From the Editor

Welcome to the 2022 SATH Yearbook, launched to coincide with a return to an in-person SATH Conference after two years online. This is also the first edition since our new President, Kirsty Macdonald takes office. I'm sure you will join me in wishing Kirsty luck and in saying thanks to our outgoing president, Rebecca Hanna.

My last editorial discussed the immediate impact of lockdowns and the ways in which these had catalysed creative approaches to history teaching. Having come through the initial shocks of the pandemic, we are now in a position to think more long term about what kinds of history we need to teach. Indeed, the need to think radically differently about what school history is (and what it is for) is something of a theme of this edition.

We open with a contribution from **Riding** who urges us to take a global perspective on events that have traditionally been viewed through a national lens. Taking as an example the well-known events surrounding the failure of the Darien Scheme, he argues that existing approaches (including SQA) have treated Darien (a place on the other side of the world) as a 'Scottish History Topic.' In so doing, we commit two errors – the first is to avoid seeing Scotland and Britain as part of a wider Atlantic world, the second is to avoid the experience and the perspectives of the indigenous people of the Darien. Riding's paper helps us to explore the opportunities to teach creatively and broaden pupil perspectives, even within the confines of a narrow and prescriptive examination syllabus.

Frew is also concerned with broadening pupil perspectives, but by encouraging interdisciplinary thinking. She argues that existing approaches to Social Studies in the BGE have either reasserted disciplinary boundaries (through three-subject delivery on rotations) or dissolved these boundaries in unhelpful or undertheorised ways. Drawing on the 'Enduring Human Issues' approach pioneered in The Netherlands by van Straaten and colleagues, she suggests that meaningful overlaps between social subjects can be exploited to offer students something of value.

Ross addresses perhaps the pre-eminent consideration for History teachers looking to develop their curricula, how best to teach Scotland and Britain's colonial history and its legacy. Recent research by SATH/ UK Historical Association found that just 36% of Scottish schools teach at least one lesson on the British Empire in the BGE, with just 7% of schools paying sustained attention to the topic. Ross examines the existing picture in Scottish schools before exploring the complexity of teaching such an expansive (and potentially

controversial topic). His paper concludes that British History *is* Empire History and that schools should develop curricula which make these links explicit. Ross's paper might be read together with the last paper in this edition, an **Introductory Resource List for Teaching Britain's Empire and Black History.**

Another controversial topic – the legacy of the American Civil War – is addressed in the article by **McCrone**. Taking recent statue controversies as his starting point, McCrone emphasises the importance of pupils connecting what they learn in class to the event that they see on the news. He argues that teachers have a civic duty to explore the ways in which deep-rooted historical narratives influence current worldviews even - perhaps especially - when those narratives do not correspond with 'what really happened'. Rather than simply ignoring problematic and inaccurate interpretations of events, McCrone argues that teachers should recognise that these interpretations have considerable currency on the internet and social media. Turning to the specific case of statue controversies, McCrone suggests that pupils should be taught about the cultivation of the 'Lost Cause' interpretation of the Civil War, which presented the war as a defence of a vulnerable, unique and precious southern identity against Northern aggression. Pupils are not taught that this interpretation is historiographically credible, but they do come to see it as a powerful narrative which can only be challenged through close attention to the events of the Civil War and its aftermath.

Douthwaite draws inspiration from a recent book by Paul Betts to encourage pupils to think differently about the origins of the Cold War. She offers three sources that teachers can use in the classroom to explore how the Second World War coloured and outlined early Cold War attitudes and competition. She suggests that these sources can help pupils to better understand the worldview of those in the post-war West and consequently more fully grasp the context in which suspicion between East and West developed.

Live the Conference which accompanies it, the Yearbook is a sign of the innovative work which is taking place in history classrooms across Scotland.

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The Darien Scheme and Global History in the Classroom

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Global history has emerged as a field and an approach over the past two decades, and though it has become prominent in university departments, its impact has not been significantly felt in secondary education. At its heart, global history seeks to redress the dominance of the nation-state as the primary unit of historical analysis. Global historians argue that other political formations, such as empires, city-states or corporations, have been equally or more significant than the nation. Some historical processes cannot be understood by considering the history of a state or the interactions between states. Rather, the modern world has often been shaped by the flows of people and things between different localities. This sudden interest in networks and exchange, of course, is a response to the concerns of our contemporary world. With globalisation rising to prominence as a concept in the 1990s, historians became interested in the origins of this process. In John Darwin's words:

For the moment at least, writing the history of nations and states seems much less important than tracing the origins of our world of movement, with its frenetic exchange of goods and ideas, its hybrid cultures and its fluid identities. A new global history has grown up in response. Its units of study are regions or oceans, long-distance trades, networks of merchants, the tracks of wandering scholars, the traffic of cults and beliefs between cultures and continents.[1]

In recent years, in parallel with the contemporary rise of anti-globalisation movements, the field has turned its attention to examining the frictions and resistances to globalisation.[2] By moving away from a focus on the nation-state (a political formation which has its origins in Europe), global historians have challenged metanarratives of 'the rise of the West', showing that the premodern world was polycentric and that European powers had no clear economic or military superiority over other societies until around 1800.[3]

Such an approach presents both challenges and opportunities to secondary education. Secondary curricula have traditionally been dominated by the framework of nation-states. When world history is offered it is usually presented as 'inter-national' history, focusing on the interactions between states (with a particular focus on the twentieth century). Within such a context, the in-between spaces — of global trade, migration and diaspora, and the circulation of

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[1] John Darwin, *After Tamberlane: The Global History of Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), p. 12.

[2] Richard Drayton and David Motadel, 'Discussion: The Futures of Global History', *Journal of Global History,* 13 (2018), pp. 1–21, p. 9.

[3] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

knowledge — fall through the cracks. This can be seen in the Scottish curriculum, which is markedly Eurocentric in its content. For National and Higher qualifications, two-thirds of assessment is on Scottish and British history; only two of the twenty National 5 options focus on the interconnections between different parts of the world (Migration and Empire and The Atlantic Slave Trade). Within the Broad General Education, the Curriculum for Excellence's "experiences and outcomes" for Social Studies does not require that any non-European history be taught.[4] This is reflected in the classroom, with a recent Historical Association survey showing that only 43% of schools taught about a non-European society on its own terms during the BGE and 36% the British Empire.[5] These figures are lower than their English equivalents.[6]

More work remains to be done, therefore, in offering a diverse history curriculum. This article will not examine the causes behind the relative lack of global histories compared to England or delve into potential policy solutions. Instead, it will suggest ways in which teachers, as co-creators of the curriculum, can draw on the approaches of global history to develop innovative curricula in the BGE. In particular, it will focus on the ways in which global historians tell big histories through small stories, an approach which has tremendous potential for secondary education. One example of this approach is Timothy Brook's 2008 work *Vermeer's Hat.* Brook sets out to tell a momentous historical process — "the dawn of the global world" — through the lens of Johannes Vermeer's paintings.[7] He uses the objects in Vermeer's work — a beaver fur hat, a porcelain dish, a globe, a silver coin — as "passageways leading to discoveries about the seventeenth-century world".[8] A dish of fruit, for example, is a passageway to the growing connections between Europe and China. Peter Seixas has argued that Brook's work can help pupils develop their understanding of historical significance. Pupils are challenged to explain how Brook makes an object such as Vermeer's hat historically significant even though it did not itself have an impact on history. By elucidating the dawn of globalisation, a process which concerns us today, a normal person, object or event becomes significant.[9] The rest of this article outlines the Darien Scheme as an event which can do similar work to Vermeer's hat.

The Darien Scheme was an ambitious Scottish attempt to break into the European colonial world. In the seventeenth century Scotland was effectively locked out of England's rapidly expanding maritime empire through the Navigation Acts. Responding to this, in 1695 the Scottish parliament created the Company of

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[4] Joseph Smith, Katharine Burn and Richard Harris, 'Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in Scotland 2021' (Historical Association, 2021), p. 10. This can be contrasted with the more prescriptive English national curriculum, which stipulates the study of "a non-European society" in Key Stage 2 and "a significant society or issue in world history" in Key Stage 3; Department for Education, 'National curriculum in England: history programmes of study' (2013), https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study.

[5] Smith, Burn and Harris, 'Historical Association Survey, Scotland', pp. 6–10.

[6] In England during Key Stage 3, 73% of schools taught a non-European society and 98% the British Empire; Katharine Burn and Richard Harris, 'Historical Association Survey of History in Secondary Schools in England 2021' (Historical Association, 2021).

[7] Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Profile Books, 2008).

[8] Brook, *Vermeer's Hat,* p. 9.

[9] Peter Seixas, 'Looking for History', in *Joined-Up History: New Directions in History Education Research*, ed. by Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: IAP, 2015), pp. 255–276, p. 256–258.

Scotland to compete with the English and Dutch East India Companies. William Paterson persuaded the Company to implement his scheme to establish a colony in the Isthmus of Panama. Paterson's idea was to create a new trade route connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. A total of 2,400 Scottish settlers went to the Darien region of Panama, where they established the short-lived colony New Caledonia. Very few returned. The colony was devastated by disease and the Scottish underestimated the strength of the local Spanish presence, who forced the few remaining colonists to surrender in April 1700. Since a significant proportion of the country's liquid assets had been invested in the Company, this abject failure had a large impact in Scotland. The economic hardship resulting from the loss of £150,000 invested in the Company was a factor in the Union of 1707: as part of the agreement, the English state bailed out the Company's shareholders and creditors.

This is how the Darien Scheme is usually encountered today: as part of Scotland's national history. Within the SQA National 5 and Higher assessments, the Scheme is taught as part of the 'Treaty of Union' Scottish history unit. Pupils are asked to evaluate the Scheme as one of multiple factors leading to the Union. This reflects how the Darien Scheme has been traditionally remembered. In the public consciousness the Scheme constitutes one of a series of national tragedies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which epitomise Scotland's loss of independence and cultural distinctiveness.[10] Jonathan Hearn has described this as "a trope of elegiacism that articulates a loss of national agency".[11]

My postdoctoral project aims to remove the Darien Scheme from this national context. I have designed a course for S2-3 pupils (the lesson plans for which will be made available online) in which the Darien Scheme is used as a case study to examine global history and Scotland's place in the world. This is in line with recent scholarship, which has recontextualised the episode by placing it within local, inter-imperial and Atlantic contexts. Historians have become interested in what the Darien colony tells us about the Atlantic world in a key moment of competition between European colonial powers.[12] Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, whose work has been central to my development of a course on the Scheme, has focused on the Tule Indians indigenous to the Darien and their successful resistance to European colonialism across the wider period 1640 to 1750.[13] Decentring Scotland from the history of the Darien Scheme, therefore, opens up possibilities for telling different stories: about colonialism and cultural encounters in the Atlantic World. Doing so removes the traditional historical significance of the Scheme as a factor in the 1707 Union. Instead, pupils are challenged to construct the Scheme's historical significance as an event which illuminates wider processes of colonialism and globalisation.

[10] John Prebble's work typifies this interpretation of Scottish history. Other examples include the Glencoe Massacre, the Battle of Culloden and the Highland Clearances.
[11] Jonathan Hearn, 'Narrative, Agency, and Mood: On the Social Construction of National History in Scotland', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 44:4 (2002), pp. 745–769, p. 759.
[12] Christopher Storrs, 'Disaster at Darien (1698–1700)? The Persistence of Spanish Imperial Power on the Eve of the Demise of the Spanish Habsburgs', *European History Quarterly*, 29:1 (1999), pp. 5–38; Lista Giovanni, 'No more occasion for Puffendorf nor Hugo Grotius': the Spanish rights of possession in America and the Darien venture (1698-1701)', *History of European Ideas*, 47:4 (2021), pp. 543–560.
[13] Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, *The Doors of the Seas and the Key to the Universe: Indian Politics and Imperial Rivalry in the Darién, 1640–1750*, e-book (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

Firstly, the course uses the Darien Scheme to explore European colonialism. It recontextualises the Scottish Company as one of many colonial enterprises jostling for advantage in the Caribbean region. Pupils consider the Darien as a colonial contact zone where people from across the Atlantic world interacted. English and French buccaneers sought their fortune; Spanish and French priests evangelised the indigenous population; and Spanish authorities based in Panama City sought to establish imperial control. It was into this competitive, dynamic environment that the Scottish colonists entered, and their unpreparedness for this competition was a key factor in the colony's failure. Through this one example, therefore, pupils gain an understanding of the interconnectedness of the Atlantic world and the colonial models of European exploitation which still shape global inequities today. Pupils also identify colonial discourses. They read Scottish sources which present the Spanish empire as tyrannical, territorial and in decline and their own enterprise as commercial, maritime and driven by ideals of liberty and free trade. They then unpick this discourse. Translated sources show that the Spanish were able to respond effectively to the Darien colony, while Scottish accounts reveal an obsession with finding mineral wealth in the Darien in opposition to their stated goals of establishing a free trade port.

