an extended task. As part of an enquiry examining medieval politics through stories of powerful women, Carr (***TH 184***) peers into pupils' extended writing to examine one thing – pupils' conceptions of medieval power and authority.

4) …or integrate it

History teachers have traditionally drawn substantive and disciplinary knowledge together through an extended, end-of-sequence task in which pupils answer the enquiry question

that has driven the lesson sequence journey. As Brown and Burnham (***TH 157***) put it, 'These enquiry-based tasks ensure that assessment is integral to the teaching, bringing together the learning that has taken place rather than being bolted on at the end of a topic.'

Numerous articles in *Teaching History* illustrate this in detail. Mills (***TH 182***) has his pupils answer, 'Was there a mid-Tudor crisis in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I?' This question proceeds naturally from the previous eight lessons in which the idea of 'crisis' is repeatedly revisited and questioned through new content. The pupils' concluding essays allowed Mills to assess how nuanced his pupils' reflection on the concept of 'crisis' had become and how growing knowledge and focused problem-solving were achieving this.

Worth (***TH 184***) concluded a five-lesson enquiry with 'What do oral traditions reveal about the rise and fall of the Inka empire?' Her enquiry moved through different types of source – archaeological finds, landscape features, oral tradition and Spanish accounts. In the last lesson, Worth's pupils answered the enquiry question with two paragraphs, each on a different story from Inka oral tradition. Through these, Worth discerned how well her pupils were establishing and weighing evidence from diverse sources.

For more examples, see 'What's the wisdom on enquiry questions' in ***TH 178***.[4]

5) Make the recording fit the assessment

Ongoing, embedded, diagnostic assessment does not necessarily need a numerical record in a mark book. But it might need a written note: perhaps some pointers for whole-class feedback, some reminders to tweak the next lesson or to give different support to Pupil X, some annotations to the curriculum to share with colleagues. What matters is that information from assessment is precise, meaningful (not buried behind numbers) and practically useful.

Burnham and Brown (***TH 115***) illustrate imaginative, simple and practical devices for mark books such as a sentence of qualitative comment or a simple coding system to highlight pupils who need specific additional work. As they note, this 'is extremely valuable data. It can be used by the individual teacher and by the whole department in assessing their effectiveness.' Burnham created a chart to show how pupils' use of the term 'imperialism' changed across the key stage, and how this improved her planning.

If you do use numbers, keep them close to the thing you are actually assessing, such as Donaghy's (***TH 157***) testing that fundamental knowledge is becoming more automatic. Keep any mark-schemes that are used on longer pieces of work both topic-specific and question-specific. See examples in Hammond (***TH 157***) and in Brown and Burnham (***TH 157***).

Mark-schemes always carry a risk, however, of fostering a formula. One way of avoiding this altogether is to use comparative judgement which is a form of norm-referencing against experienced teachers' instinctive disciplinary gold standard.[5]

6) Devise mixed summative assessments

The principle of a mixed constitution works in summative assessment too.[6] If you have a twice-yearly exam, for example, then blend focused, component-specific questions (a timeline test, some short answers, multiple choice) and longer tasks such as a passage from scholarship for pupils to read and summarise (their recognition of vocabulary will indirectly assess their background knowledge) or a couple of essays requiring different sorts of disciplinary thinking (drawing on, but never exactly copying, the enquiry questions that they have tackled on, say, evidence or historical change).

Stanford (***TH 168***) tells the story of how one department went about designing end-of-year exams. They began by identifying the residue or 'takeaway' knowledge that they wanted pupils to have for each period, and then considered the substantive concepts and disciplinary thinking too. Stanford's final exam ranges from 'odd one out' questions to full essays. It results in a percentage.

Working out what matters in a summative assessment can be bewildering, so focus your minds by defining some 'takeaways' like Ian Dawson's on medieval history.[7]

Pitfalls

1. Don't *assume* that frequent low-stakes testing brings lasting or flexible knowledge. Dennis (***TH 164***) showed how securing knowledge in one format doesn't necessarily foster effective use in another.
2. Take care that your mode of assessment doesn't distort meaningful history. If we reduce all testing to chronologies and multiple choice, we lose the meaning that lies in history's natural forms of accounting – stories, debates and arguments – as well as opportunities for pupils to follow questions of interest to them. In ***TH 164,*** Luff reflects on how easily assessment slips away from such authenticity.
3. Above all, avoid leaning on a deficit model, where you use summative assessments to establish gaps and become driven by interventions. Summative assessment is a poor guide to *true* gaps.[8] Stay focused on building security in the first place!

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2 The term 'curriculum is the progression model' coined by Michael Fordham is explained here: https://clioetcetera.com/2017/03/04/the-curriculum-as-progression-model/

3 Fordham, M. (2013) 'O Brave New World without those levels in't: where now for assessment at Key Stage 3?' in *Teaching History 153 Supplement: Curriculum Evolution.*

4 The Historical Association has also recorded two webinars on using enquiry questions: www.history.org.uk/secondary/resource/9839/film-whats-the-wisdom-on-enquiry-questions-p

5 For information on comparative judgement, see https://www.nomoremarking.com/

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7 Dawson, I. (2018) *Exploring and Teaching Medieval History in Schools,* Historical Association. Page 102 has Dawson's 'takeaway' statements on medieval history.

8 For why formative inferences from summative assessments are so problematical, see Christodoulou, D. (2016) *Making Good Progress? The future of assessment for learning*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Where are we and where are we going?

A reflection on current issues in the history curriculum

Richard Harris draws on their own and others' research to take stock of where the history teaching community is in terms of curriculum thinking. Harris argues that despite a number of positive developments in recent years, certain issues continue to have undesirable effects on curriculum design. Such issues include inertia and unclear rationales when selecting topics, constraining examination specifications, overbearing accountability cultures in schools, and over-emphasis on second-order concepts. Harris suggests possible new directions to counteract these issues, including greater emphasis on substantive concepts, frameworks of reference, historical consciousness, and what content is selected to be taught.

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At the recent Historical Association (HA) conference there were many excellent talks on the curriculum. In many ways this is an exciting time to be an history teacher given the wealth of discussion and excellent thinking about curriculum that is happening within the history education community (in part prompted by the debates around the 2014 History National Curriculum, especially the proposals that appeared in 2013).[1]

There has been a revival in the notion of teachers as 'curriculum-makers'. For me, this term masks what really happens in the process of creating a curriculum – it implies a sense of 'doing', presenting curriculum-making as an essentially practical task. I believe instead that we should talk about teachers as 'critical curriculum thinkers' because curriculum construction is a deeply intellectual process (Figure 1). It has strong practical outcomes in terms of what teachers do, but more importantly what young people are allowed to learn and why they should learn some things rather than others.

As part of this critical curriculum thinking, I wish to outline where I think we currently are, identify some of the challenges and questions facing history teachers, before moving onto thoughts about the possible direction(s) we could take in the history education community, in particular with a focus on how we ensure that young people see history as meaningful.

Where are we?