Secondly, pupils are challenged to uncover indigenous responses to colonialism. The goal here is to move away from simple models of first contact between European and Native American societies, instead recognising that the indigenous people of the Darien had interacted with European intruders for two centuries (something which the Scottish themselves did not fully recognise). Tule society had been changed by colonialism, but the Tule were not passive victims in this process. Pupils should identify indigenous agency, recognising that the Tule sought advantage in their encounters with various European powers. In the process they learn a key historical skill: to read sources against the grain to uncover the actions and perspectives of those who did not write them. Pupils are familiar with recognising the 'bias' of a source and its resulting limitations, but they should also be challenged to uncover the source's unintentional revelations. For example, pupils are presented with two sources which recount the respective English and Scottish interactions with a Tule leader called Diego. The English captain Richard Long walked away believing that Diego had pledged his territories to the King of England and promised to reject Scottish advances.[14] Three months later Diego entered into a "Treaty of Friendship, Union, and Perpetual Confederation" with the Scottish colony.[15] Pupils have to reconcile and explain these encounters. We explore whether the Tule had the same understandings of treaties and alliances as Europeans. We then attempt to interpret Diego's actions, trying to uncover indigenous agency from these European sources. Pupils move from an initial impression of an indigenous leader unknowingly handing over his land to predatory Europeans to an understanding that Diego was skilfully navigating imperial politics, forming relationships which gave him power within Tule society. It was the Europeans who were unknowing: their racial conceptions of

[14] Richard Long, letter to the Lord High Admiral of England, 17 June 1700 (Public Record Office, Admiralty Letters 1/2003).

[15] Treaty between the Council of Caledonia and the Chief Diego of Darien, 24 Feb 1699, in *The Disaster of Darien,* ed. by F. R. Hart (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1929), p. 224.

Native Americans led them to believe that they could easily establish unequal power relations, and this miscalculation helps explain the Scottish colony's failure.

Through this one event which did not have major consequences for the Atlantic world, pupils gain an understanding of early modern colonialism. Colonial enterprises offered wealth and opportunity. This was predicated on the exploitation and enslavement of other peoples and justified by racial and cultural discourses. The Darien Scheme also reveals that such enterprises were fragile: the colony's projected success proved to be fanciful, partly because the indigenous people were not the desperate victims of Spanish tyranny that the Scottish expected. Instead, the Tule actively shaped their interactions with Europeans. Through primary sources, pupils encounter colonialism as a complex process of exploitation and growing interconnectedness which was not solely shaped by Europeans. The approaches of global history therefore present an opportunity to reform a Eurocentric curriculum. Rather than combating Eurocentrism through the study of a more diverse range of societies, global history focuses on the *interactions between* different cultures and societies. In doing so, it addresses the concerns of our modern world of interconnectedness and transnationalism.

The Darien Scheme is just one example of taking a Scottish story and reorienting it in a manner which tells global histories. Rather than introducing entirely new topics, we can ask: are there untold global stories in the histories we already teach? There are many opportunities for telling global histories through specific people, things and events. For example, the National Trust for Scotland's 'Facing Our Past' project is uncovering stories which explore the legacies of slavery and empire. Stories such as how two duels — one in 1763 in Aberdeen and the other in 1795 in the Caribbean island of Saint Vincent — are linked through Scottish emigration and colonisation can teach powerful lessons about empire and globalisation.[16] They also help us meet one of the CfE's central capabilities: to "develop knowledge and understanding of the world and Scotland's place in it". This cannot solely be achieved by foregrounding Scotland. Rather, histories in which Scotland plays a small role in much larger processes helps students understand Scotland's place in the world. This necessarily involves confronting Scotland's colonial past. For example, the Darien Scheme could serve as a starting point (or a false start) for a wider curriculum that explores Scotland's role in colonialism. The Scheme shows that Scottish colonists, merchants and investors were keen to participate in this emerging colonial world, but an independent Scottish empire was curtailed by the opposition of better-established powers. The Union provided a new avenue for this participation, and Scottish people went on to play a central role in the British Empire. This historical and educational work is crucial if we are to address the pressing issues of racial prejudice and global inequities which have come to the fore following the Black Lives Matter protests. Such work does not have to start with a comprehensive new curriculum on Scotland and empire. It could begin with Vermeer's hat, or a duel in Aberdeen, or a fleet departing Leith to establish a doomed colony. By providing opportunities for pupils to encounter global history in the BGE, we are introducing them to the big questions and concerns of our present society.

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[16] Désha A. Osborne, 'Facing Our Past: Leith Hall's Tale of Two Duels' (Blog post, National Trust for Scotland, 2021), https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/facing-our-past-leith-halls-tale-of-two-duels.

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Integrating Social Studies using an 'Enduring Human Issues' approach

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This article discusses the value of Enduring Human Issues as an organiser for an integrated Social Studies Curriculum. This paper argues that at present, the BGE Social Studies curriculum in many schools offers children a distorted view of what it means to study the past (Smith, 2016), leaving children questioning the value that the study of history holds. Driven by instrumental justifications for content selection, the curriculum children experience at the junior phase is often a diluted version of the senior curriculum, itself driven by SQA examinations (Smith, 2019).

This was never the intention, Scotland's *Curriculum for Excellence* energises teachers as agents of change (ibid) and following the announcement that the SQA is to be substantially reformed, it is time that considerations as to how an integrated approach to Social Studies may work in practice is taken more seriously.

THE SCOTTISH CONTEXT

Scotland's *Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE) was part of a wider shift in curriculum development, representing a movement away from explicit knowledge content specification towards a generic, skills-based approach to curricula (Priestley and Sinemma, 2014), where the intention is for learners to become 'confident individuals, successful learners, responsible citizens and effective contributors' (Scottish Executive, 2004). Within this context, CfE positions teachers as curriculum makers who are best placed to select the specific curricular content in their school contexts. For history curriculum-makers, such a positioning requires that teachers engage in difficult debates around which historical knowledge should be taught and why (Smith, 2019). The role of teachers as curriculum makers and broader agents of change (Priestley and Drew, 2016) is an encouraging concept for practitioners. However, this has become increasingly problematic within the context of the Scottish history curriculum. The problem arises from the lack of clarity surrounding the purpose and therefore 'place' of history in the school curriculum. Whilst recognised as a discrete subject in the senior phase, at the BGE phase, history holds a split identity; on the one hand it is offered as an 'organiser' contributing to the aims of a broader Social Studies course whilst on the other hand, history is intended to contribute as a unique subject discipline, providing children with insights on how we come to 'know' about the past and the interpretations we have about it (Smith, 2016). For Smith (2019, pp.453-456), this

lack of clarity surrounding the purpose and place of history in curriculum documentation has meant that schools tend to follow one of two paths, schools either:

1. Ignore purpose and concentrate on pupil engagement, selecting topics learners find most enjoyable or;
2. Reach for the SQA as the only available discourse for content selection

The above criteria for content selection in history has become common practice in our schools, with the overall result being a narrow and fragmented syllabus that offers children at the BGE phase a diluted version of the senior curriculum (ibid). Yet CfE's decision to avoid the word 'history' instead, opting for 'People, Past Events and Societies' alongside 'People, Place and Environment' and 'People in Society, Business and Economy' seems to implicitly encourage an integrated approach to Social Studies (Smith, 2016). Despite this, many schools tend to emphasise distinct subject boundaries by teaching these subjects on a rota basis (ibid) and do not consider the links between these subjects. Fortunately, in Scotland, a high-autonomy and high-trust approach to curriculum design means that teachers have the opportunity to implement the change required to resolve this.

THINKING ABOUT THE PURPOSE OF HISTORY

The current situation is not the fault of teachers, as Priestley et al (2015) affirms, it is one thing to expect teachers to be agentic yet another for this to happen in practice. Essentially, if teachers are not provided with the necessary support to become agentic, then it is very difficult for teachers to fulfil their curriculum making potential. In order for teachers to think about what they are trying to achieve before they think about the content they want to teach, teachers must be clear about what they are aiming to achieve, and this means engaging with debates around the purposes of history education.

There exist two main theoretical traditions on the purpose of school history: historical thinking and historical consciousness (Seixas, 2017). The tradition of historical thinking is dominant in England and Canada and influenced by the work of Schools History Project in the 1970s (Lévesque and Clark, 2018). This tradition places disciplinary concepts such as causation, change, evidence, and interpretation at the heart of the history curriculum and emphasises children 'getting better at doing history' where history is understood as a set of academic practices (ibid).

Alternatively, Historical consciousness – a paradigm dominant in Germany and the Netherlands – emphasises how individuals in the present relate to the past, placing the individual learner and their relationship with the past at the centre, rather than disciplinary norms' (Smith, 2019). Essentially, historical consciousness according to Duquette (2015, cited in Seixas, 2017, p.63) is "the understanding of the present, thanks to the interpretation of the past which allows us to consider the

future”, meaning that the past that individuals draw upon influences the futures they imagine. Both traditions have limitations. Historical thinking, being focussed on progression tends to marginalise the individual’s relationship with the past, whilst historical consciousness is difficult to measure (Smith, 2019). What Lee (2004) proposes is an effort to meet in the middle, advocating ‘historical literacy’ as a goal of history education. Lee combines aspects of both traditions with an overall focus placed on the ability of the learner to orientate themselves in time in a way that is usable. The following three dimensions are outlined in relation to historical literacy (Lee, 2011, p.65)

1. An understanding of the discipline of history,
2. A set of personal dispositions based on respect; both for the notion of truth and for people in the past
3. A usable historical past on different scales which allows the user to orientate him- or herself in time.

As we plan curriculum, we need to consider what we are trying to achieve before we select the content that works towards achieving these purposes. In short, if we want children to be historically literate, we must organise our curriculum around the provision of the knowledge that allows children to not only understand how we come to ‘know about the past,’ but that also allows learners to develop their own relationship with the past, in a relevant and usable manner. Of course, this has significant implications for the way we go about curriculum planning however, if we consider educational purposes more carefully, our learners may well see the past as something more than a world ‘dead and gone’ (Van Straaten et al, 2018).

WHAT DO WE WANT STUDENTS TO ACHIEVE THROUGH A RIGOROUS STUDY OF HISTORY?

If the wholistic goals of our curriculum aims to prepare children for citizenship, the world of work, and ‘lifelong learning’ (Scottish Government, 2009, p.1) it is essential the history curriculum offers children a relevant and usable study of the past. Foster, Lee, and Ashby (2008) in their Usable Historical Pasts project found that only a small number of students in England referred to history when reflecting on contemporary issues, whilst in Germany, Denmark and the Netherlands, the majority of 14-year-olds thought of history as something ‘dead and gone’ holding no relevance to their present lives (Angvik and Von Borries, 1997, p.B26). The problem, therefore, (and probably a question that is asked too regularly in our classrooms) is that students have difficulty articulating why a study of the past matters which in turn has negative consequences for pupil engagement in our classrooms (Van Straaten et al, 2018). What we want to achieve is equipping children with what Lee (2011) coined a ‘Usable Historical Past’ (UHP) – we want children to understand that history is the product of constructing narratives that serve our contemporary needs; that the past is not ‘fixed’ with facts and dates about a world ‘out there’ that bears little relation to the ‘real’ world (Van Straaten et al, 2018). Children enter our classrooms under the hope that they will leave with

knowledge that is meaningful however, it is up to us to frame the past in a way that children perceive as valuable.

WHY IS OUR CURRENT PRACTICE FAILING TO EQUIP CHILDREN WITH A USABLE HISTORICAL PAST?

There is no doubt that equipping children with a past that is relevant and usable is already challenging since children are not inclined to connect past, present and future of their own accord (Van Straaten et al, 2018). However, the ability to construct a narrative from the past that serves our contemporary needs becomes doubly difficult when students study narrow, fragmented, and disconnected depth topics - the preferred approach in our schools - with Van Straaten et al (2019) finding that this inhibits a child's ability to connect past, present and future in comparison to those who have been explicitly encouraged to make these connections through pedagogy.

The way we think about and subsequently justify content selection needs to change; not only does the current method impact those who continue to study history beyond S2, but it also ensures that 50% of children who discontinue the study of history at this stage are left with a distorted vision of what the study of history looks like (Smith, 2019); to them, history is a study of disconnected topics that hold little relevance to the world we live in – these children are likely to be able to recall singular dates of events and battles through their snippets of Nazi Germany and the Great War, yet are unable to understand how diverse people in the past dealt with the same concepts such as power, conflict, racism and empire that we do today, and therefore, will struggle to understand how a study of the past can help us understand the present and prepare for the future. A historical education should provide children with the knowledge that helps them better understand and relate to their world (Nordgren, 2021), surely this in itself is a sufficient contribution to the four capacities?

AN ALTERNATIVE: CONNECTING PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Whilst there have been attempts to develop a history curriculum that covers long time periods such as units like 'Medicine through time' and analogous 'big picture' approaches that encourage abstract thinking (Blow, 2009; Lee, 2005), these do not encourage children to make connections between past, present, and future (Van Straaten et al, 2019), nor do they encourage a curriculum where knowledge can be stretched across subject boundaries to help children better make sense of their world. The proposed recommendation aims to demonstrate an integrated approach to Social Studies, with Enduring Human Issues (EHI's) being used as an organiser for this integration. EHI's are issues that have been addressed by people in the past and present in similar (but also very different) ways (ibid); they are issues shared by humans of all times because they are essential to human existence (Van Straaten et al, 2018). There is no definitive list of EHI's however, Dressel (1996, cited in Van Straaten et al, 2018) distinguishes eleven basic human experiences: space and time, religion, food, family, dealing

with nature, the human body, sexuality, labour, conflicts, gender, and encounters with strangers; others might include migration, integration and settlement, power, trade and interdependence, nationalism, security, technology, industrialisation, and human rights violations (New York State Education Department, 2017). It is worth noting here that since there has been significant emphasis on providing children with a (UHP), the value of this recommendation will directly link to the achievement of this however, examples of curriculum design will demonstrate how this might look when integrated across Social Studies as well as how we can pedagogically cultivate connections to be made between past, present and future. The aim therefore, is to offer children at the BGE stage a curriculum which, through flexible boundaries across subject disciplines, equips children with the type of knowledge that helps them better understand and relate to their world (Nordgren, 2021), allowing children to:

a) Perceive the relevance of history
b) Increase their awareness of their own historicity, perceiving themselves as historical actors

(Van Straaten et al., 2016)

Such a curriculum would allow students to see that diverse people in the past were faced with similar issues that we are today, and by studying contrasting examples of dealing with the same enduring issue, may expand learner's frames of reference beyond what they have already witnessed (Van Straaten et al, 2019).

WHAT MIGHT THIS APPROACH LOOK LIKE IN OUR SCHOOLS?

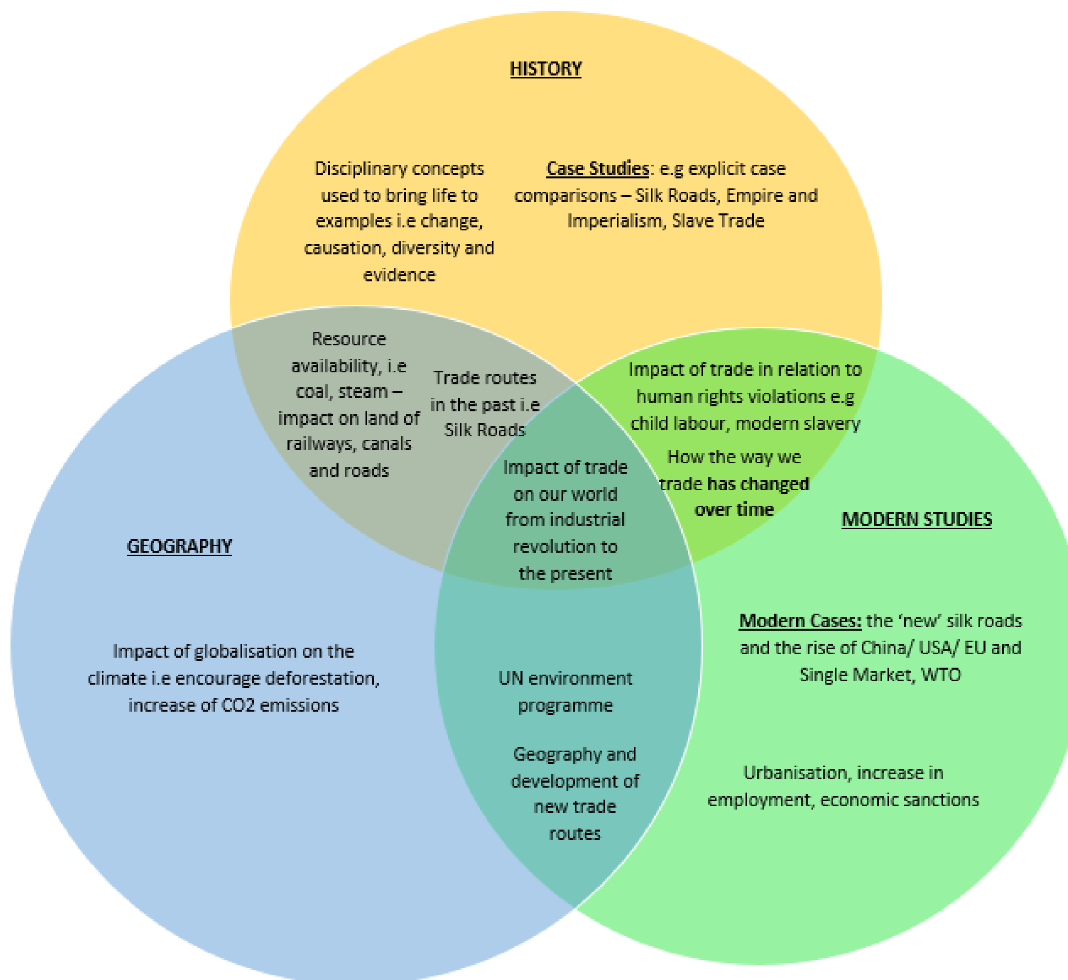
An integrated approach to Social Studies has been badly conceived in Scotland (Smith, 2016), where in many cases, integration has been misconceived as multi-disciplinary teaching where, constituent subjects are taught by a single teacher but remain separate entities. This approach can be problematic with many non-specialist teachers delivering curricular materials devised by other teachers (Priestley, 2009).

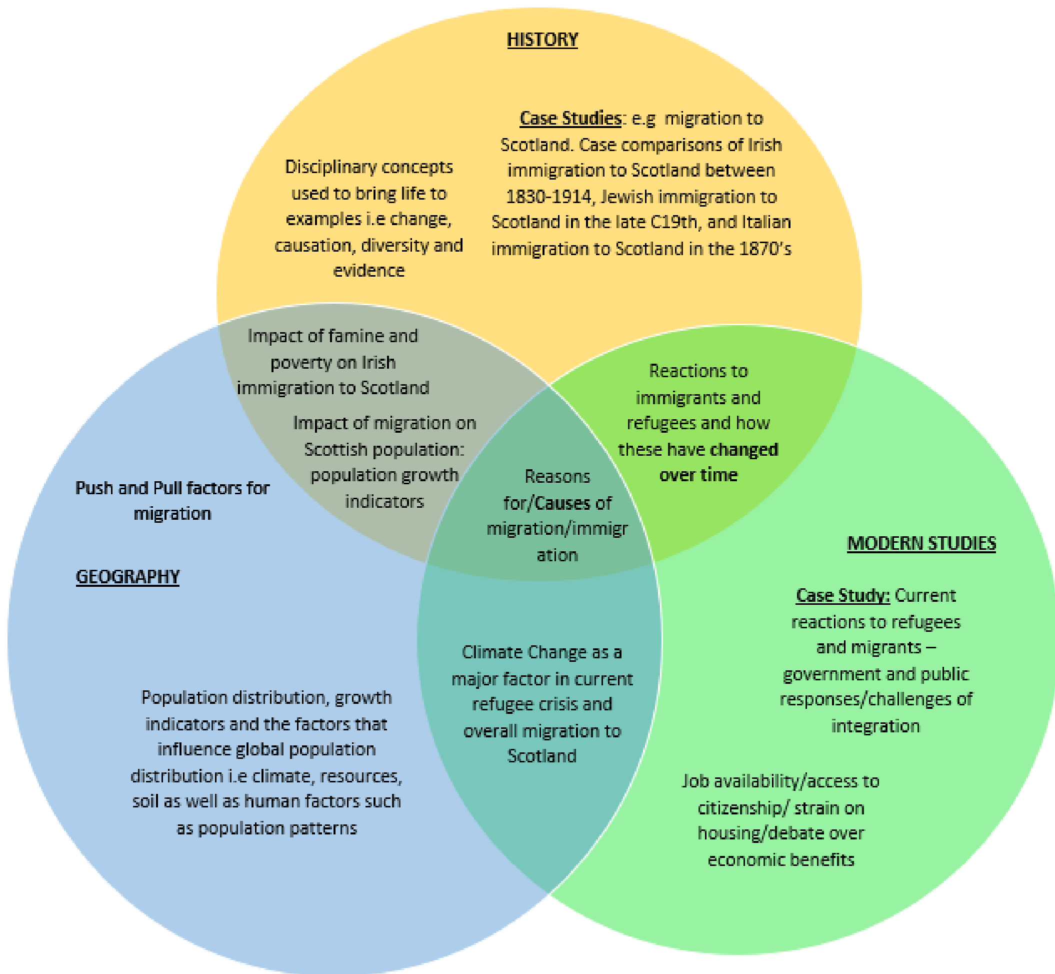
The goal of an EHI approach is to offer *interdisciplinary* rather than *multi-disciplinary* integration, where there is an attempt to blur the distinction between subjects however, not in a way that inhibits their disciplinary identities. Essentially knowledge can be transferred across disciplines however, not in a way that means access to disciplinary knowledge is denied. In pedagogical terms. This follows Fogarty's (1991, cited in Priestley, 2009) 'nested' model where a topic is placed in its wider theoretical context (in this case, its wider enduring issue). Suggestions for curriculum organisation around a nested approach to EHI's therefore, might look something like the following:

Trade and Interdependence: Why do countries need each other and how does this impact our world?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Impact and development of trade, colonisation, empire, imperialism, impact of trade agreements, market forces, the EU and WTO, impact of consumption, cheap labour, child labour, slave trade, modern slavery, impact of trade on climate, new technology, changes in methods of production, working conditions, pollution, industrial revolution
Migration, Integration, and Settlement: How have our communities become so diverse and what is the response?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Reaction to immigrants, reaction to migrants, reaction to refugees, reasons for migration/asylum seeking, impact of migration on population density, problems faced by refugees and migrants, access to citizenship, cultural contribution, strains on housing, population growth indicators, influence of climate and land on migration, human rights violations of refugees, international organisations working to protect human rights of refugees, asylum seekers/migrants, geographic push/pull factors for migration, process of migration
Conflict and Cooperation: Why is there conflict, what are the consequences, and how can this be resolved?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
War, World Wars, Cold War, competition, resistance, disputes over land use, disputes over resource use, ethnic disputes, disputes over distribution of power, disputes over obtainment of power, terrorism, response to terrorism, disputes between social class, disputes over oil, disputes over land, geopolitics of oil, disputes over Middle Eastern boundaries, impact of global warming on oil production in Middle East worsening the conflict, climate-induced water shortages, role of international institutions in resolving conflicts i.e EU, UN
Power: How has power changed over time and what are the consequences?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Lack of access to power, unfair distribution of power, power struggles, shifts in power and authority, access to free and fair elections, balance of power shifts, change in nature of power, how power has changed over time, kingship, monarchy, democracy, dictatorship, power in society, feudalism, warlords, Kingship, relationship of ruler to the ruled
Scarcity: How do we meet our basic needs for living?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Lack of food, lack of human resources, lack of natural resources, lack of industrial resources, lack of housing/shelters, lack of clean water, drought, infertile land, lack of medical treatments
Impact of Humans on Environment: How have we changed our world and what might this mean for our future?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Deforestation, global warming, destruction of the ozone layer, pollution, desertification, climate change, genetically modified crops, over-mining, impact of climate change on basic resources for living, melting of icecaps, loss of habitats, consequences of industrialisation/industrial revolution, process of globalisation and its consequences
Human Rights Violations: How are human rights violated and what can we do to protect them?
Possible 'Nested' Issues
Injustice, inequality, discrimination, slavery, exclusion, modern slavery, human trafficking, lack of freedom, censorship, genocide, restrictions to movement, persecution, threats to cultural identity, denied access to earning a living, death penalty, child soldiers, child labour, unfair working conditions, lack of access to basic living resources through for example, climate change

(Based on New York State Education Department, 2017; Van Straaten et al, 2019)

The above issues are not intended to be prescriptive however, might be used for inspiration for implementation of a curriculum organised around EHI's. Whilst subject specialists can discuss which 'nested' issues they might want to cover in detail across disciplines, two examples of what this might look like in practice are offered below.