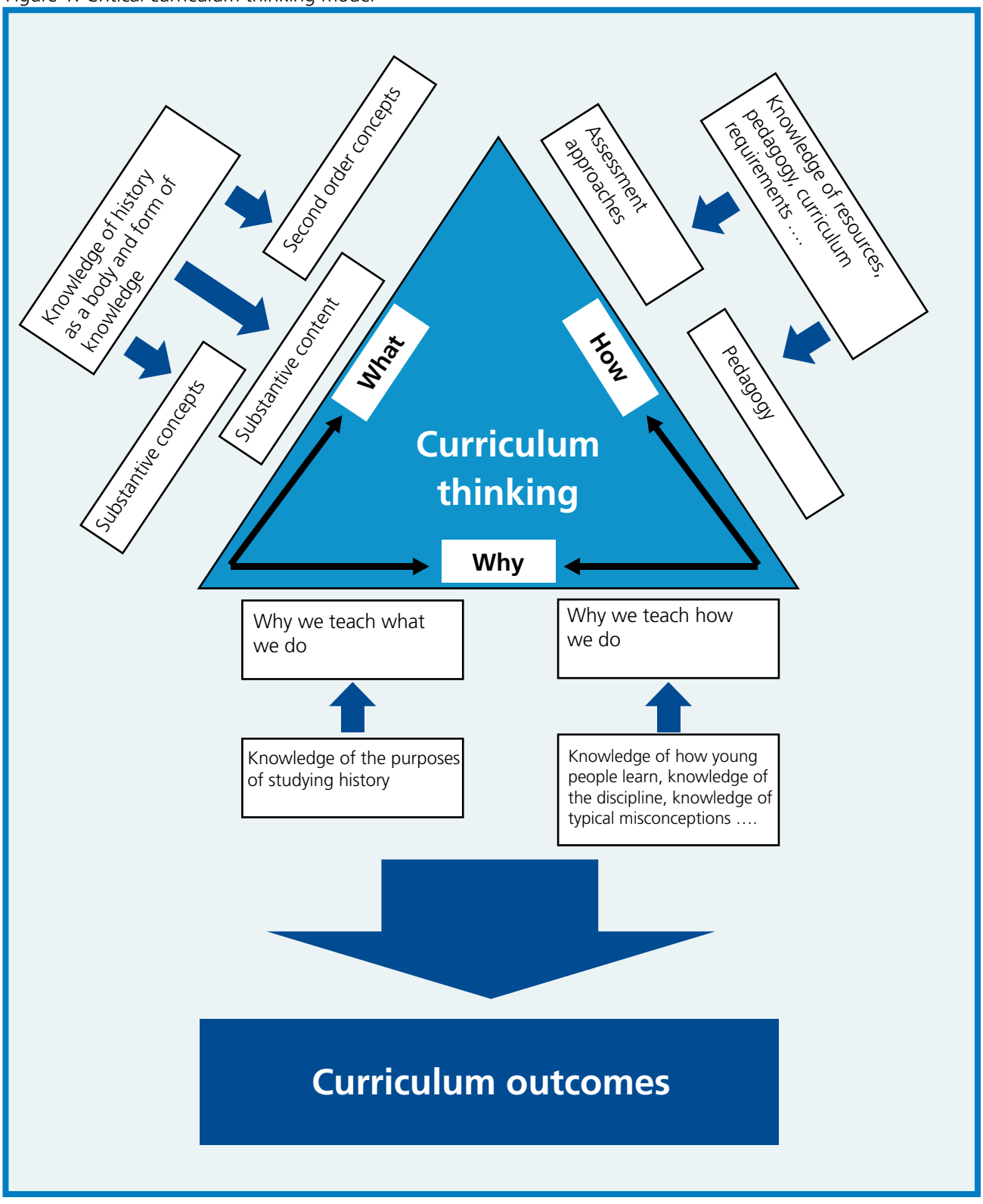
There are numerous *Teaching History* articles that show many departments are engaging deeply with curriculum thinking, yet there are many challenges facing teachers. Insights gained through my research identify four particular challenges about the history curriculum and teachers' decision-making. A fifth point has arisen from personal reflection influenced by a range of articles by history-teacher researchers, discussions I have had, and the practice I have observed in my role as a teacher educator:

- inertia in curriculum content selection
- rationale that underpins curriculum construction
- growing impact of the newly introduced GCSE
- the prevalence of accountability measures in a performative education culture
- the emphasis on second-order concepts

Inertia in curriculum content selection

Surprisingly, little is known about what history is actually taught in schools. The most recent HA survey provides some insight and suggests that many schools are taking steps to teach a curriculum that goes beyond the 'pale, male and stale' caricature that seems to have persisted for many years. The survey shows that several schools are attempting to bring topics such as migration and the British Empire more to the fore (Figures 2 and 3). It also seems that schools tend to cover the more recent time periods – the survey shows that the twentieth century is the most popular for teaching about migration, while the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were most common when teaching about the British Empire. Although these developments are to be welcomed, there are still concerns that there may be inertia in some parts of the curriculum.

Figure 1: Critical curriculum thinking model



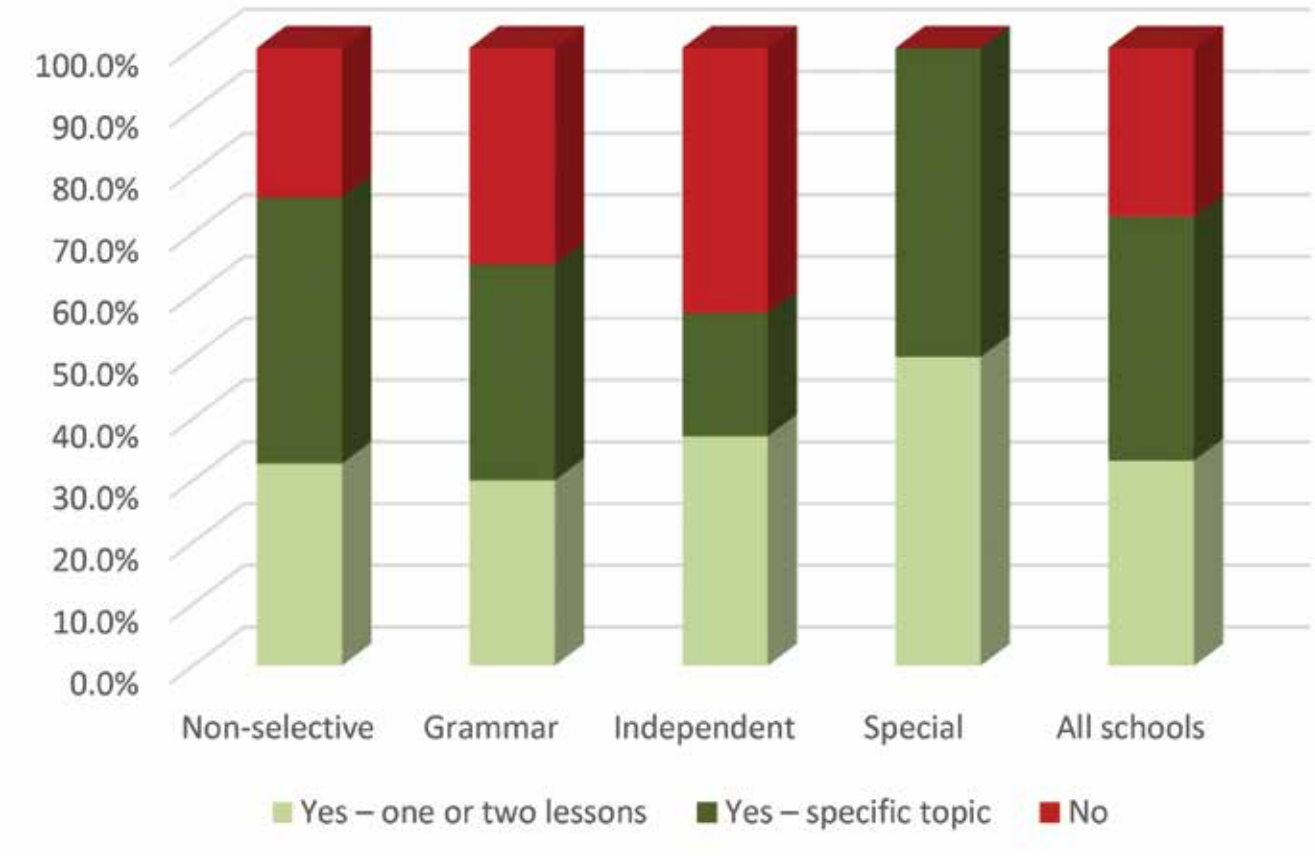
In an admittedly small-scale study based in ten departments, the content selection at Key Stage 3 (KS3) appeared to reflect an accepted 'canon' of topics and approaches, particularly covering the period up to the seventeenth century.[2] For example, when teaching the medieval period 1066 and the Norman Conquest, the feudal system, the Domesday Book, castles, the murder of Becket, Magna Carta, the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt were common, presenting an episodic journey through this period. When teaching about the sixteenth century, the English Reformation, Mary and Elizabeth (typically her portraits, religious settlement and the Armada) dominated, while the seventeenth century centred on the English Civil War and Cromwell as 'hero or villain'.