HOW CAN WE IMPLEMENT THIS APPROACH IN OUR SCHOOLS?

The examples above can be used for inspiration for a wider integration of Social Studies around EHI's. What we are also interested in as teachers of history as well as Social Studies is how we can use pedagogy to implement a curriculum that encourages children to make connections between past, present and future, for the purposes of a UHP. Van Straaten et al (2019) recommends that for connections to be made across significant time frames, analogous case comparisons should be used where children are explicitly encouraged to draw

similarities and differences between cases. This works on learners' abilities to generalise and recognise the wider mechanisms at play (ibid). An example of how we can achieve this in our classrooms based on the EHI Migration, Integration, and Settlement outlined above is detailed below.

Aim: Comparing refugee/migrant cases in Scotland from the past and using them to reflect on present day issues (**SOC 3-03a**) (Education Scotland, 2017)	
Lesson 1: Introduction	Pupils pull their knowledge from modern studies and geography to discuss present day refugee crisis and migration Class discussion of groupwork used to derive a 'key questions' framework which will be used for case comparison and drawing analogies with the present. (See **Appendix A**) Apply framework to current issues
Lessons 2-4: Analogous Case Comparisons	Pupils study the three cases of immigration to Scotland: Irish immigration to Scotland between 1830 and 1914, Jewish immigration to Scotland in the late 19th century, and Italian immigration to Scotland in the 1870s. As each lesson progresses, pupils will use sources of evidence to add to their 'key questions grid' as each case is explored. Teachers should focus on explicit similarities and differences to be drawn between each case by an exploration of the wider mechanisms that frame the 'key questions' grid.
Lesson 5: Assignment/Assessment	Assessment might represent a learner's ability to use what they have learned through case comparisons about the wider mechanisms embedded within Migration, Integration, and Settlement. For example, they might be provided with a source about the Migration and Settlement today and be asked to identify at least two of the wider mechanisms that shine through from their key questions table (i.e people's concerns in the host country that they are being economically disadvantaged) Pupils might then be assessed on these wider mechanisms and how they operate in the present. For example, they might be asked the question: "What might the new Brexit policy which requires people from outside the UK to have a UK visa or work permit, mean for immigration to Scotland?" The issue at stake therefore being, the impact of employment on immigration to Scotland. This would require children to consider the role of push/pull factors and by looking at past examples, how influential they are on the process of migration.

(Based on Van Straaten et al, 2019, and Eliasson et al., 2015)

The above example intends to demonstrate how explicit case comparisons of analogous cases can be used to draw similarity and difference, and teach children about the wider mechanisms at play within an EHI over time. It offers a chance for teachers to explore concepts like evidence, diversity of people in the past, whilst assessing change and continuity across large time frames. Whilst the above example explores the substantive concepts of *refugee* and *migrant* through time, if teachers were exploring the EHI of for example, Power, concepts such as *feudalism* and *Kingship* and present-day *warlords* in Somalia could be analogous comparisons as they both share the wider mechanisms of e.g personal allegiance

in exchange for someone stronger (Van Straaten et al, 2019). This allows children to see how past concepts have evolved over time, assess how they operate in the present and predict outcomes for the future.

A curriculum that in practice encourages children to draw connections between past, present, and future undoubtedly requires sound planning. This would require subject specialists to team up across disciplines to discuss which 'nested' topics coincide with each other, and offer the opportunity for knowledge and skills to be stretched across disciplines to provide children with a better understanding of the world around them. Resourcing, although an issue, should not be the biggest concern as many 'nested' issues invite an exploration of topics that may already be covered in school. For example, Migration and Empire (EHI of Migration and Settlement) and The Creation of Medieval Kingdoms (EHI of Power with concepts like *Feudalism* and *Kingship*) (Scottish Qualifications Authority, 2021) are likely to have resourcing already available. Essentially, the most important concern for implementation is how we can re-assess our approach to these topics and frame them in a way that is usable for children. This might require an adaptation to the timetabling of Social Studies where pupils would be required to visit the department for three periods a week, with one period visiting each discipline where knowledge is spread across the subjects to explore 'nested' issues. Although this would require a significant amount of time, department meetings, and discussions with schools who may have already implemented an integrated Social Studies course, a curriculum of this nature is not unattainable and surely, a curriculum which helps children understand their world beyond the classroom is one that prepares them to be citizens, contributors, learners and individuals?

CONCLUSION

School history should not just be about getting better qualifications. Whilst this is important a historical education has much more to offer children. A Social Studies curriculum framed around EHI's allows children to understand their own temporality through exploring how people in the past have dealt with the same issues that we are faced with in the present. This approach allows children to trace issues like race, empire, and power through time and by exploring the variety of approaches taken by those in the past expands possibilities beyond a child's own imagination. If we want our children to leave our classrooms prepared for the world beyond school, we hold the ultimate responsibility of equipping them with the knowledge that helps them better understand and relate to it. Whilst issues of implementation and resourcing cannot be resolved overnight, an education that places children at the heart of change in society is one of immeasurable value.

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APPENDIX A

	Case Study 1: Irish immigration to Scotland between 1830 and 1914	Case Study 2: Jewish immigration to Scotland in the late 19th century	Case Study 3: Italian immigration to Scotland in the 1870s
Why do people seek to live elsewhere? (are they escaping conflict, persecution or natural disaster, or are they fleeing for economic reasons i.e employment, welfare, or future perspectives)			
Are these people planning to settle permanently in the host country?			
Do human rights or humanity play a role in the reception of these people?			
How do they provide economic benefits to the host country?			
Does the population of the host country feel economically disadvantaged?			
Do religious differences or similarities between immigrants and the host country play a role?			

(Adapted from Van Straaten et al, 2019, p.533)

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How Should Britain’s History of Empire be Taught?

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Facing an historical behemoth like the British Empire and reasoning how best to teach it in schools requires an understanding of its existing status academically, in public discourse and in education. Historians now recognise that using history to create national mythology lacks integrity and while the undisputed ‘greatness’ of Empire has been under challenge since the 1960s, questions remain on how our imperial past should be taught.

Recent campaigns such as Black Lives Matter have energised conversations around historical inequalities. With young people having evermore access to information outside school, the history curriculum cannot claim to monopolise discourse on such controversies (Haydn 2014). We must consider the extent to which the curriculum reflects the history being debated in the wider world.

There are political forces that would seek to obscure British imperialism through a clumsy interpretation of history and a misplaced desire to instil patriotism in schools (ibid). To historical scholars, there is an urge to resist and to promote new insights of colonial legacies in relation to race, identity, and power. By examining the relationship between politics and history education, Britain’s multicultural classrooms can be viewed as the frontline in the fight for sound historical literacy.

A shift in attention to Britain’s imperial legacies can be seen in its public spaces. The Imperial War Museum, a site of national heritage, provided no record of colonial contribution to Britain’s war efforts as recently as 1993 (Stride 2003). However, Grindel (2013) has argued that Britain’s civic history is evolving to recognise Empire, slavery, and a plurality of perspectives. It is therefore necessary to explore whether the school curriculum is failing to keep pace.

To examine how the British Empire should be taught requires an understanding of its position in the curriculum now, in the past and its differing place within the nations of the United Kingdom. To fully understand the position of Empire in twenty first century British schools, the dimensions of race and identity in the curriculum must be explored. Furthermore, the perspective of teachers and their anxieties towards controversial topics should be examined to fully comprehend the implications for classroom practice.

CONTROVERSY AND POLITICS IN THE HISTORY CURRICULUM

In the curriculum, the term ‘controversial’ can often be mistaken for something that may disturb or upset. However, Pace (2021) characterises controversial topics as those that challenge the status quo and specifically not those that cause pupil distress. The teaching of such topics should be a conscious

decision to present conflicting arguments and does not pertain to a topic's position in the public imagination (Goldberg & Geerte 2018). The presence of controversial topics is essential to presenting a fair representation of a discipline and their omission, a betrayal of the true nature of that subject.

Rudduck (1986) explains that a teacher's role within controversial topics should be to assist pupils as they examine doubt and aid their critical thinking. However, writing in the 1980s, Rudduck (ibid) surmised that this skill was absent, in favour of teachers acting as an expert who directed pupils to the safety of correct answers. More recently, scholars have debated how a teacher should intervene on controversial topics. Sibbett (2018) argues that a controversial topic may be defined as either expert-expert or expert-public. An example of the latter is climate change, where agreement among experts is closed and controversy only exists in fringe ideology. In this instance the teacher should act as expert and guide pupils to that consensus. However, in expert-expert controversies, where rational, scholarly disagreement exists, this should be open with no obligation for pupils to reach a prescribed view.

This notion of expert-expert controversy is where the discipline of history sits. The history we teach can become the consensus in wider society, therefore transmitting partial truths and ignoring controversy would be an unsound way to deliver it (Husbands 1996). Rational opposing scholarship is what represents controversy in the discipline of history. It can be argued that a historian's role is to explore and re-examine the accounts that embed themselves in our consciousness (Goldberg & Geerte 2018). As Carr and Lipscomb (2021) argue, history and the past are two different entities; as an academic field history is about rewriting 'comforting myths' and introducing a plurality of viewpoints. When this brings broader histories and controversies to the classroom, historians and teachers often meet opposition. History that amplifies voices and perspectives beyond existing narratives can find resistance in the public and political realms (ibid).

The content and purpose of history in the school curriculum is regularly fought over by educators and politicians (Pace 2021; Carr & Lipscomb 2021). Viewed cynically, as Loewen (2007) does, history can be used to exert control where a one-dimensional version of events sustains the prevailing power structures of a society. Moreover, the substance of the history curriculum can inform the assumptions of a whole generation (Phillips 2000). Turning to Britain's history of Empire, YouGov polling in 2014 found most Britons felt it was something to be proud of (Dahlgreen 2014). Without theorising whether this viewpoint is right or wrong, it is worth examining the role of the history curriculum and the associated politics informing it.

WHY IS THE BRITISH EMPIRE CONTROVERSIAL?

The British Empire can be viewed as controversial due to the level of scholarly debate which surrounds it. Contrary positions of academics have informed the argument over how it should be taught in British schools. Bracey et al (2017) argue the curriculum has long followed scholarship that viewed Empire as a successful and positive replication of Britain's social and economic structures. However this is antithetical to much modern academia that seeks to understand Empire from a diversity of perspectives. Behm et al (2020) are critical of teaching the unchallenged notion of modernisation relating to Empire, which can promote

the idea of advanced versus backward societies. Whilst this thinking is challenged at university level, it does not trickle down into school curriculum, meaning an overwhelming majority of the population are never asked to consider it (ibid). Satia (2020) contends that simply categorising some peoples as 'postcolonial' is to reinforce the idea of difference and development. These issues are symptomatic of the skewed nature of neutrality in the traditional curriculum which presents a Eurocentric view not simply as one perspective but as the objective truth (Grosvenor 2000).

It can be argued that attempting to consider the pros and cons of Empire is to assume it as is resolved piece of history. The idea that one can look back upon imperialism and consider its merits equitably is to obscure colonial legacies that exist in Britain today (Carr & Lipscomb 2021). Satia (2020) argues that weighing up the advantages of Empire is to give it unequivocal legitimacy which ignores the experience of those who fought against British imperialism.

In his book 'Empireland', Sanghera (2021) wrestles with the idea that his British education indoctrinated him to look down upon the histories of non-white people, through their absence from the curriculum. To this end, he viewed the history he was taught to be an extension of colonisation in the way it prejudiced his thinking. This is consistent with what studies have found regarding other non-white pupil's experiences. Epstein (2009) found that black pupils were alienated by a history curriculum that did not represent them, while white pupils were engaged by a narrative of their advancement. Epstein's findings came from U.S. research but the conclusions can be understood in a British context when considering the relationship between race and Empire.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The difficulties of squaring race and Empire stem from a reliance on a historiography which has been outmoded for some time. It is now widely accepted that the British Empire was constructed with specific demarcation between races, with white people presented as the civilisers of savages from elsewhere (Hall 2008). However, rather than interrogate this, the racism which was foundational to Empire has been reproduced in its historiography and subsequently mythologised in the school curriculum (Fryer 1988). This "imperial amnesia" (Satia 2020, p.272) arises in part from an unthinking propagation of racist values coupled with disregard for the sinister aspects of colonialism (Carr & Lipscomb 2021). Satia (2020) argues that British historians have erred towards a nostalgic vision of Britain's past, looked upon wistfully during years of decline like the 1980s. An illusion of Britain's benevolence in abolishing slavery shows a perfect example of this idealised past of liberal and moral virtue. It ignores the racial implications of Britain being the world's largest slave holding nation in the first place (Carr & Lipscomb 2021). Therefore one of the greatest challenges in teaching Empire is the historical reluctance to acknowledge the colonial origins of Britain's modern-day diversity (Sanghera 2021).

HOW HAS THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEEN TAUGHT?

The way Empire has been taught in Britain has evolved over time. National pride in Empire and love for its heroes was filtered into the curriculum through teaching and civic traditions like the celebration of Empire Day (Haydn 2014). In

the 1960s a combination of greater multiculturalism through immigration and alarm that history was becoming irrelevant to young people triggered a revolution through the enquiry-led Schools History Project (Phillips 2000). The conservative mantra of the 1980s then created a mixed conception of Empire. On the one hand textbooks began to mention colonial exploitation but Empire was still presented as a nineteenth-century experience with the recent decolonisation that shaped Britain's heterogenous populous, absent (Haydn 2014). The curriculum tended to separate Empire from the rest of British history, rather than view it as a central element, whilst shifting focus of colonial cruelty onto imperial competitors like Belgium (Grindel 2013). In seeking evidence of more candid curricular material, Haydn (2014) cites the first concessions towards racial prejudice in Empire as only appearing in 2006.

HOW DOES SCOTLAND TEACH EMPIRE?

Scottish Government (2021) consultation has produced proposals for 'meaningful inclusion' of minority ethnic perspectives in the history curriculum. However, these overtures for updated Experiences and Outcomes reflecting Scotland's participation in imperialism have not yet been acted upon. In the same year, an Historical Association survey found that history was only a compulsory subject till the end of first or second year in 86% of Scottish schools (Smith et al 2021). This highlights a paucity of opportunity to reflect on Scotland's role in Empire with even history in the senior phase found to include no specific representation of British minority ethnic experiences (ibid). Previous modification of the Scottish curriculum, predicated by the Scottish History Review Group of 1999, had focussed on achieving greater 'Scottishness', distinct from British history (Phillips 2000). These deficiencies in presenting Scotland's role within Empire perhaps point to a wider cultural detachment from Britishness and a desire to overlook imperialism as an English pursuit.

As Green (2014) describes, under devolved SNP leadership, the country has succeeded in advancing a nationalism that is civic in nature, distinct from the ethnic form of similar parties in Europe. However, Mycock (2010) argues that this can transmit a notion that Scotland itself is a victim of English colonisation which betrays its complicity in the British Empire. Sanghera (2021) points out, despite modern Scotland's social justice virtue, Scots of the past were more likely to be slave owners per head of population than their English counterparts. As Colley (2002) contends, it is difficult to argue Scotland's connection to Empire was any less than their southern neighbours, therefore the dearth of attention given to colonialism in education represents a neglect of Scottish history.

Scotland has a predominantly white school population and just 2% of teachers identify as minority ethnic (Smith et al 2021). Therefore the racial makeup of Scottish education may provide explanation for the lack of diverse voices and perspectives taught. In contrast, the Historical Association found that only 3% of pupils in England were likely to conclude compulsory history education without studying Empire (Burn & Harris 2021). The schools reporting this absence all had a majority white student intake, with the study finding that more diverse school populations tended to fuel a greater curricular focus on Empire and decolonisation (ibid). It can be argued that this relatively small English deficiency is representative in microcosm of the problems Scottish history faces in relation to race and Empire.

RACE AND MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOMS

The issue of race and representation is highlighted in the 2019 TIDE Runnymede report which found nearly 27% of state educated pupils in England are minority ethnic (McIntosh et al 2019). Failure to correctly teach a diversity of perspectives in history and an ignorance towards the legacies of Empire could therefore be seen as unrepresentative of over a quarter of pupils. In Scotland, the numbers are smaller which would only serve to increase a sense of being isolated from the curriculum. Grosvenor (2000) points to a prevailing assumption that black and Asian pupils were being represented via topics such as slavery or race riots but this was only presenting negative narratives which perpetuated difference. Traille (2007) found African Caribbean families hold a strong correlation between history and personal pride but if their only appearance in the curriculum is through the prism of slavery, that connection is lost.

The vocabulary of history can serve to 'other' individuals within a classroom context. Grosvenor (2000) argues that teachers must understand that not everyone in a multi-ethnic classroom will take the same value from terminology on progress or discovery when presented from a white perspective. Compartmentalising non-white stories during innovations like Black History Month can also separate histories into 'otherness', which undermines cultures or lessens their contribution in the wider curriculum (Bracey et al 2017).

Traille (2007) found that black pupils were implicitly stereotyped based on an identity projected onto them through the way their history was taught. The projection of identity is also widely seen in the misapprehension that black British pupils can be represented by teaching American Civil Rights. Traille's (ibid) study found bafflement among pupils in London for whom the history of black Americans was supposed to represent inclusion. This perhaps illustrates that Britain prefers to associate the history of racism and slavery with America. Harris and Reynolds (2014) found that black pupils had the same desire to understand history as their white classmates but a disconnect existed between what they learned through family and media versus the school curriculum. These findings highlight a need for more accurate multi-ethnic representation in the curriculum and a specific reflection of what it means to be minority ethnic and Scottish.

DIVERSITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN HISTORY

Attempts have been made to better understand diverse British identities in the curriculum. The Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review (Ajegbo et al 2007) recommended the teaching of Commonwealth and imperial legacies under the banner of citizenship education with close curricular links to history. Whilst there is broad agreement this would widen historical perspectives, it provoked argument over the purpose and value of both citizenship and diversity in history. Bracey et al (2017) argue that diversity in history should be complimentary but separate to the notion of citizenship education. If the aim of citizenship education is to promote social cohesion through exploration of identity, history can help but this should be within the curricular purpose of enquiry (ibid). History can be the most formative subject for pupil identity; however a history teacher's role is not to create citizens in one mould, but to ensure they are widely informed by multiple perspectives (Harris and Reynolds 2014).

This conversation highlights conflicting understandings of the term ‘diversity’ in the context of history. Bracey et al (2017) argue that the word needed to be reclaimed from polemic debate to its true meaning in historical terms. As Goldberg and Geerte (2014) add, diversity in history is about a plurality of perspectives whether of gender, race, class, or any myriad of viewpoints. If history education does this properly, by filling historical silences, it naturally follows that pupil identity will be more meaningfully represented and their citizenship enhanced (ibid). As Jaime and Stagner (2019) explain, a foundational principle of good history teaching should be the presence of counter-narratives meaning no identity within a story is marginalised. In the context of the British Empire, centring these narratives would create a far more diverse perspective and eradicate the one-sided vision that has been labelled ‘colonisation of experience’ within the curriculum (ibid, p.72).

DECOLONISING THE CURRICULUM

The idea of the colonised curriculum has developed through recent campaigns such as ‘Rhodes Must Fall’ of 2015 but finds its inspiration in the 1978 work ‘Orientalism’ by Edward Said (Arshad 2021). This hypothesises that knowledge was commodified by imperialism in the same way as physical assets and is therefore neither neutral nor objective to non-white perspectives (ibid). The primary goal of decolonising the curriculum is therefore to reaffirm knowledge and histories from a non-western viewpoint. The debate over decolonisation as a mantra for a more representative curriculum was the subject of a round table discussion of academics recorded by Behm et al (2020). A key finding was the lost understanding of the historical term ‘decolonising’ within educational discourse. Teaching the causes and effects of the end of Empire was seen as vital in amplifying non-western perspectives (ibid). It is argued that the impetus lies with higher education and teacher training where more ethnically diverse faculties and scholarship would serve to promote wider perspectives in the history curriculum (Jaime and Stagner 2019).

In recommending ways to decolonise history at university level, Arshad (2021) advises the diversification of reading lists and source material as the primary starting point. However, as Behm et al (2020) argue, this does not alter the purposes of learning to any significant degree if used as an addition to existing teaching. To truly change perspectives on colonisation, the questions of enquiry that underpin learning need to be rewritten with more focus on relationships between Empire and race, rather than simply attaching non-white experiences as a postscript (ibid). As Jaime and Stagner (2019) present, this starts with reframing the assumptions of trainee history teachers in Initial Teacher Education courses and giving them the tools to tackle issues of race with confidence.

TEACHER ANXIETY OVER CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS

The apprehension teachers have in facing topics like the British Empire is well documented. Nichol and Hartnett (2011 cited in Moncrieffe 2020, p.82) found primary school teachers worried over how to address a diversity of perspectives when teaching history in a multicultural classroom. From a secondary perspective, Walsh (2003) outlined fear of complicity in a curriculum that amplified an Anglo-centric worldview and even concerns over affiliation with right wing, nationalist

agendas. Moncrieffe (2020) found that student teachers were predisposed to share the same Eurocentric attitudes as the curriculum, being as they were, products of it. Oulton et al (2004) found only one third of teachers were confident enough to engage pupils with their own opinions regarding race. As 86% of British teachers are white, these collective findings point to hurdles in reframing race and Empire within education (Moncrieffe 2020).

Kitson and McCully (2005 cited in Pace 2021, p.115) declared that teachers in England were guilty of avoidance when it came to the social justice purposes of history, choosing to omit controversial topics from lessons. As previously noted, lessons that focussed on the United States were used as a crutch to fulfil engagement with race and inequality (ibid). Rather than provide multiple viewpoints in British history, English teachers were using U.S. examples to teach the themes of Empire by proxy. Teacher evasion of controversial topics has been attributed to a range of factors including lack of subject knowledge, fear of losing class control and adherence to school or national policy (Byford et al 2009; Goldberg & Geerte 2018). Burn and Harris (2021) concluded that the most vital apparatus for promoting controversial issues like Empire is developing teachers' professional confidence to counteract their anxieties.

HOW SHOULD CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS BE TAUGHT?

For a controversial topic to be utilised well in the curriculum, emphasis must be placed on teacher content knowledge and a clearly defined rationale for its inclusion (Pace 2021). The way a topic like Empire is framed will have implications for how pupils engage with it. By using enquiry questions that promote multiple perspectives, teachers can create the conditions for pupils to engage with controversy (ibid). However, there must be understanding that teachers are challenging adolescent minds and recognition that overly nuanced arguments may confuse (Wellington 1986). For Pace (2021), context is the crucial consideration with the lengths to which a teacher employs controversy, governed by academic level and pupil understanding. Professional judgement is needed for teachers to recognise the context before them. Teachers can falter when using controversy due to emotive pupil response or fear of constraints in the wider school community (Kello 2016). This can be prevented if a teacher models anticipated reactions, giving prior thought to questions pupils may have and providing more certainty in how to respond (Pace 2021).

Anticipating responses outside the classroom can also bolster confidence in teaching through controversy. If schools ensure that parents are regularly informed of curricular content, this can be a proactive tool in heading off dissenting voices or calm potentially fractious teacher-parent interaction (Brkich & Newkirk 2015). Crucially this also allows teachers to prepare robust justifications for both content and pedagogy in preparation for such disputes, which places both them and the school in a stronger position (ibid).

To introduce controversy, Hess (2002) recommends classroom discussion as a technique to engage pupils critically. The key point is that discussion must promote a range of perspectives, which is how controversial topics thrive (Hand & Levinson 2012). Byford et al (2009) urge teachers to present the topic openly to avoid prejudicing pupils towards an agreed opinion. This is beneficial for eliciting a range of views and allows the teacher to remain largely neutral, save for the

autonomy to intervene if discussion threatens to breach acceptable boundaries (Oulton et al 2004). Journell (2013) found that pupils recognised teachers as rational adults with their own opinions and were accepting and expectant of them to contribute, so long as not appearing to coerce.

Following a common theme in the deployment of controversial topics, Hess (2009) found teacher proficiency in moderating discussion to be vital, with their initial training and continued support in this skill to be imperative. As Oulton et al (2004) argue, teachers should not shelter young people from controversies but instil them with the critical thinking skills to understand them as adults. By confronting a controversial topic like Empire through enquiry and discussion, pupils will be exposed to valuable alternative perspectives. This can inform them to make rational judgements on questions of inequality both historically and in contemporary contexts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CLASSROOM PRACTICE

There is a generalised view that the English history curriculum dwells on The Tudors, while Scotland fixates on Bruce and Wallace before both leap a few centuries and explain how Britain won two World Wars (Elledge 2020). This is an oversimplification but it could be argued as accurate if the broad historical perceptions of the general public were taken as reflection of the history learned in school. Growing nationalism and opposition to immigration in post-Brexit Britain embodies how important education is in challenging our relationship with race, Britishness, and Empire. As Sanghera (2021) concludes, the most direct way to understanding Britain’s multicultural past and present is to make Empire central to curriculum.

This challenge is vast, however. Completely reconstructing our Eurocentric knowledge is impractical but sporadically attaching non-white perspectives to curriculum is tokenism (Moncrieffe 2020). Instead, meaningful change must be made to history as a subject from teacher education down to the school classroom.