Anecdotal experience of history curricula also reinforces the notion of inertia in parts of the curriculum. Linked to this issue are questions about history teachers' rationale for what they choose to teach.

Rationale for curriculum construction

History teachers often have a range of valid and perfectly sound reasons for the importance of the subject – this was evident in the responses to the HA survey garnering views on the 2013 history curriculum proposals, which contained numerous passionate and articulate ideas about the subject

Figure 2: The proportion of schools teaching the history of migration to Britain within Key Stage 3. Taken from: Burn, K. and Harris, R. (2021) *Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in England 2021*



(Figure 4). However, there are times when there seems to be a mismatch between the rationale presented for studying the past and the actual selection of topics. Creating a curriculum is always going to be a balancing act because there will never be enough time to cover all that we may consider significant and worthy of study. But we have to question whether we have the right balance; for example, should we devote more time to teaching medieval castles than the Holocaust?

The issue seems to be about teachers' reasons for selecting specific topics or content in meeting their overall rationale – often logistical issues (such as resource availability) trump any educational rationale. This is important as a failure to understand why a topic is being studied is one of the reasons why many young people fail to fully appreciate the value of studying the past.[3]

Impact of GCSE

The concerns mentioned above are part of a wider context. In particular, the introduction of the new History GCSE is distorting what happens at KS3. The 2018 HA survey shows many history departments feel compelled to adopt GCSE-style assessment criteria and approaches at KS3 (Figure 5) and select content to make it easier for students to study the GCSE specification (Figure 6). This can narrow a student's experience of the past. Revisiting content and repeatedly 'practising' exam questions is often seen as the route to exam success, rather than building the types of conceptual and disciplinary understanding that underpins strong examination outcomes.

The range of GCSE topics also seems to offer little scope for teaching a more diverse past, while departments' choices also seems quite restricted. According to one response from the 2021 HA survey:

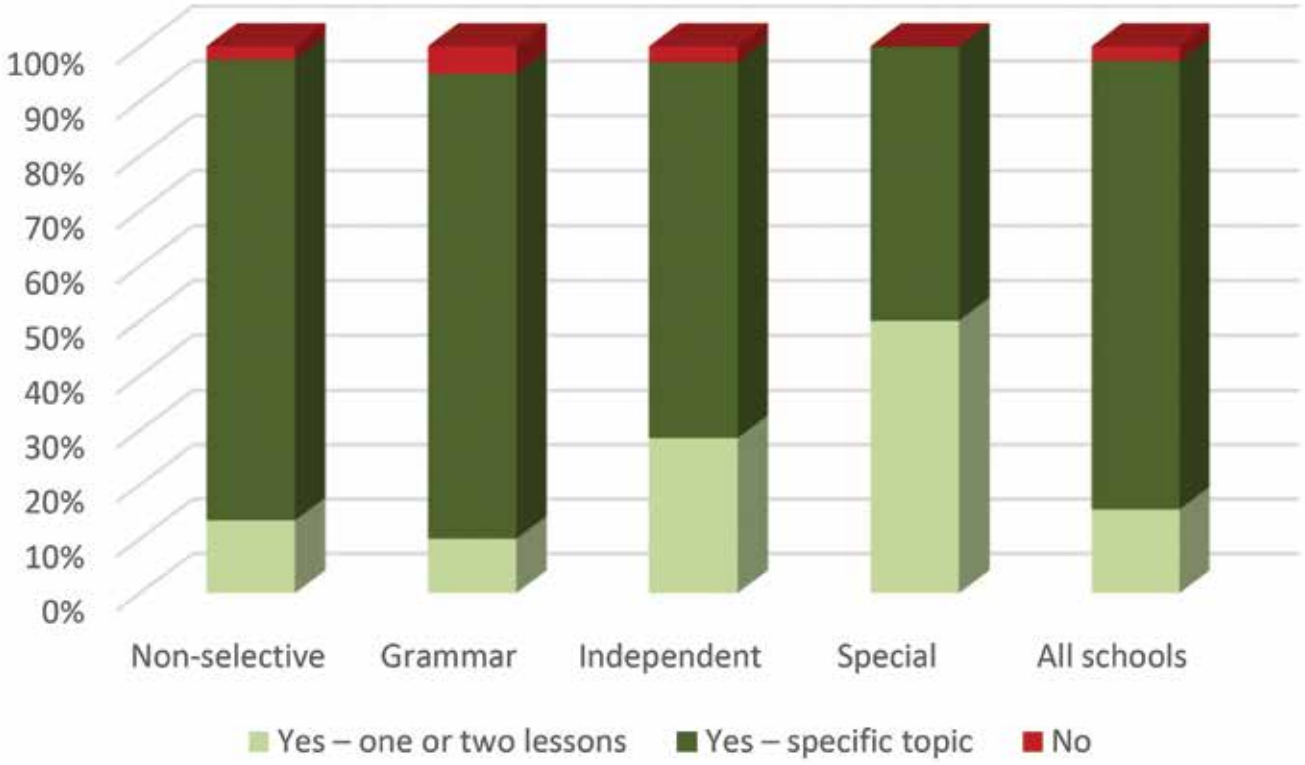
> *The Edexcel (Pearson) GCSE consistently wipes out any opportunity to explore diverse histories. This is particularly evident in the American West unit where the Civil War is a sidenote and the experience of African Americans is reduced to the Exoduster movement. The Medicine in Britain unit also fails to address women of note in medicine, and any contribution by a person of colour. This is compounded by the sheer amount of content that is taught, meaning there is no time to explore stories not on the specification. We are considering switching to OCR SHP B where there seems to be more scope for exploring diversity, and potentially less content to be explored, freeing up time to delve into more diverse stories.*

> *There seems little incentive for teachers to go beyond the requirements of the examination specification and exam paper, so current specifications can limit teachers' ambitions for the subject.*

A performative culture

This focus on exam results is closely tied to the growth of what is termed the 'performativity culture', where teachers are held accountable through a narrow range of measures, most notably examination outcomes. The unsurprising

Figure 3: The proportion of schools teaching the history of the British Empire within Key Stage 3. Taken from: Burn, K. and Harris, R. (2021) *Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in England 2021*



consequence of this is that schools and teachers put a great deal of energy into obtaining good exam results, as this is what is currently valued by governments and some sections of society.[4] In such a system, how something is taught becomes more important than what is taught or why it is taught – teachers are regarded as experts in pedagogy rather than anything else, because this is seen as the means to develop students' ability to understand topics in a way that will enable them to be successful in the exams.

History teaching and second-order concepts

One of the most influential ideas to influence my teaching and work as an history-teacher educator is the notion of showing students that the past is a construct and that there are specific disciplinary ways of thinking, which can be understood as second-order concepts. This approach largely emerged from the Schools Council History Project in 1972 and gained wider traction through various iterations of the National Curriculum and GCSE specifications, as well as in the pages of *Teaching History*. Although I feel students need to understand how history works as a discipline, I wonder whether we have the balance right, and whether an over emphasis on some forms of second-order concepts can make history too 'dry' and overlook the fact that the past is about people's lived experiences.

Again, we know very little about what schools actually teach in terms of second-order concepts. But the small studies that do exist suggest there is a greater emphasis on certain second-order concepts, such as causation, and less emphasis on evidential work.[5] Arguably, this stems from the influence of E.H. Carr's *What is History?* and some of the early teaching emphases in the first years of the National Curriculum and the work conducted by history teachers to support students' causal reasoning.[6] This is not to downplay the importance of developing this form of reasoning, but as Carroll has recently argued, a focus on 'why' tends to ignore the role of the historian and the different ways in which they work and different conceptions of causal reasoning. For example, in *The Sleepwalkers* by Christopher Clark you would find a very different model of causation to the one Carr prescribed'.[7]

Another possible issue with the dominance of second-order concepts is the impact it had on understanding progression in history. Earlier versions of the National Curriculum with their Attainment Target(s) and associated levels meant that progression was often seen as getting better at so-called 'skills'; a lot of time and effort was spent on supporting students to get better at causal reasoning or explaining change and continuity. This can create quite a narrow definition of progression, as it would be entirely possible to 'get better' at history through studying a seemingly disconnected, random array of events. This seems to underplay the importance of substantive knowledge and substantive concepts in thinking about progression in history, and young people's ability to make connections across time and place.

Collectively these issues can present students with a skewed understanding of the nature and purpose of history. Content can seem irrelevant, the reason for studying history can appear obtuse, the emphasis on examinations and outcomes can stifle the joy of the subject, while an over-emphasis on some forms of second-order concepts can distract us from properly thinking about progression, and together this can take us away from the fact that the past is about people and their lived experiences.

Figure 4: Some comments provided by history teachers in response to the 2013 National Curriculum proposals

> This new curriculum not only goes against everything history teachers stand for, but against what is needed from the education system for a robust democracy to maintain its fundamental values. Nobody would claim the current history curriculum is perfect, but in one respect it does an excellent job: it instils in young people habits of scepticism; it trains them systematically to ask questions of sources, to subject them to evidence-based scrutiny, and it leaves them with well trained antennae which are always alert for bias, emotive language, suspicious omissions and groundless claims. By the time they leave school, the hope is that their history lessons have ensured that they do this instinctively and that they will do it to whatever claims they encounter in life from politicians' claims and advertising jingles to scare stories in the press. A public trained in this way is as vital to maintaining the health of our democracy as freedom of the press. All the more so in this information age, when there is never any lack of material to draw on but the skills to sift and evaluate it are at a premium. *Teacher 9*

> [It] promotes one view of world history – that Britain is at the heart of it and has shaped it. I don't mind a focus on British history and promoting cultural identities but I think this one story is not broad enough to engage many and it also is not accurate of our broad history and seems to ignore wider context. *Teacher 52*

> It has a narrowly British focus. Surely there should be a bit of space for producing citizens for a European and global world, and who thus have some awareness or other societies and cultures? There is a sweeping and self-contradictory comment in the Aims about knowing and understanding the broad outlines of European and world history, but that is ridiculous in the context of the long list of British history that is specified. *Teacher 217*

Where could we go?

The importance of getting students to see history as useful and valuable in their everyday lives is an area that also appears to be underdeveloped in the way we teach history. In 2005, working on a project with Terry Haydn, we found students in KS3 had little clear idea why they studied the topics they did – one student memorably told us 'they don't let you know', as if the point of history was a secret that teachers were reluctant to divulge! The Usable Historical Pasts project in 2008 looked at whether students were able to see the past as a coherent 'whole'.[8] Perhaps unsurprisingly, although rather disappointingly, the study found that very few students saw the past as connected; instead the past was recounted as a series of disconnected (largely political) episodes, which seemed to have little value or purpose for the students.[9]

When planning what to teach, the 'so what?' question is essential, but is one that can be extraordinarily difficult. Yet as history teachers what we teach and why we teach needs to be intellectually defensible. For me, this can be achieved through a focus on making history meaningful. By meaningful, I mean that:

- the issues being examined resonate through time, and so allow us to use that knowledge to make sense of issues now
- students can see how the past is being used or manipulated to support a particular idea or discourse within their own lives
- students might be able to connect with the experiences of those in the past, because the issues explored reflect issues within students' lives