Behm et al (2021) recognise that unlike in the U.S., it is common for professional historians in Britain to reach elevated levels of research and teaching without engaging in relationships of race. At universities, themes of colonialism and minority ethnic experiences are largely taught by minority ethnic faculty members (ibid). Historians in these positions should be required to engage in implications of race and difference, so a broader picture of imperial history could emerge for those studying it. The genesis of changing how Empire is taught in schools is therefore altering the assumptions of future teachers and curriculum makers developed in I.T.E. programs.

The Historical Association offers Continuing Professional Development to give teachers tools to tackle issues of colonisation through wider scholarship and perspectives (McIntosh et al 2019). While greater inclusion of colonial themes in I.T.E. courses will introduce future cohorts with more nuanced understanding, existing teachers should engage with C.P.D. to make curricular changes possible now. Impetus for improved pedagogy in the field of Empire therefore lies initially with I.T.E. programs but also through schools allowing teachers time to prioritise these improvements.

To bolster teacher confidence, lessons can be drawn from the success of an organisation like the Centre for Holocaust Research. This shows how a targeted

program can develop rich and effective school history with serious resources behind it. Creation of a similar project on Empire would provide foundational historical understanding for teachers and pupils alike.

Moncrieffe (2020) contends that teacher mentality is the biggest challenge to changing the place of Empire within curriculum. Alongside C.P.D. providing increased confidence and subject knowledge, curricular changes should be implemented. Primarily, teaching of Empire needs to be addressed as more than a Victorian pursuit as KS3 coverage currently ends in 1903 (Haydn 2014). Empire should be considered thematically when looking at broader historical perspectives as it encompasses so much of British history including race, politics, and economics (Walsh 2003). Rather than using Vikings or Anglo-Saxons to teach the theme of migration, mid-twentieth century decolonisation should be used as it directly impacts today's multicultural British classrooms (Moncrieffe 2020).

The theme of decolonisation should be taught in a way that engages with more diverse perspectives. If reframed as 'anticolonialism' it shows the agency of former colonial subjects, rather than portraying Britain's simple withdrawal from imperialism (Behm et al 2021). Pupils should also be given context when studying Empire. The broader theme of imperialism should be taught to understand that Britain was not alone in having an Empire, allowing for comparison with others (Haydn 2014). Study of the British Empire should also be used to promote better understanding of contemporary imperial themes. Although the twenty-first century is post-colonial it is far from post-imperial (Carr and Lipscomb 2021). Concepts of U.S. and Chinese hegemony or conflicts like Russia's invasion of Ukraine can be comprehended better with a understanding of historical imperialism.

Scottish education's unique use of Modern Studies provides a position in which linking these contemporary issues with history should be better realised. Pupils in Scotland study History, Modern Studies and Geography under the banner of Social Subjects in at least S1 and S2. Classes rotate between these subjects and learn a disparate group of topics. It would be more logical if themes in these subjects linked to each other. Learning a topic like Empire through the lens of its historical and contemporary ramifications alongside its geography would be rational and coherent. However, the three components of Social Subjects are distinct and there is little connection in their use during the Broad General Education phase of curriculum.

This is a result of the curricular freedom afforded to schools under Scotland's Curriculum for Excellence. Whilst it gives autonomy by not prescribing specific topics it can also mean that Social Subjects departments fall into comfort zones and repetition. It is not uncommon to see a course on a topic like World War One have one conspicuous lesson on Empire which has clearly been added to an existing body of work. In a 2021 survey, 30% of Scottish Social Subjects departments reported making no recent curricular changes, despite a growing movement towards themes of social justice and inclusivity (Smith et al 2021). This is inadequate. Themes of Empire should be embedded into history in both Scottish and English schools and courses of work should be created holistically with imperialism a central theme, not an afterthought.

To create space for Empire in the curriculum, consideration must be given to how much American history is taught. In Scotland, pupils can end compulsory History and Modern Studies with disproportionate knowledge of American themes

compared to British. In the context of broader cultural neglect of Empire in Scotland, teachers could be accused of obfuscating issues of race in a British context. Scholarship has shown that teachers must overcome this anxiety so as not to fail minority ethnic pupils (Traille 2007). As Sanghera (2021) contends, there is no shortage of inspirational minority ethnic British stories but they are absent from the curriculum. As compelling as the Civil Rights movement is, the purpose of teaching the experience of black Americans in the 1960s, rather than black British people of the same era must be questioned.

CONCLUSION

The history curriculum in both England and Scotland must include more comprehensive teaching of the British Empire and its legacies. To achieve this, assumptions of teachers must be challenged to understand that Empire is elemental to British history, not distinct from it. Focus must be reoriented from Empire as a relic of the nineteenth century towards how it informs the lives of Britons today. The key is increased study of decolonisation in the mid-twentieth century, providing perspectives from those who fought to end colonial rule. This should also include recognition of the subsequent migration that shaped much of modern Britain because the shared history of the nation's multicultural classrooms lies in the way Empire ended. A curriculum that places this at its heart can produce a more historically literate populace for whom issues of race, identity and civic pride are more equitably distributed and understood. It is important that political forces which would seek to interfere with the historical purposes of enquiry be defied. If this is achieved, the school curriculum can then reflect the true nature of history as an everchanging discipline that displays a multitude of perspectives and represents all the young people learning within it.

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The Confederate Statue Debate: Helping Pupils take a Historical Perspective on Contemporary Questions

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In recent years, conflict over statues has been commonplace on television and in newspapers. In August 2017, riots erupted in Charlottesville, Virginia over attempts to remove a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. These riots resulted in dozens of people getting injured and a woman killed. This became the starting point for a legal battle to have the statue removed that involved changing state laws that protected such monuments, a move that was strongly opposed. Although the statue was removed in July 2021, the controversy itself remained.

In the context of such violence, I found myself asking a question which many schoolchildren are also asking themselves- 'Why do Americans feel so strongly about confederate statues'? The American Civil War is a popular topic in SQA syllabuses, but for young people to understand what was happening in America it would not be enough for them to know about the events of the American Civil War, they needed to understand how a particular view of the war, the lost cause interpretation, gained so much credibility in the South and how this led to division that resulted in violence. To do this, I had to explore the question of historical interpretations.

It became apparent that the difference between the pro and anti-statue protestors came down to the way in which they interpreted and narrated the American Civil war and its legacy. One side saw the war as a 'Lost Cause', a time when Southern identity was threatened by an overreaching federal government and so fought to become independent from it. Whereas the other side (and almost all historians) saw the American Civil War as a battle for the destruction of the institution of slavery in America. Although the Lost cause view has no credibility among respectable historians, what matters is that large numbers of people *believe* it to be true. In other words, this is an issue of historical interpretations: the statue conflict emerges because history exists in multiple different versions depending on the way groups and societies make sense of time and change (Chapman 2011).

As teachers we are confronted with the reality that our pupils will experience history out with our classroom: through film, television, and social media. We cannot limit children's exposure to faulty history, but neither should we ignore it. Our task instead is to help our pupils navigate the battlefield of differing historical opinions and recreations and to make them aware that one event in history can have many stories retold as time goes on and societies change. This does not mean telling children that all interpretations of the past are equally *valid*, it simply means accepting that these interpretations *exist*. Again, my own experience of this was instructive. When the last remaining Robert E. Lee statue was removed from Virginia on 9th September 2021, there was little comment on the television news, but debate raged on social media. On my Facebook feed, a news article about the

removal of the statue was accompanied by hundreds of ahistorical and ill-informed comments sympathetic to the confederacy and offering arguments about southern identity. As a historian, my initial reaction was to reply to every person and hit them with evidence about the statues that was contradictory to their beliefs however, this would have been futile: shouting evidence at people doesn't get anyone anywhere, the key instead is to explore how these narratives are put together so that they can be unpicked. As teachers, we must accept that our students' worldviews are informed by what they read on social media, and so our duty is to support them in navigating this world.

It is important, for example, to view the General Lee statue, itself, as an *interpretation.* The statue was not – as many assumed – constructed immediately after the Civil War, but in 1924. This context is important: the 1920s were a period of profound racial inequality when the racist Jim Crow Laws were being challenged both through civil disobedience and in the courts. Had these legal challenges succeeded, aspects of disenfranchisement and segregation based on colour would have been made illegal. These steps towards equality were viewed across the south as a challenge to a putative 'southern identity' which had maintained segregation in law, even after defeat in the civil war. Consequently, the erection of the statue of Lee should be seen as an affirmation of 'southern identity' as one based in notions of racial inequality and discrimination.

This sense of putative 'Southern identity' was reaffirmed and almost cemented by the release of a film called 'Birth of a Nation' which helped kick start the reestablishment of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The movie portrayed a patriotic romanticisation of the KKK as protectors of Southern white society which they show as being under threat from Black people. The movie became extremely popular and told the story that many white people in the South wanted to hear- it erased the defeat from the American Civil War and redefined the image of the African American as a criminal. Such was the importance of the film that it became the first movie to be shown in the Whitehouse to Woodrow Wilson who labelled it "History written with lightning". However, a more factual analysis of the movie would instead be to label it a distorted historical account which suited a particular group and society- the South. The fact the movie has no historical credibility is important but what is more important is that many people believed that it did. The impacts of the movie brought with it a new wave of attacks on African Americans.

This creation of a confederate southern identity based on the notions of racial inequality coincided and conflicted with the rise of a Black consciousness movement which saw among groups of African Americans a realisation of their identity. Movements such as 'The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People' (NAACP) founded, primarily, by W.E.B Du Bois were fighting to make African Americans aware of their civil rights as American citizens and the 'Universal Negro Improvement Association' (UNIA) led by Marcus Garvey wanted to increase pride among African Americans in their colour, culture, and History. Both organisations were prominent prior to and during the 1920's and had substantial membership stretching across 38 states. This consciousness movement was perceived in the South as a threat to the Southern identity that was being moulded based on the principles of confederacy.

It is in this 1920s culture conflict that we begin to see the construction of confederate statues across Southern states, not primarily as a tribute to past

confederate soldiers, but as a response to the Black consciousness movement that sought to threaten their identity and a commitment to a white supremist future. The construction of confederate statues saw its biggest spike in the period of 1900-1920 which coincides with Jim Crow law segregation, mass incarceration of African Americans and a black consciousness movement. For example, in South Carolina alone there were 30 confederate statues erected between 1900-1919, some 35 years after the conclusion of the American Civil War and during a culture battle that was raging in the United States of America. For pupils to understand the interpretive nature of the confederate statue debate in contemporary society they would have to have a profound understanding of the context outlined above.

The next challenge is to ask how to provide our pupils with a framework which will help them to understand Historical Interpretations. The body of lessons below will explore this highly contentious issue through an historical lens. This unit is aimed at students who are in the Broad General Education phase of secondary school. At this level of study pupils should be able to draw on their knowledge of a historical period to interpret evidence and present an informed view (Scottish Education 2017). Through engaging with the lessons below pupils will be exploring the complexities surrounding contemporary issues and offering a reasoned conclusion to the enquiry question based on a foundation of historical knowledge.

To conclude, the fundamental objective of this article and the sequence of lessons above is to develop pupils' historical consciousness. This means engaging with, and attaining, an understanding of the present due to an interpretation of the past, which better allows them to consider the future (Duquette, 2015, cited in Seixas, 2017, p. 63). This is achieved through historically contextualising a contemporary problem by analysing different interpretations of it. The issue of confederate statues contributes to larger social issues including race and identity. Therefore, through careful selection of activities and resources, pupils can gain a framework for understanding that can be applied when dealing with societal issues. However, careful consideration is needed when teaching the content material to ensure a safe and comfortable learning environment for all pupils. The content can be distressing; but ultimately, it is important not to erase these elements of history, but to teach them in a way that creates responsible contributors in a democratic society.