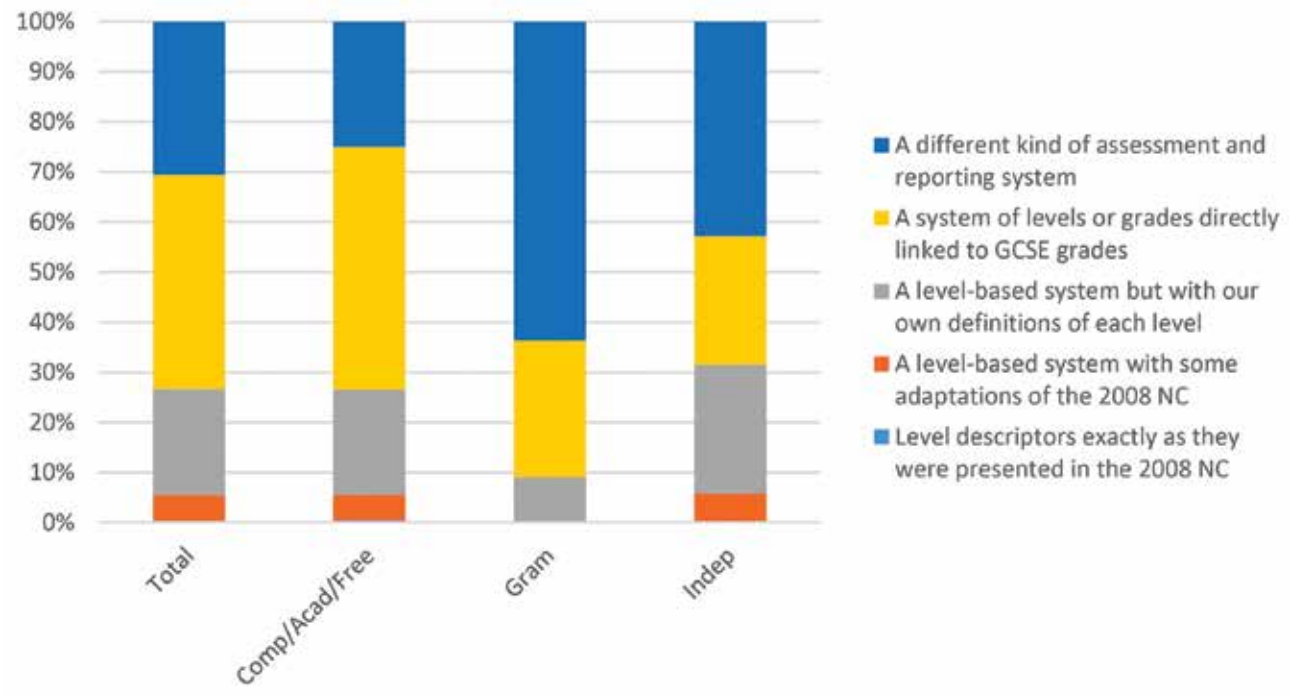
Such a focus would hopefully allow students to see that history is useful and valuable in helping them navigate the world in which they live. I believe it is possible to construct such a curriculum by greater emphasis on:

- developing understanding of substantive concepts
- developing coherent 'frameworks of reference'
- developing historical consciousness
- reflections about what to study

A focus on substantive concepts

In previous iterations of the National Curriculum, a focus on substantive concepts has been less conspicuous than that of second-order concepts. This has been remedied to an extent by the 2014 National Curriculum which explicitly includes these as an aim of history teaching. There is however

Figure 5: The approaches to assessment being used within Key Stage 3. Taken from: Burn, K. and Harris, R. (2018) *Historical Association Survey of History in Schools in England 2018*



much potentially fruitful work to be done here. Haenen, Schrijnemakers and Stufkens provided a Dutch perspective on teaching empire as a concept, but this could be developed further – for example helping students make comparisons between the Roman Empire, with later empires such as the Carolingian, Angevin or Byzantine empires, and going beyond Europe to explore empires in African and Asia.[10] More recently, teachers such as Palek and Bridges have explored the importance of establishing secure substantive conceptual understanding and how this can be developed.[11] However, this seems to be an area where more energy could be expended.

Carefully choosing substantive concepts can make history meaningful to students as the issues raised often resonate through time. This means we have to carefully select substantive concepts. For example, the National Curriculum includes terms such as 'peasantry', yet this seems potentially restrictive, being possibly tied to particular notions of place and period (such as peasants in feudal societies). However, using more broadly applicable terminology such as hierarchy or societal position might offer greater flexibility, opening up the ability to examine how different societies at different points in time are structured, and who does or doesn't have access to power (and still allows the use of period and/or topic-specific terminology).

Substantive concepts can also offer a model of progression. Elizabeth Carr provides a great example of such opportunities.[12] By getting her Year 7 students to look at 'power' and 'authority' through a focus on Empress Matilda and Eleanor of Aquitaine, students can see that people in the past may have exercised power and/or authority at different points. This topic then helps students make sense of later topics, where power is contested.

Additional layers of understanding can be developed by introducing related concepts such as legitimacy, in other words by what right do people hold sway over others. Also, a focus on 'power' might emphasise a 'top down' approach to history content, and so examining protest offers opportunities to adopt a more 'bottom up' approach to questions of power, authority and legitimacy. This growing understanding of the concept of power can be developed by examining different forms of government (for example, various forms of monarchies, democracies and dictatorships), in different periods of time, and on different scales (for instance local, regional, national, imperial, trans-national). Developing substantive concepts seems to provide a good, future direction for expanding the scope of an history curriculum.

If students can see how the issues associated with substantive concepts reverberate through the ages and across geographical space, they can build a web of meaning associated with those concepts, which in turn will allow them to apply that understanding to the contemporary world.

A focus on 'frameworks of reference'

Frameworks of reference have been written about elsewhere and there have been discussions about what 'big' stories of humanity should be told (for instance, how societies organise themselves, or how people provide for themselves).[13] The idea is to provide a quick map of the past, identifying key landmarks, then to revisit these bigger stories and populate them with more events, people and detail, to allow students to create a growing sense of the interconnectedness of the past. This could provide a possible model for curriculum planning. The debate would be around which issues or stories to focus on. Dan Nuttall has experimented with getting his students to consider the big story of the twentieth century, as well as the story of empire and which nations were strongest in the last century.[14] Keith Barton has proposed other themes, arguing that students should focus on issues that are going to persist into the future and that require further deliberation to address them, namely exploitation/oppression of others, movement of peoples, inequality of need and changes to the

Figure 6: The way in which GCSE is influencing the choice of content at Key Stage 3. Taken from: Burn, K. and Harris, R. (2018) *Historical Association Survey of History in Schools in England 2018*

Type of school	Specific content – avoid repetition	Specific content – revisit aspects at GCSE	Specific content – background for GCSE	Number of KS3 schools that answered this question
Comprehensive/ academy/free 2018	34 (14.9%)	88 (38.6%)	106 (46.5%)	228
Comprehensive/ academy/free 2017	48 (25.5%	92 (47.2%)	104 (53.3%)	195
Grammar 2018	2 (22.2%)	1 (11.1%)	6 (66.7%)	9
Grammar 2017	5 (29.4%)	5 (29.4%)	10 (58.8%)	17
Independent 2018	6 (31.6%)	4 (21.1%)	7 (36.8%)	17
Independent 2017	11 (50.0%)	6 (27.3%)	10 (45.5%)	22
All 2018	42 (19.2%)	93 (42.5%)	119 (54.3%)	254
All 2017	64 (27.4%)	103 (44.0%)	124 (53.0%)	234

natural environment.[15] Adopting a 'framework of reference' approach can help determine what substantive content should be studied, and which could be seen as highly relevant by students in making sense of the world as it is.

A focus on historical consciousness

Another idea that could help students see history as meaningful derives from the notion of historical consciousness, as developed by the German philosopher, Jörn Rüsen.[16] Historical consciousness emphasises how history is used by individuals, to link the past, present and future, and to orientate oneself in time, not simply how history is 'done'. Rüsen has developed an interesting typology of historical consciousness, detailing what he has called exemplary, traditional, critical and genetic. These refer to different ways of narrating the past and how that past is used (and not just the history that is learned in schools). In the traditional notion of historical consciousness, history is used to explain and justify actions in the present (and implies a justification for their continued existence). Thus, divisions in a society, for example along religious or ethnic lines, help to explain hostility between groups, which are then maintained through reference to the past. The exemplary use of the past is largely based on common-sense assumptions about the past, where the past is seen as a repository of uncontested knowledge; this knowledge is used to provide examples of how we should behave in the present. In simplistic terms, this could focus on the actions of campaigners and reformers, such as William Wilberforce and Elizabeth Fry, whose actions would be seen as worthy of emulation. Both suggest an uncritical reflection on the past.

The critical and genetic forms of historical consciousness both draw upon disciplinary notions of history. Understanding how the past is constructed is crucial, emphasising the importance of evidence and how it is deployed. This approach also provides insights into how history is (ab)used. The genetic model also emphasises the flow of time – change and continuities are key to using the past, seeing what developments have happened, what developments did not happen, and understanding that there are different possible futures. In this sense, developing and being aware of forms of historical consciousness provides history with a clear function, helping people orient themselves in time, and reflect on our direction of travel. This imbues history with considered judgement and deliberation, and also suggests that history has a strong moral purpose in helping people consider where society moves next.

Adopting an historical consciousness model, that recognises the ways in which history is used, appears to offer a powerful means of understanding the world as it is (and how it could be). As an approach to the study of history, it appears to provide a powerful way of making history meaningful.

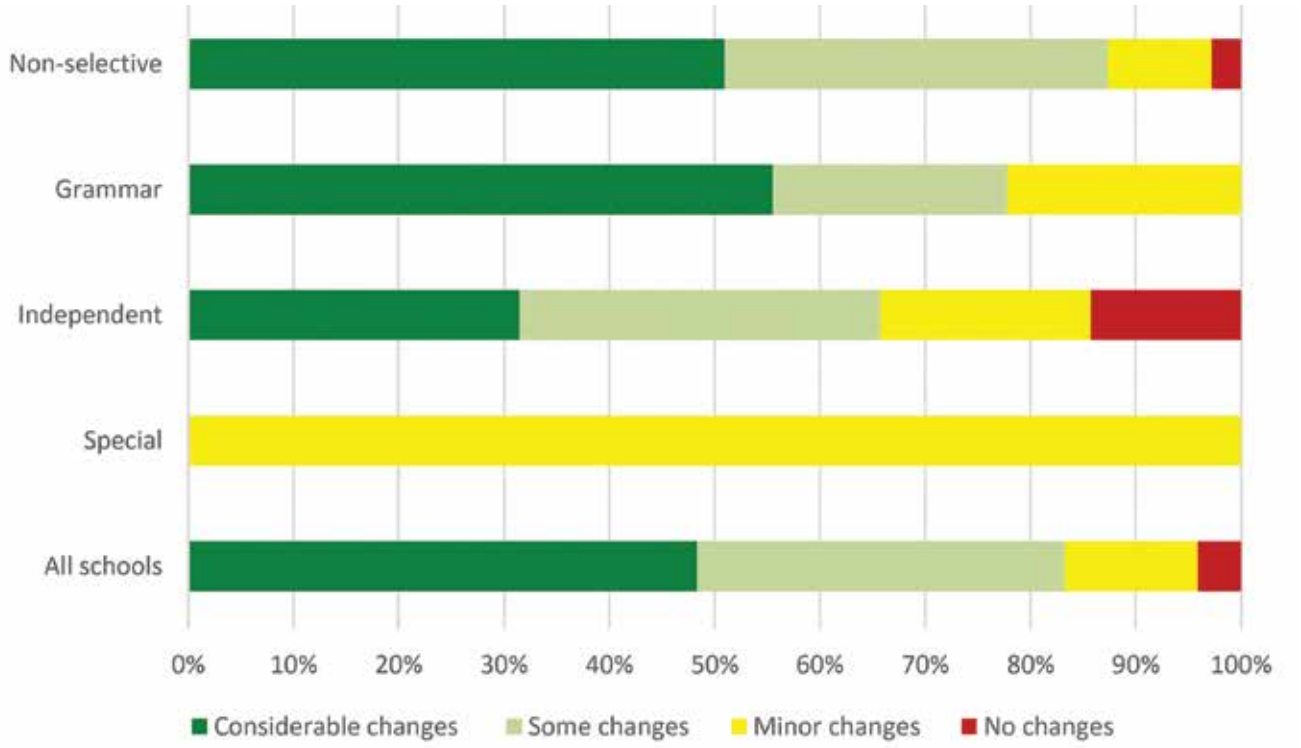
History and what to study?

Potentially the biggest area for dispute is what specific content should be studied. This is partly shaped by questions about what we want to achieve through the study of history, but also whether we subscribe to ideas around frameworks, historical consciousness and so forth.

At present there is a clear emphasis in the National Curriculum on developing a coherent overview of 'our island story' and given various government pronouncements it is obvious there is a desire to present a celebratory view of this story. In some ways this does provide a framework for understanding the past and does feed into some notions of historical consciousness, but it is an exclusionary model (for example, who is referred to when we look at 'our' history?). It also overlooks the fact that history is not a single story, upon which we can all settle. This then raises the question which stories or whose stories do we include in our curriculum. Calls for a move away from an Anglo-centric curriculum are not new. In 1989, Slater lampooned the history curriculum as:

> *largely British, or rather Southern English; Celts looked in to starve, emigrate or rebel, the North to invent looms or work in mills; abroad was of interest once it was part*

Figure 7: The proportion of schools of different types that reported having made changes in the past three years to address issues of diversity. Taken from: Burn, K. and Harris, R. (2021) *Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in England 2021*



of the Empire; foreigners were either, sensibly, allies, or rightly, defeated.[17]

Yet for many years, this call gained seemingly little traction (apart from a few notable exceptions for instance Dennis, Lyndon-Cohen and Justice2history).[18] More recently, particularly following the Black Lives Matter campaign, there has been a significant interest in building a wider range of stories into the curriculum, and this seems to be borne out by the most recent HA survey (Figure 7). The emphasis on decolonisation also means the focus has shifted from simply including such histories, to looking at the past from the perspectives of those who have previously been overlooked or marginalised.

At the same time there have been calls to make the past more representative or reflective of the past's inherent diversity. Boyd has argued eloquently about how the role of women should be better reflected in the history we teach, while Hollis has not only looked to bring in a stronger focus on women, but also the history of the LGBTQ+ community.[19] For me, this is a crucial element in history because it reflects the range of individual lived experiences – for young people to see the past as meaningful we need to populate the past with real people. Not only does this allow students to connect their own experiences to those in the past, but it also extends students' understanding of those experiences by exploring the complexity of such experience in a range of time periods and places.