Enquiry Question: Why do Americans feel so strongly about confederate statues?		
Lesson Focus	Objective	Possible Activities
1.What are the conflicting opinions about confederate statues in the United States?	To understand why there are conflicting views over statues in America and what those views are.	Initial stimulus material (ISM) depicting a confederate statue being pulled down. *https://ichef.bbci.co.uk/news/1024/cpsprodpb/C565/production/_97333505_p05cfs5z.jpg* This will be followed by an activity where half of the pupils are given pro-statue arguments and the other half given anti-statue arguments. The pupils can then write about why someone may feel so strongly about their position over statues. The pupils will then be paired off (also works with 3's or groups of 4's) to discuss their ideas before returning to a class wide discussion on the main reasons people feel so strongly.
2. How and why were the North and South different in 1860?	To identify the main differences between the Northern and Southern States in regards to industry, politics and society in the pre- American civil war period.	The lesson will begin with a picture of the 2020 election map of America following the election. 2020-Electoral-Interactive-Map.jpg (1280×720) (ecwausa.com) This will highlight the 'red' and 'blue states'- the purpose being to show division. Followed by a map of America in the 1860's- the aim is to look for similarities and differences in division. slavemap.jpg (600×350) (haygenealogy.com)- Pupils will engage in pair work to create a series of T-diagrams to illustrate key themes that highlight the differences between the North and South. These themes are Industry, Politics, and society. A T-diagram is a form of graph that allows pupils to visually compare competing/opposing ideas by having them side-by-side. It is created using a vertical and horizontal line and resembles the letter T. This is a low-resource and low-cost learning material that is extremely useful for engaging in comparisons.
3. How did enslaved people in the Southern USA experience slavery?	Looking in-depth at the conditions of slavery in the Southern states through analysis of different Historians	The lesson will begin with an Initial stimulus material on the board. The picture will depict a working plantation. This image will be used as a gateway for pupils to gain a brief understanding of life on a cotton plantation in the South. A great website to use when teaching about slavery is the Understanding Slavery Initiative. This website can be used

	opinions and a case study.	for collecting information on what life was like on a plantation for enslaved people. URL: Plantation Conditions. Understanding Slavery Initiative This will be followed by a class presentation by the teacher on the conditions of the slavery. This will lead into a case study on Fredrick Douglass, formerly enslaved person and abolitionist. Pupils will explore conditions on the plantations through a series of photograph which highlight different aspects of an enslaved person's life such as working conditions, living conditions, food and clothing. The lesson will conclude with extracts from two historians, Phillips and Stampp who disagree on the nature of slavery. **Historian Ulrich B. Phillips writing in his *Life and Labor in the Old South'* noted that the plantation was –** "The plantation was a school. The civilising of the enslaved was not merely a consequence of definite schooling but a fruit of plantation life itself. The plantation was a parish, or perhaps a chapel of ease. The plantation was a pageant and a variety show in alteration. The home of a planter or a well-to-do townsman was likely to be a magnificent Negro boarding house. The institution of slavery was unprofitable, and its main aim was not to make fortunes, but men." (Within this there is the opportunity to expand on what Phillips may have meant, have the pupils analyse some of the metaphors he uses and try to analyse them) **Historian Kenneth Stampp's '*The Peculiar Institution'* (1956) noted that the plantation was –** "Little by little, step by step. choice by choice, over a period of many years…not the enslaved but slavery was the old south greatest affliction – the root of its tragedy. Cruelty was endemic in all slave holding communities. "Slavery was an inherently inefficient system, not an unprofitable one. Its self-reproduction of a labour force which was compelled to work hard without being paid. Slave labour was cheap compared with free white labour, it depressed white wages in the South.
4.Why was Westward expansion such a problem for the union?	To explain what is meant by the term "Westward Expansion" and identify the	To start the lesson pupils will be asked to mind map/ bullet-point what they recall from the previous two lessons. A short video explaining the chronology of Westward Expansion. The pupils will be asked to fill in a pre-prepared timeline to record the events.

	problems that it caused.	This will be followed by a class discussion on the potential problems of Westward expansion regarding slavery prompted by a famous photograph. manifest-destiny-john-gast.jpg (652×496) (destinyschildren.org)
5.What was the significance of the 1860 election?	To explain how the election of 1860 caused division in America and assess the overall impact this had on the union.	The lesson will begin with a picture on the board of all past presidents of the United states. This image will be seen by the pupils with the question 'What do all these people have in common'. us-prsidents.jpg (800×381) (lithub.com)- a picture of all past presidents. This will be followed by a mock election. The pupils will be given a case study on each of the candidates and split into states, they will be asked to vote on their preferred candidate from the perspective of the state they represent. The pupils will then analyze historical evidence to engage with the differing reactions to the election results and the significance it had.
6. Why did the Southern states secede from the union?	To understand what is meant by the term secession and the rationale each Southern state gave for secession.	The lesson will start with an ISM activity which will portray the confederate flag. This will lead into a teacher led discussion on the idea of secession. Pupils will examine declarations documents from 4 Southern states on why they seceded, the states are; South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia and Texas. They will do this through a jigsaw activity. They will be split into groups of 4- the states will also be numbered 1-4 and the students in each group will be allocated a number. All those in the class with the same number form an expert group. The pupils become experts on their states and return to their home groups. When each group is back together- they will create a poster on the reasons the states seceded.
7. How were Americans affected by the American Civil war?	To recognise the impact the American Civil war had on societies and soldiers on both sides of the conflict.	The lesson will start with an ISM depicting a battlefield. This will be followed by a clip from the movie 'Gettysburg', which shows pickets charge. This is designed to visualize the horrors of war. However, it is important to explain that this is an interpretation of the battle (not factually accurate) and the purpose of the clip is not to show exactly what happened during the battle but to gain an understanding of battle-like situations. This will be followed by students working in pairs to read through soldier's accounts of the war, the accounts can be found at the bottom of this document. Pupils must then create a diary entry from the perspective of a soldier reflecting on the content they have learned from the videos and the source work.

		Extract 1 My Dear Wife; I dressed the wounds of 64 different men- some having two or three each. Yesterday I was at work from daylight till dark- I am completely exhausted. The days after the battle are a thousand times worse than the day of the battle – the dead are sickening but they suffer no pain. But the poor wounded mutilated soldiers that yet have life make a most horrid picture. I pray God may stop such infernal work – though perhaps he has sent it upon us for our sins. Carrie I dreamed of home night before last. I love to dream of home it seems so much like really being there. I saw you in some place I cannot say where – you kissed me and told me you loved me – was not that quite a soldier dream? **William Child, Major and Surgeon** **5th Regiment New Hampshire Volunteers (Union)** **Extract 2:** We went hungry, for six days not a morsel of bread or meat had gone in our stomachs – and our menu consisted of apple; and corn. We toasted, we burned, we stewed, we boiled, we roasted these two together and there was not a man who had not a bad attack of diarrhoea. Our under clothes were foul and hanging in strips, our socks were worn out, and half of the men were bare-footed, many were lame and were sent to the rear; others, of sterner stuff, hobbled along and managed to keep up. Many became ill from exposure and starvation, and were left on the road. The ambulances were full, and the whole route was marked with sick, lame, limping lot, that straggled to the farm. **Private Alexander Hunter** **17th Virginia Infantry (Confederate)** **Extract 3:** The truth is, when bullets are whacking against tree trunks and solid shot are cracking skulls like eggshells, the consuming passion in the breast of the average man is to get out of the way. **Private David L. Thompson** **9th New York Volunteers, Company G (Union)**
8. How have revivalists' interpretations of the confederacy	To understand what revivalist interpretations of the confederacy are and how they have been	The first part of the lesson will be focused on looking at the ways in which revivalist theories have been progressed. This will include views from published historians and media portrayal (such as Birth of a Nation), through modern day interviews with pro-statue demonstrators.

been advanced?	moulded and progressed through History. This will link the enquiry lesson to the original question as the differences in argument will be better understood.	The second part will be dedicated to students consolidating the last 7 sessions to create a piece of written work to answer the EQ.
9. Why might Americans feel so strongly about confederate statues?	Consolidating the content in the unit of work to create a written piece designed at answering the enquiry question.	Create a piece of written work to answer the EQ. There will be terminology prompts on the boards to help with the work as well as set expectations. The piece of work could be a news article summarizing the conflicts of the statues, making reference to the history of the conflict.

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Education Scotland. (2017) *Benchmarks: Social studies.* Edinburgh: Scottish Government. Available: https://education.gov.scot/nih/Documents/Social%20StudiesBenchmarksPDF.pdf

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Where does one era end and the other begin? Teaching the Cold War through a Second World War context

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The challenges of teaching Cold War history are manifold. Not only does the period span 40 years, jump seemingly arbitrarily from continent to continent, it also requires an understanding of historical context and abstract concepts. Equally, Cold War history is not 'decided' – historians disagree about its events and outcomes. For example, to say there was a Cold War winner would be frowned upon in some historical quarters nowadays.[17] Similarly, to avoid mentioning that Britain had a decisive and influential role to play in the Cold War is deemed a disappointing omission by contemporary British historians.[18]

Yet, in the exam hall students must make the most of the knowledge gained while studying in the classroom. It would be beyond the scope of the syllabus to introduce additional content that might detract from Cold War specifications. In this essay, I explore how an approach that includes new historiography, original primary sources and historical context can colour Cold War teaching without over-writing the fundamental outcomes dictated by examining boards.

Most historians would agree that historical eras do not start and end at specific junctures, but it's often the case that for lack of space we must bracket them with significant beginnings and endings.[19] In the case of the Cold War, its origins are amorphous and the historical debate rife with opinions about what caused it and when it was established.[20] There is no problem dating a Cold War module from 1945, it is, to an extent, an accurate time to focus it. The issue I have with the year 1945 is that it is perceived as the year that the Second World War *ended*. Of course, it is the year that Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan were defeated, troops lay down arms, governments moved on, and society picked itself up again. But what tends to be underplayed in discussion of the early Cold War is that the Second World War emotionalised post-war memory and materially

[17] Daniel Deudney, and G. John Ikenberry, 'Who Won the Cold War?' *Foreign Policy*, no. 87 (1992), 123–38
[18] For example see articles in the special issue of *Contemporary British History* journal on *Social and cultural histories of British nuclear mobilisation since 1945*, (Issue 2: Volume 33, 2019).
[19] On Cold War endings see: Silvio Pons and Federico Romero (eds.), *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War: Issues, Interpretations, Periodizations*, (Routledge, 2004).
[20] An interesting comparative chapter on the pedagogy of Cold War history and national 'origins' can be found here: Robert Thorp, 'Pedagogical Entanglements and the Cold War: A Comparative Study on Opening History Lessons on the Cold War in Sweden and Switzerland' in Barbara Christophe, Peter Gautschi, Robert Thorp (eds), *The Cold War in the Classroom: International Perspectives on Textbooks and Memory Practices*, (Palgrave Macmillan Cham, 2019), 423-447.

damaged society to the gravest degree. A deep-rooted animosity between East and West re-emerged out of the ashes of the Second World War.

This experiential and temporal transition is dealt with exceptionally well in historian Paul Betts' book *Ruin and Renewal: Civilizing Europe After the Second World War*. Betts uses the lens of 'civilization' to organise his history of post-war Europe and its colonies, arguing that 'the post-war understanding of civilisation was shaped by insecurity, anxiety, defeat and the daunting task of starting over'.[21] He writes, 'The Cold War – whose beginning is usually attributed to the 1947 Truman Doctrine or the Berlin Airlift of 1948-1949 – was already assuming form in the Displaced People camps'. He continues, the foreign aid workers of post-war Europe were 'confronted by ruins, refugees and what was commonly called the crisis of civilisation.'[22] The task of foreign aid workers, he argues, was 'central to the moral and material reconstruction of the continent'.[23] By any other name – the Cold War project.

While teaching the concept of civilization is beyond the remit of the SQA Cold War specification the themes that Betts embraces to describe it in the post-war context serve as useful hooks on which to hang the standard lesson of Cold War 'origins'. Emotional and material destitution, accompanied by novel arms developments, spurred Cold War developments in light of Second World War trauma. Indeed, we need not look any further than British history to find evidence as to why civilians and politicians were wary of another war: war-ravaged, financially unstable, militarily wiped out, yet deeply attached to the notion of British military victory and national pride. Historian Anne Deighton, whose work transformed historiography on Britain's Cold War has described how a 'mentality' swept across the nation and 'successfully internalised' Cold War ideas throughout society.[24]

To visualise this argument, below I've described three sources. The combination of these – rather than each one alone – conjure an impression of the emotional and physical context in which Cold War tensions (or misapprehensions) emerged.

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21 Paul Betts, *Ruin and Renewal: Civilizing Europe After the Second World* War, (Profile Books, London; 2020), 10.

22 Ibid. 32

23 Ibid. 32

24 Anne Deighton, 'Britain and the Cold War, 1945-55', in Melvyn P. Leffler & Odd A. Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Volume I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 131. See also, Anne Deighton, (ed.), *Britain and the First Cold War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1990); Anne Deighton, *The impossible peace: Britain, the division of Germany and the origins of the Cold War*, (OUP; Oxford: Clarendon; 1990).

SOURCE 1 - The ruins of a bombed town in post-war Europe (location unknown, circa 1946). Screenshot taken from a film produced by NATO titled 'Europe – Two Decades', 1969.