The emphasis on a more representative curriculum would require a greater focus on social and cultural history, instead of a more traditional political, national narrative, which would reflect a turn in academic history. Academic history concerns itself with an ever-increasing range of areas of study, for example material culture, public history, queer history, and the history of emotions. And in doing so the subject has demonstrated porous boundaries, drawing at various times from subjects such as psychology, sociology and anthropology. As teachers we could be more cognisant of what questions history can answer and the limits of the subject; for example, Christopher Browning's book on Battalion 101 *Ordinary Men* is an extraordinary piece of history, but does it help us fully understand the motivations of those men and their role in the Holocaust? James Waller's book *Becoming Evil* treads similar ground but approaches the issue from the perspective of a social psychologist, bringing new insights into how we might understand people's actions in the past.[20]

So where next?

I do feel there is much to be proud of within the history education community, especially given the changes that appear to be happening as reported in the 2021 HA survey. It is a vibrant, sharing community (not least through the pages of *Teaching History*), that has over time striven to enhance the quality of young people's experience and understanding of the past. But another aspect of the community is its ability to reflect on what has been achieved and to ask questions about what else could be done. It is in this spirit that I pose questions about where we should focus our attention. At the heart of any curriculum discussion must be questions about what to teach and why. In addition to serious consideration of what topics and perspectives ought to be embedded in our curricular choices, debating the substantive concepts to be included, we also need to examine how we can best develop our students' understanding of those concepts, helping them to create a strong mental map of the past, with a clear sense of why the past is studied and of how that process can be abused. I look forward to seeing how we, as an history education community, address these intriguing and challenging issues.

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[2] Harris, R. and Reynolds, R. (2018) 'Exploring teachers' curriculum decision making: insights from history education' in *Oxford Review of Education*, 44 (2), pp. 139-155.

[3] Haydn, T. and Harris, R. (2010) 'Pupil perspectives on the purposes and benefits of studying history in high school: a view from the UK' in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42 (2), pp. 241–261.

[4] Gert Biesta provides an interesting critique of this process. He describes the threefold function of education and the three domains of education purpose as 'qualification' (acquisition of knowledge, skills, dispositions); 'socialisation' (development of norms and ways of doing things); and 'subjectification' (development of young people as agentic actors). The development of each requires judgement on the part of teachers, because there are different positions to adopt in each area and there may be tensions within and between these domains. See Biesta, G. (2015) 'What is education for? On good education, teacher judgement and educational professionalism' in *European Journal of Education,* 50 (1), pp. 75–87.

[5] Harris and Reynolds, *op.cit.*

[6] Counsell, C. (1998) *Analytical and Discursive Writing,* London: Historical Association; Chapman, A. (2003) 'Camels, diamonds and counterfactuals: a model for teaching causal reasoning' in *Teaching History, 112, Empire Edition,* pp. 46–53.

[7] Carroll, J. (2021) 'But WAS it history? E.H. Carr and history curricula', https://jcarrollhistory.com/author/jcarrollhistory/

[8] For a summary of this project see: Howson, J. (2009) 'Potential and pitfalls in teaching "big pictures" of the past' in *Teaching History, 136, Shaping the Past Edition, pp.* 24–33.

[9] This has been discussed in Denis Shemilt's work, where he discusses students' understanding of the past as a series of incoherent 'event-spaces'. See for example, Shemilt, D. (2000) 'The Caliph's coin: the currency of narrative frameworks in history teaching' in P. Stearns, P. Seixas and S. Wineburg (eds.), *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History,* New York: New York University Press, pp. 83–101. Some teachers have experimented with ways to help students build a more usable historical framework, for example, Rogers, R. (2008) 'Raising the bar: Developing meaningful historical consciousness at Key Stage 3' in *Teaching History, 133, Simulating History Edition,* pp. 24–30; Nuttall, D. (2013) 'Possible futures: using frameworks of knowledge to help Year 9 connect past, present and future' in *Teaching History, 151, Continuity Edition,* pp. 33–44; Richards, H. (2018) 'The devil is in the detail: are we teaching history the wrong way round?' in *Teaching History, 172, Cause and Consequence Edition,* pp. 52–60.

[10] Haenen, J., Schrijnemakers, H. and Stufkens, J. (2003) 'Transforming Year 7's understanding of the concept of imperialism: a case study on the Roman Empire' in *Teaching History, 112, Empire Edition,* pp. 28–34.

[11] Palek, D. (2015) '"What exactly is parliament?" – finding the place of substantive knowledge in history' in *Teaching History, 158, A Grounding in History Edition,* pp. 18–25; Bridges, A. (2018) 'The particular and the general: defining security in Year 8's use of substantive concepts' in *Teaching History, 171, Knowledge Edition,* pp. 56–65.

[12] Carr, E. (2021) 'Power, authority and geography: medieval political history through the stories of powerful women' in *Teaching History, 184, Different Lenses Edition*, pp. 70–81.

[13] For example, Howson, J. (2007) 'Is it the Tuarts and then the Studors or the other way round? The importance of developing a usable big picture of the past' in *Teaching History, 127, Sense and Sensitivity Edition,* pp. 40–47; Howson (2009) *op.cit.*; Shemilt, D. and Howson, J. (2017) 'Frameworks of knowledge: dilemmas and debates' in I. Davies (ed.), *Debates in History Teaching* (2nd edition), London: Routledge, pp. 66–79.

[14] Nuttall, *op.cit.*, has experimented with a big-picture approach to teaching twentieth-century history, asking 'What's the big story of the 20th century?; 'What's the story of empires?' and 'Who's the most powerful?' [15] Barton, K. and Ho, L-C. (2021) *Curriculum for Justice and Harmony,* New York: Routledge.

[16] Rüsen, J. (2004) 'Historical consciousness: narrative structure, moral function, and ontological development' in P. Seixas (ed.) *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 63–85.

[17] Slater, J. (1989) *The Politics of History Teaching: a humanity dehumanised?* London: University of London Institute of Education.

[18] For example, Dennis, N. (2016) 'Beyond tokenism: teaching a diverse history in the post-14 curriculum' in *Teaching History*, *165*, *Conceptualising Breadth Edition*, pp. 37–41; Lyndon, D. (2006) 'Integrating black British history into the National Curriculum' in *Teaching History*, *122*, *Rethinking History Edition*, pp. 38–43; Mohamud, A. and Whitburn, R. (2016) *Doing Justice to History*, London: UCL Institute of Education Press.

[19] Boyd, S. (2019) 'From "Great Women" to an inclusive curriculum: how should women's history be included at Key Stage 3?' in *Teaching History, 175*, *Listening to Diverse Voices Edition*, pp. 16–23; Holliss, C. (2019) Being ambitious with LGBT history, https://freshalarums.wordpress.com/2019/01/14/being-ambitious-with-lgbt-history/

[20] Browning, C. (1992) *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York: HarperCollins; Waller, J. (2002) *Becoming Evil: how ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.



The Queen's Platinum Jubilee

70 years – 70 'things' that tell our story

This summer, our patron, Queen Elizabeth II, has her Platinum Jubilee. It marks another milestone in the longest reign of any British monarch. For many of us, in the UK and abroad, she is the only head of state that we have ever known. In those 70 years that she has been queen, the world has changed in many ways.







We would like to put together a collection of 70 'things' that tell the story of the last 70 years: how the UK and the world has changed; how they have developed; how they have remained the same; the people that have left an impact; and the things that have led to changes or continuity. Each of the things needs to be able to be represented in one image.

It could be: a portrait of someone who is doing something, and that someone is the important 'thing' and their action had a significant impact during the past 70 years; a personal item that represents an event or ideal; a specific piece of technology and not just a generic product; a place on a map; or just a thing.

We are inviting members of the HA, school groups, historians and interested members of the public to send us their entries for what should be included in the 70 years – 70 'things' that tell our story project.

The suggestions will be sifted and collated and then the final 70 items will be selected by a panel of historians and educators, chaired by respected historian and author **Professor Anna Whitelock**. The 70 things will be announced in May 2022.

Entries can be sent to the HA from 10 January to 31 March 2022.

We would like no more than five suggestions from any individual and no more than ten suggestions from an organised group, such as a class of students, an HA Branch or a u3a group.

Each suggestion of a thing must be provided along with a rationale as to why it helps to tell the story of the last 70 years of history. The rationale should be no more than 250 words for each 'thing'.

All the entries must be accompanied by a contact name and information, in case we need to contact you about any details when we do the compilation. There are no age restrictions as to who can provide suggestions.

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The voice for history

THE QUEEN'S PLATINUM JUBILEE 2022

Entries can be sent to **enquiries@history.org.uk** and must be clearly marked 70 things project.
See our website for further details:
www.history.org.uk

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Come and join us in Bristol
HA Annual Conference
Friday 13 and Saturday 14 May 2022



This is what delegates at previous conferences said:

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The best CPD I have ever had… opened up my mind to new knowledge, understanding, approaches and passion."

There is only one place to be next May and that's at the HA Annual Conference! Come and join us in the historic city of Bristol, with lots of interesting and complex histories to explore.

Immerse yourself in two days of amazing history CPD. Take time to think in depth about your curriculum, update your subject knowledge and share ideas with colleagues from across the country.

As always, there is something for everyone – whether you've just started as a trainee or you're an experienced head of department.

New this year, there's the chance to join in Initial Teacher Education sessions for anyone involved in mentoring trainees and early career teachers, and if you're not able to attend in person, we're also running a smaller programme of sessions virtually. Keep an eye out for your copy of *HA News* coming soon with more details.

Connect with the vibrant history community

The social aspect of the HA Annual Conference is always one of the highlights: bumping into familiar faces and making new friends. This year we're especially looking forward to reconnecting with colleagues from around the country and further afield, including at the conference dinner and the Thursday evening quiz.

Consider the big issues in our keynote sessions

The last two years have involved a great deal of reflection. This year's conference includes a particular emphasis on the history of history education and the stories that we tell.

HA President Professor Peter Mandler will begin the conference with his lecture on **Voices from the classroom: the experience of universal secondary education in the UK since 1945**.

On Friday afternoon, a group of Bristol history teachers will discuss **Seeking new perspectives on the British Empire: whose story do we tell?**

There will be a special Friday evening round table on **Confronting controversial pasts**, introduced by Jason Todd and chaired by Alison Kitson. The panel will include Kennetta Hammond Perry, Thabo Stuck and Claire Holliss.

On Saturday morning we are pleased to welcome Professor Corrine Fowler, who discusses **Educational systems failure? Teaching British colonial history then and now**, and in the afternoon Katharine Burn will present the inaugural Dawson Lecture.

Choose from an unparalleled selection of subject-specific workshops

These cover all the latest research, curriculum thinking and practical ideas at Key Stage 3, GCSE and A-level. A few highlights from this year's programme include:

- **A Key Stage 3 history curriculum with historians at its heart** with Jennifer McCullough and Ben Walsh
- **Effective curriculum implementation in history: how to make your curriculum land in the right way** with David Hibbert and Hugh Richards
- **Teaching Islam and Christianity in conversation across time: collaboration, conflict, co-existence, creativity** with Christine Counsell
- **Representation and its possibilities at Key Stage 4 and 5** with Claire Holliss

Update your subject knowledge

Enrich your understanding of history in a variety of talks and visits that you won't find anywhere else. Subjects covered will include:

- **Rome in the world / the world in Rome** by Lucy Donkin
- **Patterns of migration in England's medieval empire: the case of Ireland** by Brendan Smith
- **'Violent, refractory and noisy girls': women and youth justice in Bristol** by Laura Harrison and Rose Wallis
- **Learning to manage the media in wartime: the Burma campaigns, 1941–1945** by Philip Woods

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Booking opens in January 2022

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Mummy, Mummy, why have students got to start reading across as well as down?

Not now dear, Mummy's trying to work out how to persuade the deputy head that it really would be worth using some of the school's limited CPD budget to allow the early career teacher in the history department to attend the HA's annual conference. The deputy seems to think that the hours he has already been obliged to devote to 'professional learning' within the Early Career Framework are more than enough for any new teacher – despite the fact that they have involved little more than a re-statement of lots of generic strategies, with which he was already very familiar.

But Mummy, I need to know why lateral reading might be even more important than deep reading.

I think you've got confused by all the Covid tests you've been taking! Lateral flow tests are actually less reliable than PCR tests, but they don't have to be sent away to a laboratory so they provide a much quicker result.

No, mummy, I really do mean lateral *reading*. Sam, a wise bloke at Stanford, has suggested that one of the biggest problems in America today is that young people who've been taught to read just get on and do so.

Ah, you must mean the psychologist Sam Wineburg, who heads up the work of the Stanford History Education Group. Alongside influential work that he has led on 'reading like an historian' and associated research in curriculum and assessment, the group has also conducted wide-ranging studies into young people's civic online reasoning. They are trying to assess and counter the risks to democracy posed by the prevalence of 'fake news', at a time when three-quarters of teenagers report that they 'often' or 'sometimes' get their news from social media, and 70% of them though internet videos.

So isn't reading a much better thing for them to be doing? You're always telling Daddy to stop watching videos. Why isn't Wineburg pleased that young people just get on with reading straight down the page?

Learning to engage in close reading would certainly be a step forward for Daddy, but the problem in America – as the Stanford group discovered when they asked a broadly representative sample of 3,446 high school students to evaluate a website about climate change – is that less than 2% of the young people left the site to find *other* online sources that would tell them about the organisation behind the website. The vast majority took the site's 'About Us' page at face value and failed to identify the organisation's ties to the fossil fuel industry. A similar failure to consider the 'provenance' of their source (as historians would put it) meant that more than half of the students were taken in by a video purportedly showing ballot stuffing in the US. Only three individuals actually traced the origins of the video – a relatively simple process using the video's title within any search engine – to discover that it actually showed BBC footage of the 2016 Russian election!

But isn't that citizenship education? Why isn't the Stanford History Education Group sticking to historical sources?

Developing critical digital literacy is certainly essential to citizenship education if we are to protect the future of democracy, and the group actually argues that such instruction is needed across a range of different subjects. But history teachers can play a powerful role here, both in the ways that they teach students to consider the provenance of any source alongside its content before making judgments about its value for answering specific questions and in explicitly drawing attention to the parallels that exist between working out what is going on today and establishing what happened in the past. There now, you've got me going and it's time for bed. Run along now.

Mummy, in what circumstances can it be said that the wisest thing to do is *not* to read but to preserve attention by practising strategic ignoring?

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