This North Atlantic Treaty Organisation film can be played via the IWM online collections.[25] As a primary source it is a useful tool for considering the process by which the wartime alliance broke down and the task of rebuilding Europe which resulted in the Marshall Plan. Of course, it was produced by NATO – its perspective on communism and the Soviet Union is distinctly biased. However, the narrator describes the condition of post-war Europe at great length and for this reason I've included it here as an example of the sheer scale of human degradation experienced as a result of the Second World War in Europe. The Cold War was rooted in this atmosphere of insecurity. The film's narrator eulogises:

> 'As neighbours [European countries] had seemingly little in common. And now they have not only little in common but little enough anyway, all very well for Winston Churchill to make speeches on unity in 1947. He had self-respect, enough to eat and a place in which to live. Unity was well down on the list of priorities. Anyway, it was supposed to stem from the United Nations. There, where delegates from East and West sat down together, even they were cynical about the chances. For though each side talked of a settled world they were talking about neither the same thing, nor the same means of achieving it.'

Solving the many problems created by the Second World War was a distinct cause for Cold War enmity. What tends to be less profiled is that Second World War memory was also one of the reasons why such enmity did not turn to aggression.

[25] NATO Film, 'Europe – Two Decades', IWM NAT2056, https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1060049907

SOURCE 2 - Photograph depicting British, American and French doctors from the Allied Commission examining a malnourished schoolboy in Hamburg, August 1946. From an archive collected by publisher Victor Gollancz for his 1947 book on post-war conditions, *In Darkest Germany*.[26]

Nowhere was concern for public health, economic recovery and political unrest more concerning than in post-war Germany. The rapid move by American and British allies to restore German life was one of the issues that divided the West from Stalin's policies in the East. Conveying how quickly Germany went from being outright enemy to beneficiary of aid and regeneration takes much explanation and is far too convoluted for a one-hour classroom topic. But it is important to convey the history of both hope and despair that defined this era – on both East and Western flanks. This image of a malnourished child is a relic of the moment that Western allies moved away from a punitive approach to Germany and recognised the need for material restoration as a means to moral and political stability in Europe.

[26] University of Warwick, Modern Records Centre, document reference: MSS.157/12/GE/1/129. Available online < https://warwick.ac.uk/services/library/mrc/studying/docs/germany/>

SOURCE 3 - United Nations for Freedom from Fear poster. Taken from a series depicting all four UN 'freedoms' Circa 1945.

The vision of a happy child playing on a beach depicted in this UN poster bears a striking contrast to that of malnourished and impoverished German children.[27] The notion of 'freedom from fear' was originally articulated as a reduction in military arms by Franklin Roosevelt (the forebearer for what became the UN's founding principles[28]), in the post-war period the happy, domestic scene depicted here epitomised a *conflict for peace*. The arms race and conventional military strategies did not diminish to reduce fear of direct confrontation, but dividing lines based on the image of a perfect and harmonious society worked to limit freedom to war and idolise two versions of peace.

[27] The poster is available in the IWM collections, reference number Art.IWM PST 15701: https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/38005
[28] 6 January 1941, President Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress, Paramount newsreel footage available to watch on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qrNDwyj4u1w&t=99s

To conclude I'd like to review one of the most used primary sources of all Cold War textbooks – this cartoon of Winston Churchill 'peeping under the Iron Curtain', published in 1947 after his infamous Fulton Speech set the tone for Cold War hostility and distrust. With hindsight the division represented by the curtain of iron drawn in this cartoon appears indelible and impermeable. Yet, in 1947, as discussed above, Europe was both emotionally and materially bereft, and hopeful for peace and reconciliation – all in light of the Second World War. Without acknowledging that context, this primary source becomes a trope of the Cold War binaries so easily misused. However, the curtain in the cartoon is soft – made from fabric – indicating the pliable, moveable nature of Cold War anxieties and antagonism in post-war Europe. This in itself must be a crucial discussion point in any lesson on the origins of the Cold War.

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Teaching Britain’s Empire and Black History
Introductory Resource List

Examples of existing Good Practice from schools

Apps, K. (2019) ‘Widening the early modern world to create a more connected KS3 curriculum’ in *Teaching History*, *176, Widening Vistas Edition*, pp. 48–57.

Apps, K. – (2021) Inventing race? Year 8 use early modern primary sources to investigate the complex origins of racial thinking in the past in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*

Chaudhry, A. (2021) In pursuit of shared histories: uncovering Islamic history in the secondary classroom in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*

Cusworth, H. (2021) Putting black into the Union Jack: weaving Black history into the Year 7 to 9 curriculum in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*

Davies, N. (2020) ‘Staying with the shot: shaping the question, lengthening the narrative, broadening the meaning of transatlantic slavery’ in *Teaching History, 180, How History Works Edition*, pp. 21–31.

Dennis, N. (2017) ‘Beyond Tokenism: diverse history post-14’ in *Teaching History, 165, Conceptualising Breadth Edition*, pp. 37–41

Garry, J. - The underdevelopment of Africa: broadening and deepening narratives of Benin for Year 8 in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*

Kinloch, N. (2003) ‘Confounding expectation at Key Stage 3: flower-songs from an indigenous empire’ in *Teaching History*, *112*, *Empire Edition*,

Kinloch, N. (2005) ‘A need to know: Islamic history and the school curriculum’ in Teaching History, 120, Diversity and Divisions Edition, pp. 25–31

Lewis, C. (2018) ‘Cunning Plan 173: using Black Tudors as a window into Tudor England’ in *Teaching History, 173, Opening Doors Edition*, pp. 22–23.

Lyndon, D. (2006) ‘Integrating black British history into the National Curriculum’ in Teaching History, 122, Rethinking History Edition, pp. 37–44

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*

Mohamud, A. and Whitburn, R. (2014) ‘Unpacking the suitcase and finding history: doing justice to the teaching of diverse histories in the classroom’ in *Teaching History*, *154*, *A Sense of History Edition*, pp. 40–46.

Nzeribe Nascimento, S. (2018) ‘Identity in history: why it matters and must be addressed!’ *Teaching History, 173, Opening Doors Edition.*

Oladehin, T. (2020) ‘Beyond slavery: considering pupils’ responses to a new starting point for Black history at KS3’ in *Teaching History*, *181*, *Handling Sources Edition*,

Priggs, C. (2020) ‘No more “doing diversity”: how one department used Year 8 input to inform curricular thinking about a diverse past’ in *Teaching History*, *179*, *Culture in Conversation Edition*, pp. 10–19.

Todd, J. (2019) 'Thinking beyond boundaries' in *Teaching History, 176, Widening Vistas Edition,* pp. 4–7.

Traille, K. (2007) '"You should be proud about your history: they make you feel ashamed": teaching history hurts' in *Teaching History, 127, Sense and Sensitivity Edition*, pp. 31–37.

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.

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;

Whitburn, R., Hussain, M. and Mohamud, A. (2012) '"Doing justice to history": the learning of African history in a North London secondary school and teacher development in the spirit of Ubuntu' in Teaching History, 146, Teacher Knowledge Edition, pp. 18–27.

Woods, T (2021) Diversifying the curriculum: one department's holistic approach in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*

Classroom Resources

- Frankopan, P. (2018) T*he Silk Roads: the extraordinary history that created your world. Illustrated Edition,* London: Bloomsbury Children's Books.
- Olusoga D. (2020) *Black and British: a short, essential history*, London: Macmillan Children's Books.
- Runaway Slaves Teachers Guide - https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/teaching/Freedom%20Bound%20-%20Teacher%27s%20guide.pdf

Websites for teachers

- **Meanwhile Elsewhere** - https://meanwhileelsewhereinhistory.wordpress.com/
- ***Justice to History*** - *https://justice2history.org*
- **Runaway Slaves -** www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/table/
- **Our Migration Story**: www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk
- **Integrating Empire, Industry and Slavery** - https://onebighistorydepartment.com/2021/03/18/how-can-we-foster-students-understanding-of-theindustrial-revolution-the-british-empire-and-the-transatlantic-slave-trade-asinterconnected/
- **The TIDE Project** aims to investigate how mobility in the great age of travel and discovery shaped English perceptions of human identity based on cultural identification and difference. See www.tideproject.uk/
- **Legacies of British Slavery database**, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/

Developing teacher subject knowledge

Introductions

- Olusoga, D. (2017) *Black and British: a forgotten history*, London: Pan; and *Black and British* documentary series (BBC, 2016).
- Green, T. (2020) 'What have historians been arguing about…African history in the precolonial period?' in *Teaching History, 181, Handling Sources Edition,* pp. 26–27.
- Liburd, L (2021) What have historians been arguing about…the impact of the British Empire on Britain? In in *Teaching History 183 Race Edition*
- www.africankingdoms.co.uk

Detailed studies

- Brotton, J. (2016) *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic world*, London: Allen Lane
- Green, T. (2019) *A Fistful of Shells: West Africa from the rise of the slave trade to the age of revolution*, London: Penguin
- Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: the history of black people in Britain*
- Kaufmann, M. (2017) *Black Tudors: the untold story*, London: Oneworld
- *Phillips, B. (2021) Loot: Britain and the Benin Bronzes*
- Scanlan, P. (2020) *Slave Empire: How slavery built modern Britain*, London: Robinson.
- *Siollun, M. (2021) A Short History of Conquest and Rule: what Britain did to Nigeria, New York: C. Hurst,*

Theory/ Research for history teachers

- Harris, R. and Reynolds, R. (2014) 'The history curriculum and its personal connection to students from minority ethnic backgrounds' in *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 46*, no. 4, pp. 464–486.
- Millar, P. (2020) 'Diversifying and decolonising a curriculum', Chartered College of Teaching webinar: www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOhEyTBe3T8
- Mohamed, A. and Whitburn, R. (2016) *Doing Justice to History: transforming Black history in secondary schools*,
- TIDE and the Runnymede Trust (2019) *Teaching Migration, Belonging, and Empire in Secondary Schools,*
- Royal Historical Society (2018) Race, Ethnicity and Equality in UK History: a report and resource for change,
- Traille, K. (2019) *Hearing Their Voices: teaching history to students of color*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield

Writing for the SATH Yearbook

What we are looking for

We have two main criteria for publication: originality and relevance.

We choose to define ‘original’ broadly, meaning differing from what is already available to teachers. Examples of originality might be:

- An original teaching approach that you have developed in your school
- A local history case study which challenges/ illuminates current subject debates
- A literature review/ synthesis of recent scholarship.
- A piece of research emerging from an ITE/ Masters degree.

‘Relevance’ means relevant to a history and Social Studies teacher practising in Scotland. Therefore, you should ask how your article can make clear its contribution to developing practice in Scotland’s classrooms. For example, as well as discussing what you did, you should take time to explain what other teachers might learn from this (and how they might avoid any mistakes you made!).

- Articles looking at interdisciplinary social studies teaching are welcome, as long as these include an element of historical learning.
- Articles unrelated to history/ social studies, and focusing on other aspects of teaching (e.g. behaviour) are not within the scope of the journal.

Audience

Our primary audience is schoolteachers in Scotland who have a generalised knowledge of most aspects of history. Articles should therefore adopt a scholarly style aimed at intelligent non-experts. Where technical terms are used, you should consider whether these are unavoidable and offer a definition/ explanation.

Format

- Articles will normally be between 2000 and 3500 words. Though we will consider longer submissions and shorter notes, replies or provocations.
- It may help to use references/ citations to demonstrate the originality or value of your work. However, not all articles will need to do this. The format of your article will be determined by its aims and scope

- A range of citation formats are acceptable. In general, in-text citation is preferred, but footnotes might be more appropriate for more historical pieces.

Illustrations

The journal will be published in Black and White. You may include pictures where these are essential to your argument, but you should not include these simply for decoration. Please see notes on consent below.

Please note

- Consider copyright and consent issues. No material should be reproduced from already published work (either your own or other people's).
- Informed written consent must be gained for photographs or examples of pupils' work. You should not identify any pupils by name, though identifying your own school is permissible, once headteacher approval has been secured. Any material which does not meet these criteria will be removed before publication.

How to submit

Submissions meeting the above criteria can be emailed to Joe Smith at The University of Stirling: joseph.smith@stir.ac.uk

The editorial process

- You can submit either a full article or an idea for an article to the email address above.
- You will normally receive an acknowledgement of your submission within 48 hours. If you have submitted an outline idea for an article, you will receive feedback on whether this idea is relevant to the aims of the journal.
- Within 10 working days you will receive detailed feedback on your article, possibly with suggestions for improvement.
- You will have as much time as you need to work on these suggestions and will be fully supported throughout the re-drafting process.
- All relevant submissions will be accepted into the Yearbook after this re-drafting process is complete.
- You will receive notification that your final version has been accepted.
- The Yearbook is compiled in November each year. Articles not finalised by this deadline will appear in the next year's edition.